

Verb movement as a structure-creating operation

Olaf Koeneman

Meertens Instituut, Amsterdam
olaf.koeneman@meertens.knaw.nl

Contents

1 Verb movement and functional projection

- 1.1 Introduction**
- 1.2 A sketch of an alternative: Flexible syntax**
- 1.3 The empirical data**
- 1.4 Outlook**

2 V to I movement

- 2.1 Introduction**
- 2.2 The status of rich agreement**
- 2.3 Defining 'rich agreement'**
- 3.3 Less straightforward cases**

3 V to C movement

- 3.1 Introduction**
- 3.2 The asymmetry**
- 3.3 German**
- 3.4 English**
- 3.5 Italian and French**

4 The distribution of expletives

- 4.1 Introduction**
- 4.2 The proposal**
- 4.3 Consequences for expletive insertion**
- 4.4 V to I movement and expletive insertion**
- 4.5 The exceptional status of Dutch *er***
- 4.6 Romance**

5 Conclusion

Section 1

Verb movement and functional projection

1.1 Introduction

The position of the verb in a clause is subject to cross-linguistic variation:

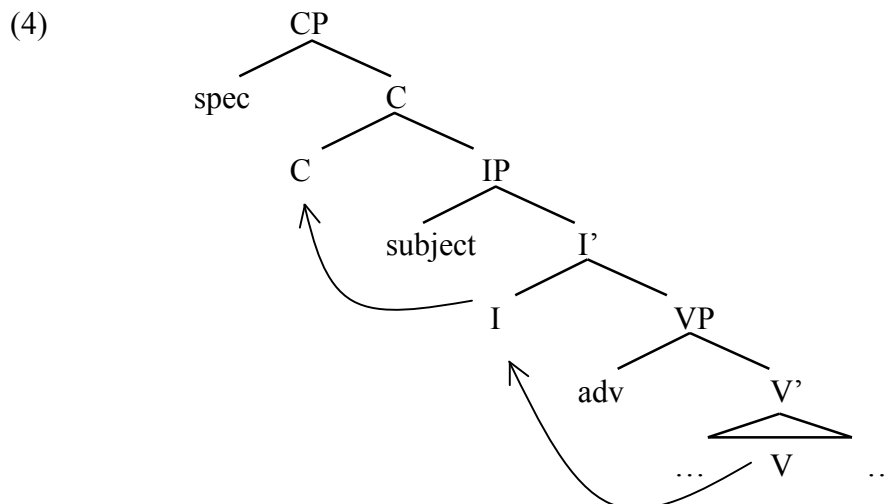
- It can precede or follow an object
 - (1) a. Jan heeft nooit een boek gelezen O > V
 Jan has never a book read
 - a'. *Jan heeft nooit gelezen een boek
 - b. John has never read a book V > O
 - b'. *John has never a book read

- It can precede or follow VP-adverbs and negation:
 - (2) a. John often reads a book ADV > V
 - a'. *John read often a book
 - b. Jean lit souvent un livre V > ADV
 - b'. *Jean souvent lit un livre

- It can precede or follow the subject :
 - (3) a. Dit boek leest Jan met plezier
 - This book reads Jan with pleasure
 - a'. *Dit boek Jan leest met plezier
 - b. This book John reads with pleasure
 - b'. *This book reads John with pleasure

This variation is usually accounted for by parameters:

- (1) → OV-VO-parameter
- (2) → V to I parameter
- (3) → V to C parameter



Additional complication: language-internal variation

- (5) a. ...dat Jan dit boek met plezier leest
that Jan the book with pleasure reads
b. *...dat Jan leest dit boek met plezier
c. *...dat leest Jan dit boek met plezier

This leads to a couple of questions:

- (6) a. What is the nature of the positions to which the verb moves?
b. What triggers verb movement to these positions?
c. What explains cross-linguistic and language-internal differences in verb placement?

Ad (6a): T, Asp, Agr, C, Fin, Foc, Top, etc.

Ad (6b): To pick up an affix, to check a feature.

Ad (6c): Case is assigned under government or through spec-head agreement. Functional heads can contain strong or weak features.

Questions (6a) and (6b) have received more useful answers than question (6c).

Complicating developments:

- (i) Proliferation of C-, I, and V-domain.
(ii) Conceptual theorizing about what is universal.

- SVO is universal (Kayne 1994)

- SOV is universal (Barbiers 1998, Mohr 2005)

- Branching is universal (Haider 2000 and further) (Believers in a classic parameter: Bobaljik 1995, Neeleman & Weerman 1999)

GOAL: Account of variation in verb placement

STRATEGY: Focus on (i) clear cases of movements (ii) clear cases of parametrization.

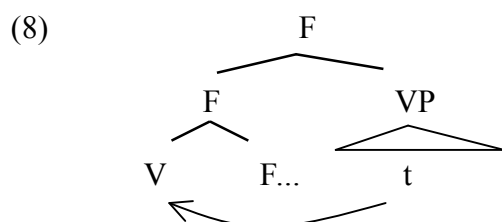
1.2 A sketch of an alternative: Flexible syntax

Let us take one step back and ask...

- (7) Why does the verb need to move to higher positions in the structure?

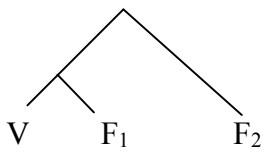
Difference: No prefabricated head positions are assumed.

Standardly, a verb moves to a functional head:



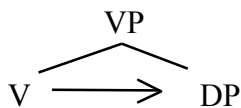
Alternatively, the verb creates functional structure (Ackema et al. 1993; Koenenman 1997, 2000).

(9)

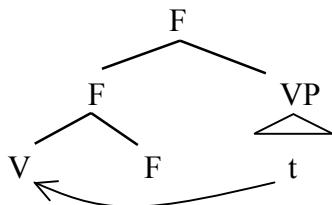


After insertion into syntax it is V that must project first in order to discharge its θ -grid, given standard assumptions.

(10)



(11)



Note that (11) is identical to (8). However, there are advantages to the alternative ‘wysiwyg’ approach to verb movement:

- It obeys the extension condition
- It creates the structure you need: an anti-templatic, foot-driven approach (cf. Platzack 1996) to functional structure. Cf. also Zwart 2004 and Van Craenenbrock 2006 for recent discussion.
- It straightforwardly allows for positional triggers.
- It overcomes feature redundancy
- It provides an antidote to structural proliferation.

Questions for the flexible approach:

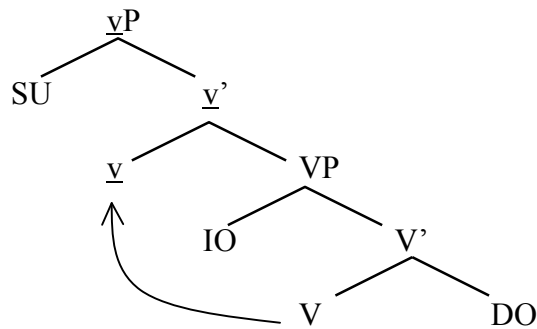
- Which features of the verb need to be in a VP-external position?
- Why do they need to be in a VP-external position?
- Why is verb movement blocked in the environments we do not see it?

1.3 The empirical data

Two verb positioning rules I will exclude from the discussion beforehand.

- V-to-y movement (cf. Larson 1988; Hale & Keyser 1993; Chomsky 1995, among others):

(12)



- (13) a. John showed Tim_i himself_i
b. John showed each teacher_i his_i pupil

We will ignore this type of movement because...

- it is predicate internal (see section 1.3.3).
- all Germanic VO have it, possibly all OV languages too (either vacuously or obscured by object movement).

(i) Positioning related to verb clusters:

- (14) a. Dat Jan [dit boek lezen] wil
b. Dat Jan [dit boek t_i] wil lezen_i

We will ignore this type of movement because...

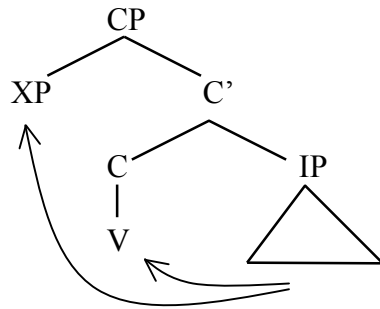
- it is a course in itself
- scholars disagree on whether these data reflect verb movement at all.

1.3.1 V to C movement

With the exception of English, all Germanic languages display V2 in main clauses:

- (15) a. [CP Bókina keypti [Jón ekki]] Icelandic
books bought John not
b. [CP Dos bukh shik [ikh avek]] Yiddish
the book send I away
c. [CP Boken köpte [Ulf inte]] Swedish
books bought Ulf not
d. [CP Denne film har [børnene set]] Danish
this film have the children seen

(16)



If (16) is taken to be the underlying structure of clauses in general, i.e. of main and embedded clauses alike, a consequence is that we can explain why verb second only takes place in root clauses (den Besten 1983).

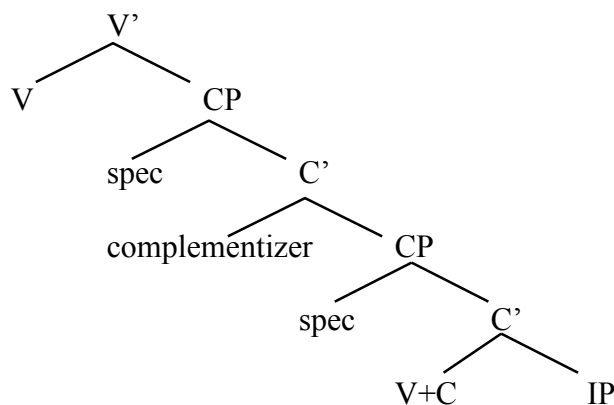
- (17) a. Ik geloof [_{CP} dat [_{IP} Jan de waarheid spreekt]]
I believe that Jan the truth speaks
 a'. *Ik geloof dat spreekt_i Jan de waarheid t_i
I believe that Jan speaks the truth
 b. I wonder [_{CP} what_i ∅ [_{IP} John will tell t_i]]
 b'. *I wonder what_i will_j John t_j tell t_i

Languages without a root/non-root asymmetry

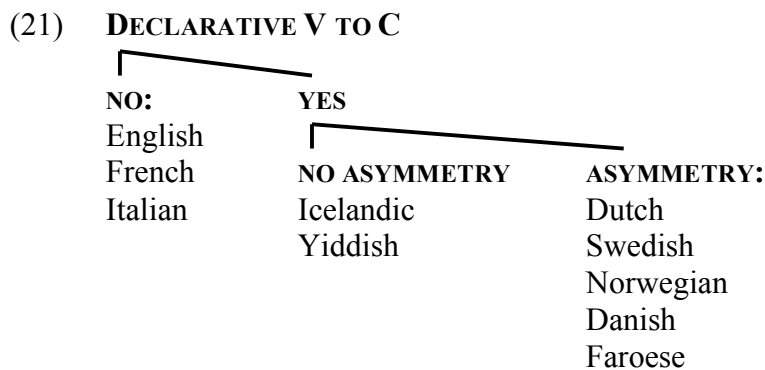
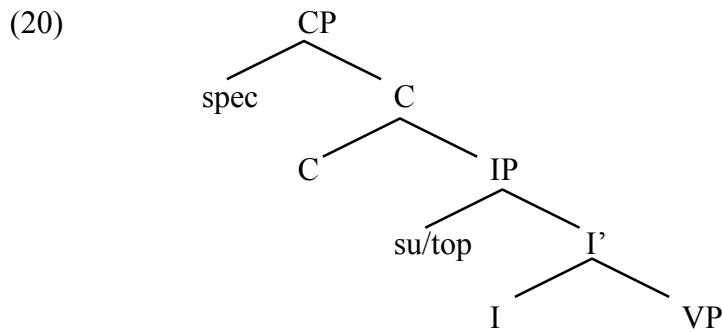
- (18) a. að í herberginu hefur kyrin staðið Icelandic
that in the room has the cow stood
 b. az morgn vet dos yingl zen a kats Yiddish
that tomorrow will the boy see a cat

• CP-recursion approach

(19)



- The “IP as topic position”- approach



Note:

- (i) The classic structure is too small for Yiddish/Icelandic embedded clauses
- (ii) The classic structure is too big for English declarative clauses

1.3.2 V to I movement

Verb movement below the structural subject position:

- (22) a. ... subject V_{finite} *adv/neg/FQ* ...
 b. ... subject *adv/neg/FQ* V_{finite} ...
- (23) a. Jean <*souvent> embrace <souvent> Marie (= 22a)
 Jean kisses often Marie
 b. John <often> kisses <*often> Mary (= 22b)

- Mainland Scandinavian lacks independent V to I:

- (24) a. at Peter ofte havde læst den Danish
 that Peter often had read it
 b. att Jan ofta kysser Maria Swedish
 that Jan often kisses Maria

- This is not straightforwardly testable in Icelandic and Yiddish. But...

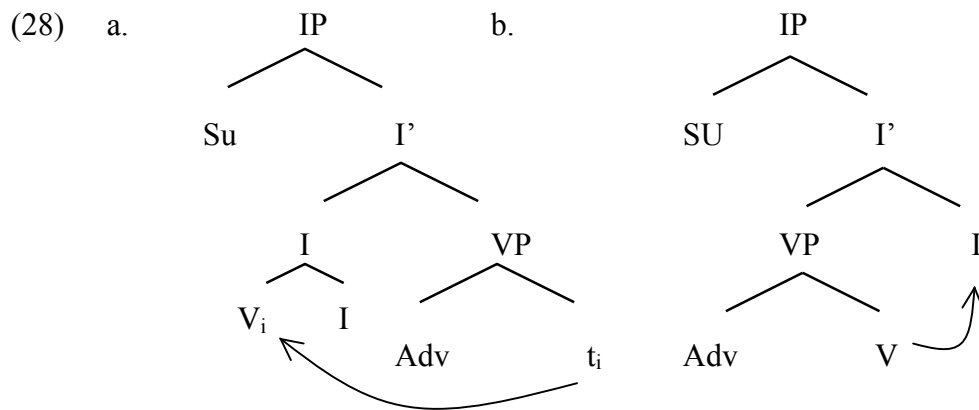
- (25) a. *Ég veit ekki af hverju í herberginu hefur kýrin staðið Icelandic
 I know not why in the room has the cow stood

- b. *Ikh veys nit ven in tsimer iz di ku geshtanen Yiddish
I know not when in the room has the cow stood
- (26) a. Ég veit ekki af hverju kýrin <hefur> oft <*hefur> staðið í herberginu
I know not why the cow has often has stood in the room
b. Ikh veys nit ven di ku <iz> oyfn <*iz> geshtanen in tsimer
I know not when the cow has often has stood in the room

Dialect split in Faroese (Jonas 1995):

- (27) a. Tað var ovæntað at dreingirnir voru als ikki ósamdir Faroese I
it was unexpected that boys-the were at-all not disagreed
b. Tað var ovæntað at dreingirnir als ikki voru ósamdir Faroese II
it was unexpected that boys-the at-all not were disagreed

Undetermined in Germanic OV languages



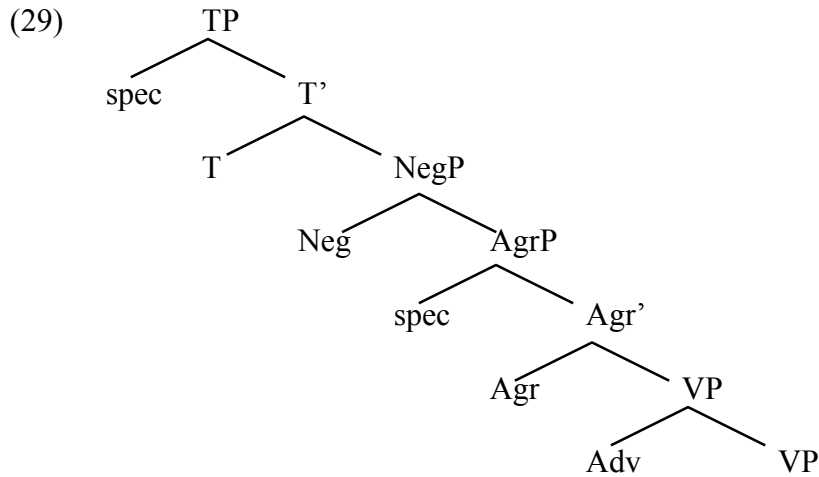
V TO I

YES:	NO:	UNCLEAR:
French	Danish	Dutch
Italian	Swedish	German
Icelandic	Norwegian	
Yiddish	English	
Faroese I	Faroese II	

1.3.3 Short verb movement in French, Norwegian and Italian

THE SPLIT-INFL HYPOTHESIS:

I consists (at least) of T and AGR (Pollock 1989; Belletti 1990).



French infinitives cannot move over NEG...

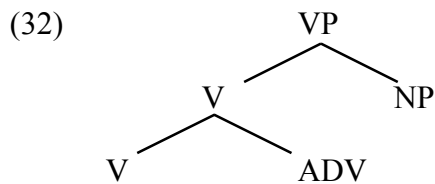
- (30) a. Ne pas comprendre l'italien...
cl. not understand Italian
 b. *Ne comprendre pas l'italien...
cl. understand not Italian

...but can optionally move over lower adverbs...

- (31) a. À peine comprendre l'italien
hardly understand Italian
 b. Comprendre à peine l'italien
understand hardly Italian

Pollock: *Avoir* can optionally move to Agr.

Iatridou's (1990) alternative (cf. DiScullio & Williams 1987; Travis 1988):



More verbs can intervene between NEG and ADV:

- (33) Ne pas avoir lu complètement/entièrement ce livre...French
cl. not have read completely/entirely this book

- (34) at Peter **ofte** *havde læst den* Danish
that Peter often had read it

Two possibilities, using (i) T and Agr and (ii) adverb adjunction to VP only:

- (i) Both verbs have moved to AGR (right order?)
 (ii) *Avoir* is projected above AgrP: *avoir* > Adv order provides no evidence for V-mvt.

Infinitives can precede or follow two adverbs.

- (35) a. Souvent mal faire ses devoirs, c'est stupide
frequently badly make your homework that is stupid
 b. Faire souvent mal ses devoirs, c'est stupide
make frequently badly your homework that is stupid

Pollock: Optional movement to Agr

Iatridou: Multiple adjunction to V.

The infinitive can also appear between the two adverbials, as is shown in (39):

- (36) Souvent faire mal ses devoirs, c'est stupide
frequently make badly your homework that is stupid

Pollock: completely unexpected.

Iatridou: one adverb adjoined to VP, the other right-adjoined to V

If adverbs are adjoined to either VP or AgrP, evidence of Agr depends solely on (39) ((34) is irrelevant), which means that the evidence is as strong as the assumption about adverb placement.

Conclusion:

- Evidence for Agr less strong than for T/INFL
- Movement to Agr is *always* optional, unlike V to I and V to C.

Similar data have recently been reported for Regional Northern Norwegian by Bentzen (2006) and Bentzen et al. (2007). They note the following:

- (i) The movements across these adverbs are optional: ADV-V orders are equally grammatical and in fact generally preferred (cf. 37).
 (ii) The verb never crosses negation: V-NEG is categorically excluded in non-V2 contexts (cf. 38a vs b).
 (iii) The same patterns is displayed in infinitival clauses (cf. 39).

- (37) Æ vet koffer ho Hedda <kjøpe> ofte <kjøpe> sko (ReNN)
I know why she Hedda often buys shoes

- (38) a. ettersom dem <levere> sannsynligvis <levere> ofte oppgava
 as they hand.in probably hand.in often assignments
 b. ...ettersom nån studenta <*leverte> ikke <leverte> oppgaven
 as some students handed.in not handed in assignment.the

- (39) a. Ho prøvde å <komme> oftere <komme> tidsnok på skolen
He tried to come often come in.time on school.the
 b. Ho prøvde å <*komme> ikke <komme> førr seint på skolen
He tried to come not come too late on school.the

Conclusion: There is a fundamental difference in what negation and adverbs show.

- (40) a. <V_{finite}> NEG <V_{infinitive}, V_{participle}>
 b. <V_{finite}, V_{infinitive}, V_{participle}> ADV <V_{finite}, V_{infinitive}, V_{participle}>

Tentative proposal:

(40a) shows verb movement from a predicate-internal to a predicate-external position.

(40b) shows predicate-internal movement

Consequence:

In (40a) a feature should be projected that all verbs have in common: V simply reprojects.

In (40b) a feature should be projected specific to finite verbs: Tense or Agreement.

[An aside: There is an interpretative difference caused by the difference in word order

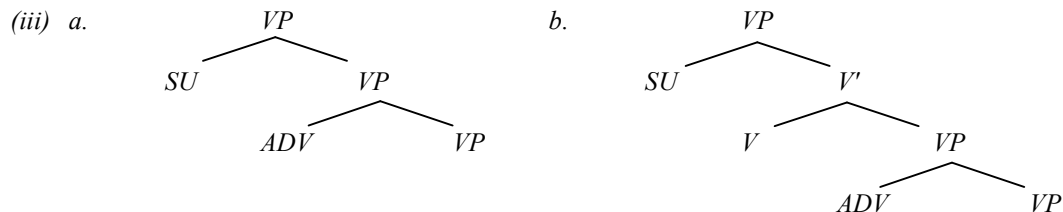
- (i) a. *ettersom n n studena levere sannsynligvis oppgaven* → specific students
 as some students handed.in probably assignments.the
 b. *ettersom n n studena levere sannsynligvis oppgaven* → ambiguous

Bentzen et al argue the following:

- (a) There is an array of subject positions: *SpecTopic*, *SpecFinP*, *SpecAgrP*, *SpecTP*.
 (b) The adverb *sannsynligvis* is between *AgrP* and *TP*.
 (c) Negation is generated significantly higher, above *AgrP* (despite the option of *sannsynligvis* > *NEG*).
 (d) A subject moves to *specFinP* to get a specific interpretation, in the other positions the non-specific interpretation is retained.
 (e) In *SU-V-ADV* orders an emptied, remnant *VP* has moved through the lower subject positions, so that the subject is forced to move to *specTopic* ∅ specific reading.

An alternative under the present assumptions would make the specific reading in (a) be a consequence of the adverb not scoping over it. This can be achieved by using Williams' (1994) adjunct scope rule:

- (ii) An adjunct has scope over the category it is adjoined to.



(iiia): Subject is adjoined to *VP*, *ADV* is adjoined to *VP* → scope undetermined

(iiib): *ADV* only has scope over the lower *VP*.

end of aside]

Italian: Infinitives obligatorily precede lower adverbs, like finite verbs.

- (41) a. (In quelle circostanze) Gianni ha completamente sbagliato
 in those circumstances Gianni has completely mistaken
 b. Quel dottore ha risolto completamente I tuoi problemi
 that doctor has solved completely your problems

- (42) a. Quel medico sostiene di (*completamente) risolvere (completamente) i
 problemi dei suoi pazienti
 that doctor claims to completely solve completely the problems of his patients
 b. Quel medici pensano di (*tutti) risolvere (tutti) il difficile problema di quel
 paziente
 those doctors think to all solve all the hard problem of that patient

1.4 Outlook

There are two verb movements:

- (i) for which the evidence is robust
- (ii) that are clearly parametrized

Can we have a theory that generalizes somehow over V to C and V to I?

- Functional heads contain affixes. No unification, as V to C goes without morphology and verbs can be inflected without moving.
- Functional heads contain abstract features: Unification achieved but a shallow one.

Proposal: to do something in between and combine two observations:

- (i) There are two robust verb movement operations in Germanic, V to I and V to C.
- (ii) There are two robust verbal affixes in Germanic, tense and agreement.

Features associated with the relevant affixes are in the default case generated on the verb as the cheapest way to satisfy the Stray Affix Filter.

- (43) a. V to I movement is an operation that the verb undertakes in order to put rich agreement features in the predication domain of VP. (section 2)
- b. V to C movement is an operation that the verb undertakes in order to put tense features in a position where they take scope over the subject and the predicate. (section 3)

Section 4 deals with the interaction of the verb movements \diamond expletive distribution.

Section 2

V to I movement

2.1 Introduction

What explains the contrast in (1)?

- (1) a. Subject V_{finite} ADV/NEG/FQ
b. Subject ADV/NEG/FQ V_{finite}

HYPOTHESIS:

The order in (a) is the one opted for by languages with rich agreement (Kosmeijer 1986; Pollock 1989; Platzack & Holmberg 1989; Holmberg & Platzack 1991, 1995; Roberts 1993; Rohrbacher 1994, among others).

- The contrast is displayed by languages with and without agreement:

- (2) a. *Italian*
inf. parlare
SG PL
1st parlo parliamo
2nd parli parlate
3rd parla parlano
- b. *Icelandic*
inf. segja
SG PL
1st segi segjum
2nd segir segið
3rd segir segja

- (3) a. *Danish*
inf. kaste
SG PL
1st kaster kaster
2nd kaster kaster
3rd kaster kaster
- b. *Norwegian*
inf. elska
SG PL
1st elsker elsker
2nd elsker elsker
3rd elsker elsker

Prediction: Italian should place the verb between subject and VP-adverbs.

- (4) a. Gianni non parla più
Gianni not speaks anymore
b. *Gianni non più parla
Italian
- (5) a. Ég veit ekki af hverju kýrin <hefur> oft <*hefur> staðið í herberginu
I know not why the cow has often has stood in the room
Icelandic
- (6) a. at Peter **ofte** *havde* læst den
that Peter often had read it
b. Vi tenkte **ikke** *at* han aldri ville ha penger
we thought not that he never would have money
Norwegian

- The contrast can be observed in closely related varieties:

(7)	a.	<i>Standard Swedish</i>	b.	<i>Ålvdalen Swedish</i>
		inf. bita		inf. kasta
		SG PL		SG PL
	1 st	biter biter	1 st	kastar kastum
	2 nd	biter biter	2 nd	kastar kaster
	3 rd	biter biter	3 rd	kastar kasta

(8)	a.	att Johan inte <i>köpte</i> boken	Standard Swedish
		that Johan not bought book-the	
	b.	...ba fo dye at uir <i>uildum</i> int fy om	Ålvdalen Swedish
		just because that we would not follow him	

- The contrast is manifested diachronically:

(9)	a.	<i>Old Swedish</i>	b.	<i>Early Modern Swedish</i>
		inf. älska		inf. kasta
		SG PL		SG PL
	1 st	älskar älskum	1 st	kasta(r)kaste
	2 nd	älskar älskin	2 nd	kasta(r)kaste/a
	3 rd	älskar älska	3 rd	kasta(r)kaste

(10)	æn han <i>sivngær</i> ægh thigianda messu	Old Swedish, 1290
	if he sings not silent mass	

Note that (9b) suggests that the difference between rich and poor is not between presence or absence of agreement.

(11)	<i>Halligdalen Norwegian</i>
	inf. kastæ
	SG PL
	1 st kasta kastæ
	2 nd kasta kastæ
	3 rd kasta kastæ

(12)	Noko gamlæ mænna som ikki <i>haddæ</i> vore mæ ve kyrkja
	some old men who not had been along at church

2.2 The status of rich agreement

Goals:

- (i) to define rich agreement
- (ii) to explain why rich agreement should trigger overt verb movement.

Literature: (i) received a lot of attention, (ii) hardly.

Rohrbacher (1994):

- Agreement → Rich, stored in the lexicon, inserted in INFL, triggers stray affix filter
 → Poor, not stored in the lexicon, merely PF spell out.

Proposal: rich agreement has argumental status.

- (13) Parlo
 speak_{1P.SG}
 'I speak'

(14)

Agreement type?	Argumental agreement	Non-argumental agreement
V to I mvt?	Yes	no

Trigger:

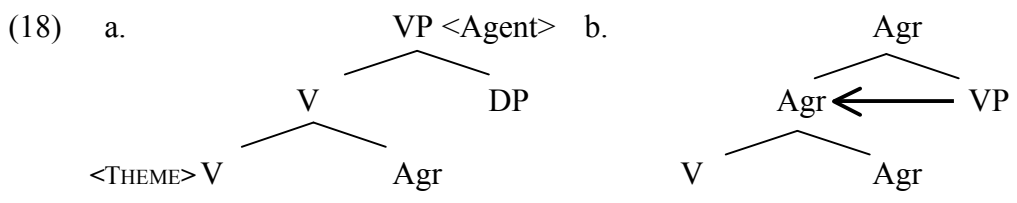
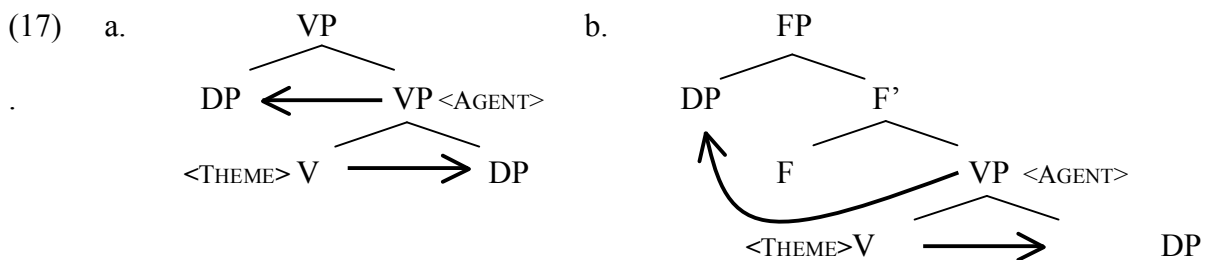
Argumental affixes must be interpreted, meaning that they must be associated with a theta-role.

Predication theory Williams (1980, etc.): VP functions as a predicate.

- Internal theta-role assigned by V under m-command.
- External thetarole assigned by VP under m-command.

- (15) C-COMMAND:
 A category α c-commands a category β if and only if (i) α does not dominate β , and (ii) every category that dominates α dominates β .

- (16) M-COMMAND:
 A category α m-commands a category β if and only if (i) α does not dominate β , and (ii) every maximal category that dominates α dominates β .



An aside: How can Agr receive a theta-role if the verb is unaccusative? More generally: how can VP act as a predicate in those cases. Answer: the internal theta-role is promoted. One way of doing that: see theta-roles as formulas.

- (i) $\lambda y \lambda z [V(y z)]$ (internal theta-roles)
- (ii) $\lambda y \lambda z [V(x y z)]$ (internal theta-roles and unsaturated variable)
- (iii) $\lambda x [{}_{VP} V(x)]$ (external theta-role)

Problem: If V is unaccusative, one role is saturated VP-internally.

Solution: A trace of an argument is interpreted as a variable (Kitagawa (1989), Chierchia (1995a), Williams (1994) and Neeleman and Weerman (1999)).

- (iv) a. $[{}_{VP} V t]$ (VP with a trace)
- b. $\lambda y [V(y)] x$ (internal theta-role saturated by trace)
- c. $V(x)$ (after lambda conversion)
- d. $\lambda x [{}_{VP} V(x)]$ (V projects into VP = identical to (iii))

Rich Agr = argumental = subject

What then about nominative DPs, the things we think of as subjects?

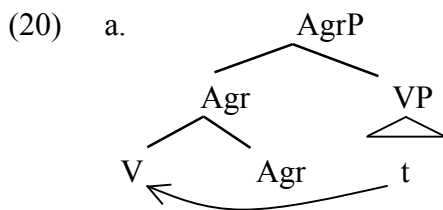
Swedish (no V to I): Poor Agr → Agr ≠ subject → DP fulfils subject role.

Italian (V to I): Rich Agr → Agr = subject → DP is an optional specifier

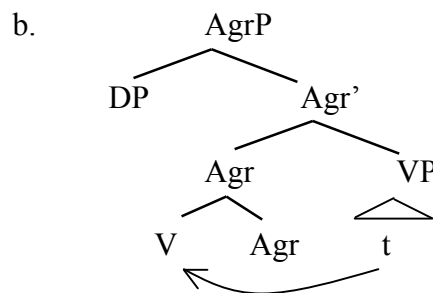
Icelandic (V to I): Rich Agr → Agr = subject → DP is obligatory specifier.

(19)

Type of Agreement	Argumental Agreement		Non-Argumental Agreement
	Pronominal	Anaphoric	
AgrP?	yes	yes	no
Pro drop?	yes	no	no



ITALIAN



ICELANDIC

2.3. Defining 'rich agreement'

Rohrbacher (1994):

- (21) *The paradigm verb raising correlate II*
 A language has V to I raising if and only if in at least one number of at least one tense of the regular verbs, the person features 1st and 2nd are both distinctively marked.

V TO I: Italian, Alvdalen Swedish, Old Swedish

No V TO I: Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Early Modern Swedish, Halligdalen Norwegian

About the notion 'referential':

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| (22) | a. | <i>Alvdalen Swedish</i> | b. | <i>Halligdalen Norwegian</i> |
| | | inf. kasta | | inf. kastæ |
| | | SG PL | | SG PL |
| | 1 st | kastar kastum | 1 st | kasta kastæ |
| | 2 nd | kastar kaster | 2 nd | kasta kastæ |
| | 3 rd | kastar kasta | 3 rd | kasta kastæ |

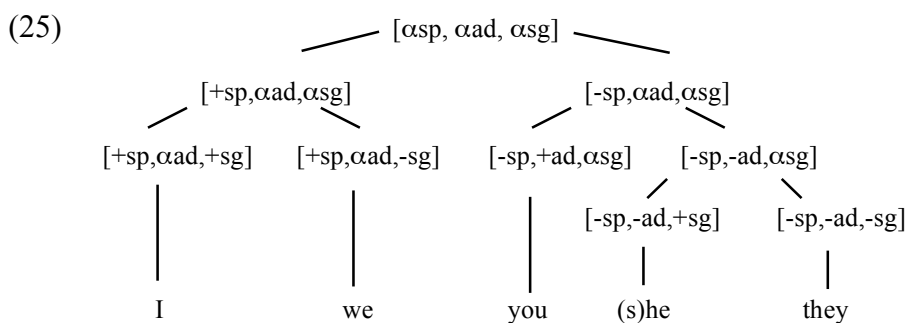
The affix *-ar* and *-a* have the same referential power.

Alternative: Rich agreement is argumental but can be underspecified. Pronominal correlate:

- (23) a. You hate yourself
 b. You hate yourselves

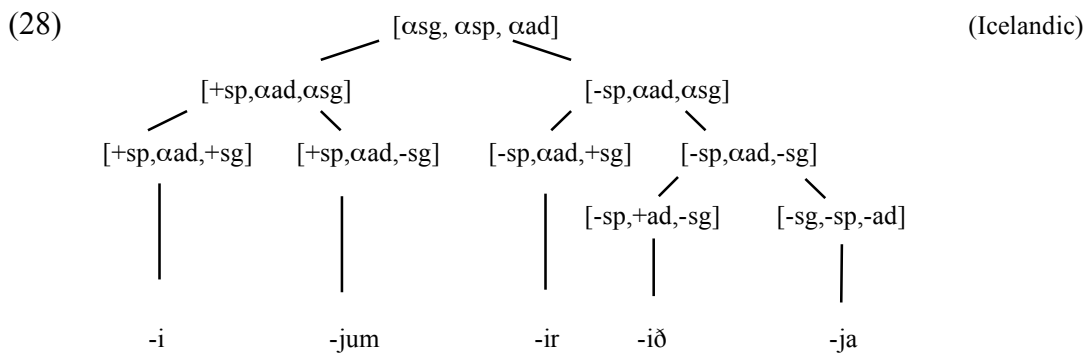
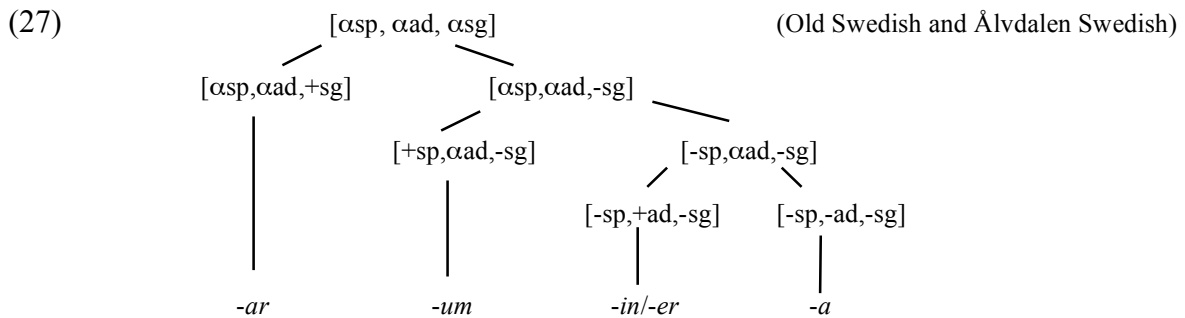
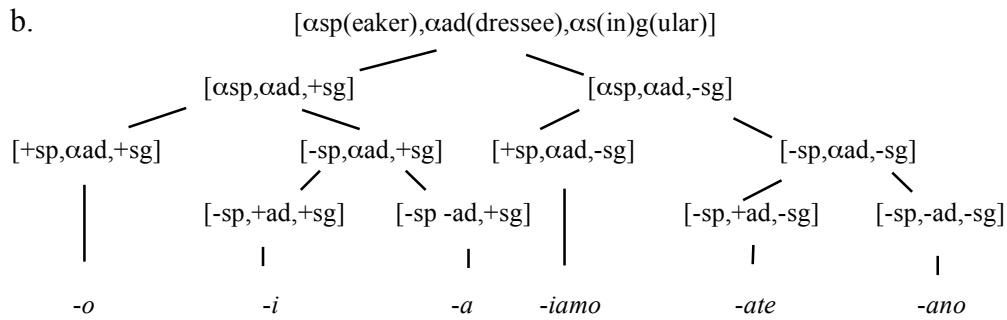
You can function as an argument, although it is not specified for number.

- (24) *Argumental underspecification*
 A form is argumental if and only if it is part of a paradigm structure that is (minimally) defined as [α speaker], [α addressee] and [α singular].

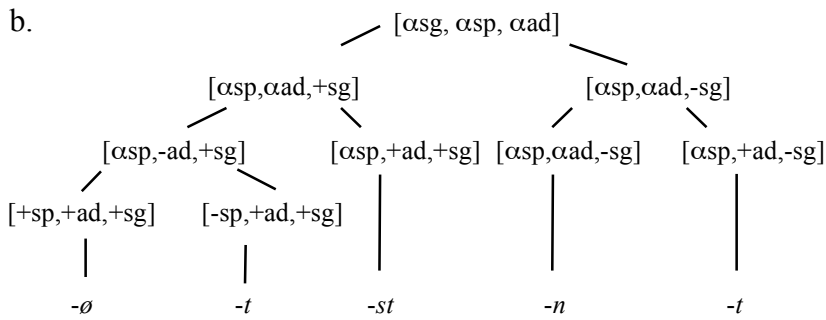


Two α 's, but suppose that [+speaker] \diamond [-addressee], then that leaves only one.

- (26) a. *Italian*
 inf. parlare
 SG PL
 1st parlo parliamo
 2nd parli parlate
 3rd parla parlano



- (29) a. *Yiddish*
 inf. loyfn
 SG PL
 1st loyf-ø loyfn
 2nd loyfst loyft
 3rd loyft loyfn



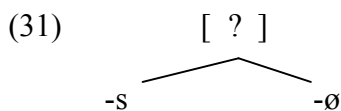
3.3 Less straightforward cases

- Paradigms resisting a binary representation

(30) *Modern English*

	SG	PL
1 st	cast	cast
2 nd	cast	cast
3 rd	casts	cast

Affix *-s* is 'rich' but not because of the paradigm structure.



Formally, *-s* and *-∅* do not obey our definition of argumental underspecification (possible prediction, this paradigm is more difficult to learn, cf. Wexler 1994).

- Underdetermined cases: the OV languages

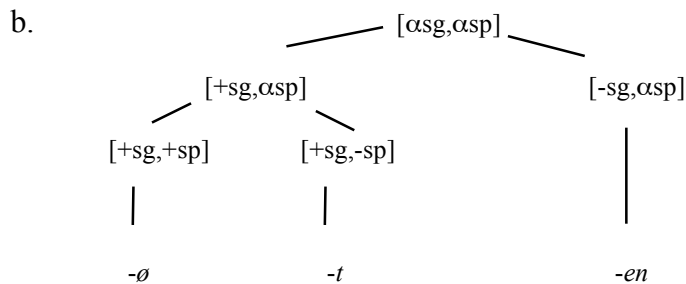
(32)

a.	Hans gelooft dat Sabine hem bemint	Dutch
	Hans believes that Sabine him loves	
b.	Hans glaubt dass Sabine ihn liebt	German
	Hans believes that Sabine him loves	

(33)

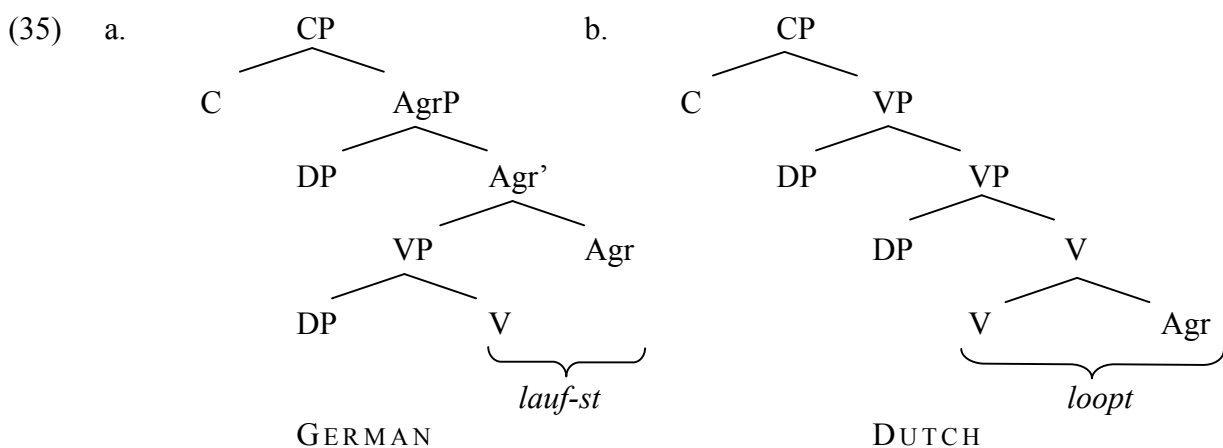
	<i>German</i>		<i>Yiddish</i>	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
inf.	lieben		loyfn	
1 st	liebe	lieben	loyf-∅	loyfn
2 nd	liebst	liebt	loyfst	loyft
3 rd	liebt	lieben	loyft	loyfn

- (34) a. *Dutch*
 inf. lopen
 SG PL
 1st loop lopen
 2nd loopt lopen
 3rd loopt lopen



“Features associated with the relevant affixes are in the default case generated on the verb as the cheapest way to satisfy the Stray Affix Filter.”

This allows a representation restricted to the OV languages (Bobaljik, 1995):



What will be made to follow:

- (i) The lack of a visible inflection-related verb movement, despite the rich agreement paradigm.
- (ii) The lack of verb second in embedded clauses.
- (iii) The existence of transitive expletive constructions in main clauses.
- (iv) The lack of transitive expletive constructions in embedded clauses.

• **A Germanic counterexample**

Faroese: one paradigm but a difference is verb position

- (36) a. Tað var ovæntað at dreingirnir vóru **als ikki** ósamdir Faroese I
it was unexpected that boys-the were at-all not disagreed
- b. Tað var ovæntað at dreingirnir **als ikki** vóru ósamdir Faroese II
it was unexpected that boys-the at-all not were disagreed

Embedded verb movement seems V2 rather than V to I. Heycock et al. (2003) found V-NEG orders predominantly in verb complements to bridge verbs (which allow embedded V2 in Danish and Frisian) and extent clauses (which allow embedded V2 in Frisian). Reanalysis of V to I as V2?

Section 3

V to C movement

3.1 Introduction

Two parameters:

V2 vs. non-V2:

- | | | | |
|-----|----|--|-----------|
| (1) | a. | Bókina <keypti> Jón <*keypti> ekki | Icelandic |
| | | books bought John bought not | |
| | b. | This book <*will> John <will> never read | English |

Asymmetry vs. no asymmetry:

- | | | | |
|-----|----|------------------------------------|-----------|
| (2) | a. | að í herberginu hefur kyrin staðið | Icelandic |
| | | that in the room has the cow stood | |
| | c. | *dat in de kamer stond een koe | Dutch |
| | | that in the room stood a cows | |

Many analyses of verb second are around, but it seems common to ignore the questions in (3):

- | | | |
|-----|----|---|
| (3) | a. | Why do some verb second languages have V2 in main clauses only and some also in embedded contexts? |
| | b. | Why is English the only Germanic language without declarative V2? And by extension: Why are the Romance languages not V2? |

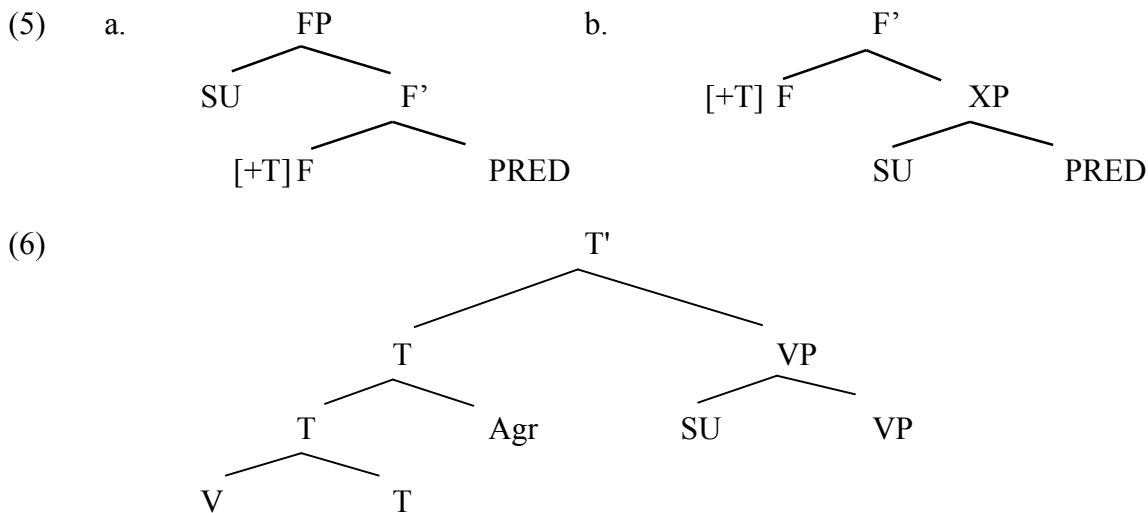
Ad 1: Usually a structure is provided to capture embedded V2 (CP-recursion as in Vikner 1995; specIP as the locus of V2 as in Diesing 1990). These approaches describe the phenomenon, but do not attempt to explain it.

Ad 2: Although many analyses try to account for the loss of V2 in English (and Romance), but end up describing rather than explaining the difference between V2 and non-V2 (ex. case assignment under government or spec-head agreement).

CONCLUSION: V2 languages do something more, and some even more than others.

STRATEGY: Take V2 to be the norm and relate non-V2 to language-specific properties.

- | | |
|-----|---|
| (4) | <i>The Tense condition</i> |
| | The Tense features of the predicate must be visible on a head that COMMANDS both the subject and the predicate. |



How to account for the parametrization?

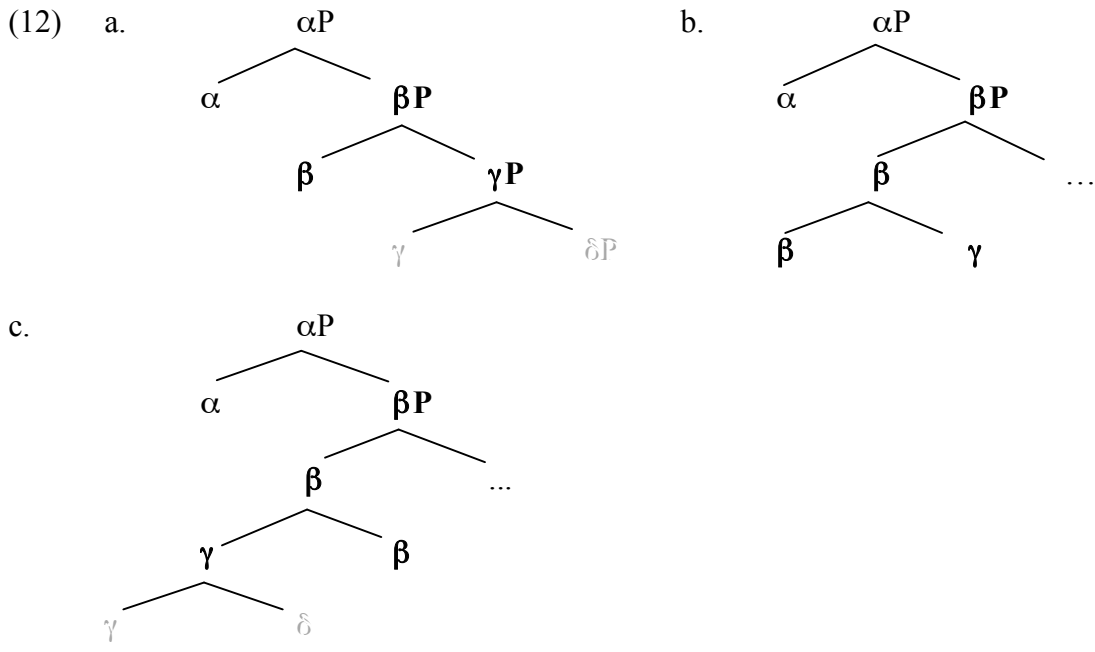
- (7) V to I is blocked...
- a. in Mainland Scandinavian because agreement does not exist
 - b. in Early Modern Swedish and Faroese (at least II) because agreement is non-argumental
 - c. in embedded clauses in German because Agr features are generated in a position distinct from the verb.
- (8) V to C is blocked...
- a. in embedded clauses in Dutch and Mainland Scandinavian since (3) can be met through the complementizer, which is only an option if AgrP does not intervene.
 - b. in English due to the presence of an empty Tense-marker selecting VP
 - c. in Italian and French due to the pronominal character of Agr

3.2 The asymmetry

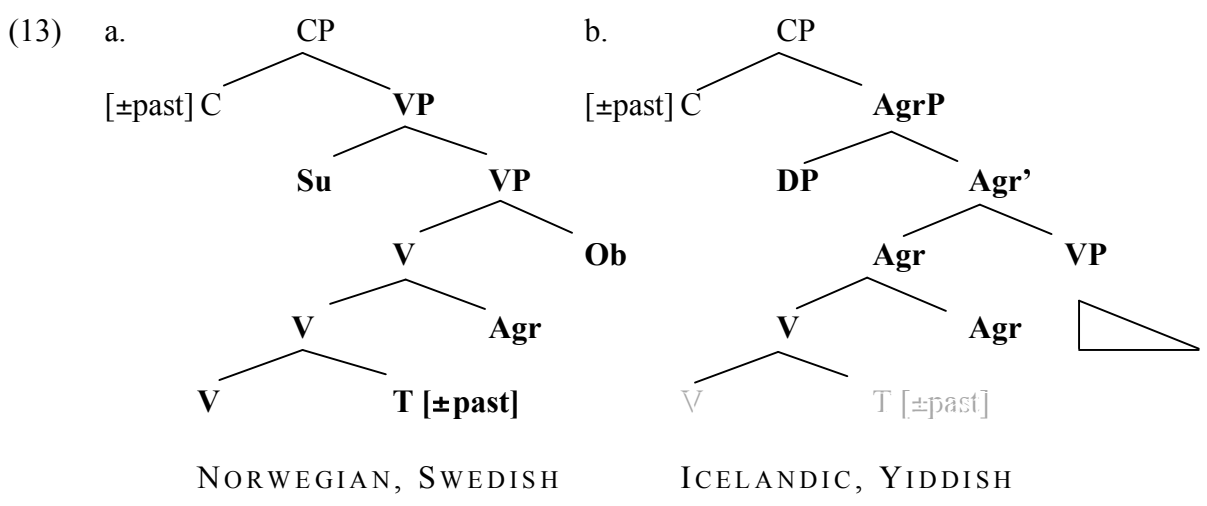
- (9) a. að í herberginu hefur kyrim staðið Icelandic
that in the room has the cow stood
- b. az morgn vet dos yingl zen a kats Yiddish
that tomorrow will the boy see a cat
- (10) a. *Jan beklagar att den här boken hade jag läst Swedish
Jan regrets that this here book had I read
- b. *Jan betreurde het dat dit boek had ik gelezen Dutch
Jan regrets it that this book had I read

(11) *Accessibility*

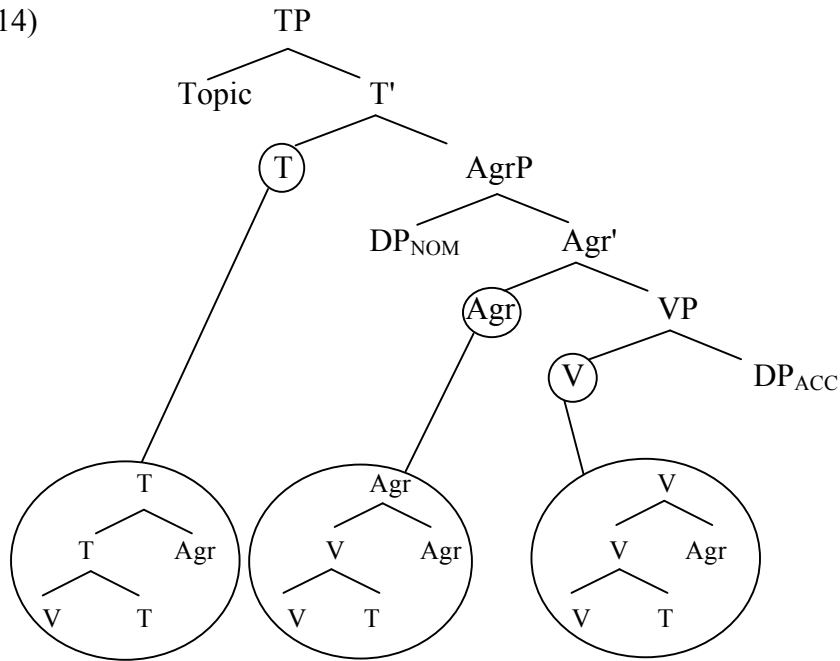
A head α can only enter into a dependency relation with the head of the projection line, β P, that it selects and with the direct sister nodes of that projection line.



Intuition behind (11): α only sees the most local head and the selector and selectee features of that closest head. As in (12c) there is no direct relation between β and δ , there is no direct relation between α and δ either.



(14)



Norwegian/Swedish have one functional specifier \diamond no transitive expletives constructions
Icelandic/Yiddish have two functional specifiers \diamond transitive expletive construction

(15) *Vikner's generalization*:

Only languages with V to I and V to C have transitive expletive constructions (TECs).

- | | | |
|---------|---|-----------|
| (16) a. | Það hafa margir jólasveinar borðað búaðing | Icelandic |
| | there have many Santa Clauses eaten pudding | |
| b. | Es hot imitser gegesn an epl | Yiddish |
| | There has someone eaten an apple | |
| c. | *Det har någon ätit ett äpple | Swedish |
| | There has someone eaten an apple | |
| d. | *Il a un homme mangé une pomme | French |
| | there has a man eaten an apple | |

- | | | |
|---------|---|-----------|
| (17) a. | Í gær hefur (*það) komið strákur | Icelandic |
| | yesterday has there come a boy | |
| b. | Nekhtn iz (*es) gekumen a yingl | Yiddish |
| | yesterday is there come a boy | |
| c. | Igår er der kommet en dreng | Danish |
| | yesterday is there come a boy | |
| d. | Idag har det kommit många lingvister hit | Swedish |
| | Today have there come many linguists here | |

3.3 German

German has TECs in main clauses:

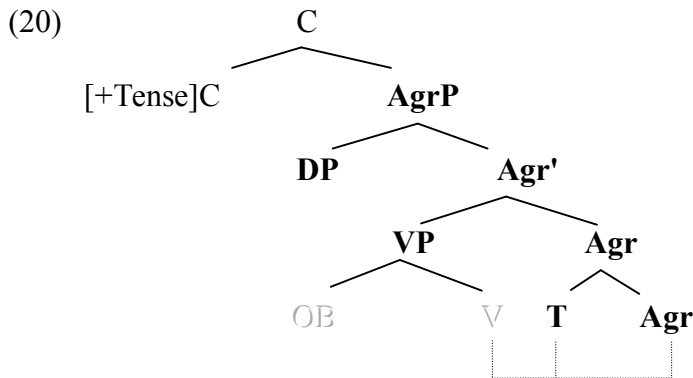
- (18) a. Es hat jemand einen Apfel gegessen German
 there has someone an apple eaten
 b. Gestern ist (*es) ein Junge gekommen
 gestern ist there a boy come

Paradox: (18a) suggests German has AgrP and TP, whereas (19) indicates that no verb movement takes place in embedded clauses at all.

- (19) ...dass Sabine ihn liebt German
 that Sabine him loves

This is what the analysis for German embedded clauses should capture:

- Agr must be in a VP-external position
- T should take scope over Agr (the subject) and VP (the predicate)
- It should predict that TECs are possible in main clauses
- It should predict that TECs are impossible in embedded clauses
- It should do all this without the verb apparently moving in embedded clauses



MAIN CLAUSES: T and Agr generated in separate position → no verb movement

EMBEDDED CLAUSES: T and Agr generated on V → two verb movements

Independent evidence: Yiddish obtained embedded V2 right after it switched from OV to VO order (Santorini 1992).

3.4 English

English has a class of heads, including modals, *do* and the infinitival marker *to*, that show some common behaviour.

- They can precede negation:

- (21) a. John will not go to work today
 b. John does not go to work today
 c. John decided to not go to work

- They license VP-ellipsis:

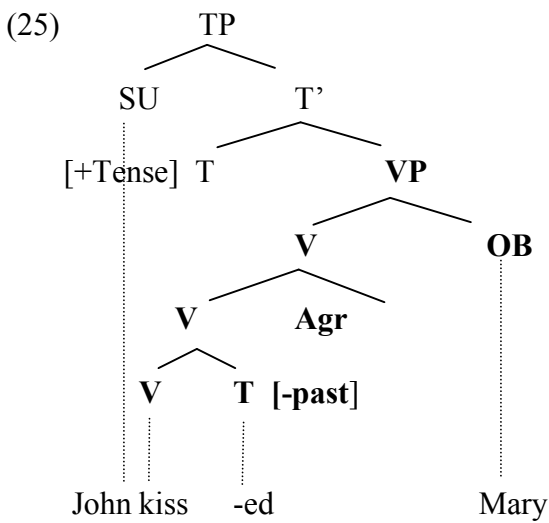
- (22) a. Mary would never wear anything that stupid but John certainly will
 b. Mary never wore that stupid party hat but John did
 c. Mary told John to lose that stupid hat but John did not want to

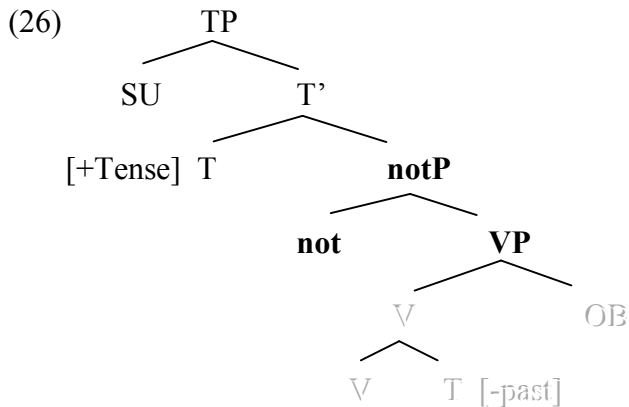
- They are mutually exclusive:

- (23) a. *Mary decided to will work today
 b. *Mary has will not gone to work

And English has the *do*-support paradigm:

- (24) a. John never goes to work
 b. *John not goes to work → ^{OK}John does not go to work





3.5 Italian and French

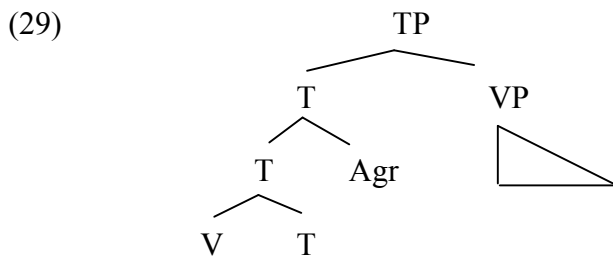
- (27) a. *(Eg) segi Icelandic
I say
b. (Io) parla Italian
speaks-3rd sg.

(28) a.	<i>Italian</i> (inf. parlare)		b.	<i>Icelandic</i> (inf. segja)
	SG	PL		SG
	1 st parlo	parliamo		1 st segi
	2 nd parli	parlate		2 nd segir
	3 rd parla	parlano		3 rd segir
				segjum
				segjð
				segja

ICELANDIC: Agr must be specified

ITALIAN: Agr does not have to be specified

If you do not need spec-AgrP, why would you need AgrP?



- (30) *(Jean) parle
(Jean) talks

Observation: spoken French is poor.

(31)	<i>French</i>		
	inf. manger		
		SG	PL
	1 st	je parle [parl]	on parle [parl]
	2 nd	tu parles [parl]	vous parlez [parlé]
	3 rd	il/elle parle [parl]	ils parlent [parl(t)]

Pronouns behave like agreement markers (Muller 1984; Roberge 1986; Hulk 1986; Auger 1992; Zribi-Hertz 1993; Ferdinand 1996). Rohrbacher (1994): This is what makes French a rich agreement language.

- Many French sentences (approx 80%, cf. Sankoff 1982) contain both a DP and an agreeing subject pronoun:

(32)	a.	Jean il mange
		Jean 3sg eats
	b.	Lui il mange
		he 3sg eats

- The clause-initial DP can be indefinite without giving rise to complete ungrammaticality.

(33)	a.	*Un garçon je ne le vois pas	
		a boy I neg-prt.him see not	
	b.	%tsé un enfant il arrive et pis il te pose une question	
			(Quebec French, Auger 1992)
		you know a child 3sg-msc arrives and then 3sg you-cl. asks a question	
	c.	Personne i(l) m'aime	(Zribi-Hertz 1993)
		nobody 3sg me-cl. loves	

- In colloquial French nominal subjects often appear in postverbal position, a property related to the pro-drop parameter (Rizzi 1982).

(34)	Il mange Jean
	3sg eats Jean

This is not the strongest argument, as the properties of (34) are different from the Italian case.

- The acquisition of finiteness and subject clitics coincides with the acquisition of verb positioning before or after negation (Meisel 1990; Verrips & Weissenborn 1992).
- Subject clitics are obligatorily generated. This makes French reminiscent of Northern Italian dialects (Brandi & Cordin 1989).

(35)	a.	*(Tu) parli	Fiorentino/Trentino
		you speak	
	b.	La Maria *(la) parla	
		the Maria cl. speaks-3 rd sg	

- c. Te *(tu) parli
you you speak
- (36) a. *(Je) parle French
b. Moi *(je) parle
I cl. talk
c. Lui *(il) parle

French differs from Fiorentino and Trentino, however, with respect to third person DPs.

- (37) Jean (il) parle French
Jean speaks

A parallel with object clitics in Spanish (agreement according to Borer 1984, Suñer 1988, Franco 1993). Clitics are obligatory with pronouns but optional with definite DPs.

- (38) a. Juan no *(lo_i) escucha a él_i nunca
Juan not him-cl. listen to him never
b. (Lo_i) conocí al nuevo panadero_i
him-cl. met-I the new baker

Franco: zero agreement is an option that can be used for third person forms.

Section 4

The distribution of expletives

4.1 Introduction¹

- Two goals: (i) To develop a theory that accounts for the distribution of expletives.
(ii) To give independent support for the verb movement theory.

Norwegian/Swedish have one functional specifier → no transitive expletives constructions
Icelandic/Yiddish have two functional specifiers → transitive expletive construction

(1) *Vikner's generalization*:

Only languages with V to I and V to C have transitive expletive constructions (TECs).

- | | | | |
|-----|----|---|-----------|
| (2) | a. | [_{TP} Það hafa [_{AgrP} margir jólasveinar [_{VP} borðað búaðing]]] | Icelandic |
| | | there have many Santa Clauses eaten pudding | |
| | b. | [_{TP} Es hot [_{AgrP} imitser [_{VP} gegesn an epl]]] | Yiddish |
| | | There has someone eaten an apple | |
| | c. | *[_{TP} Det har [_{VP} någon [_{VP} ätit ett äpple]]] | Swedish |
| | | There has someone eaten an apple | |
| | d. | *[_{TP} Der har [_{VP} nogen [_{VP} spist et æble]]] | Danish |
| | | There has someone eaten an apple | |

This is not to say that Swedish and Danish lacks expletive constructions altogether.

- | | | | |
|-----|----|---|---------|
| (3) | a. | Det har kommit många män hit idag | Swedish |
| | | there has many men come many men here today | |
| | b. | Der er kommet en dreng | Danish |
| | | there is come a boy | |

A popular account: The split-IP hypothesis (Bobaljik & Jonas 1996; Bobaljik & Thrainsson 1998).
Languages either have a split- or an unsplit-IP

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|--|----|--|
| (4) | a. | <pre> Agr_sP / \ expl Agr_s' / \ Agr_s TP / \ DP T' / \ T Agr_oP / \ Agr_oP VP </pre> | b. | <pre> TP / \ expl T' / \ T VP / \ V DP </pre> |
|-----|----|--|----|--|

¹ This section contains work that I carried out in collaboration with Ad Neeleman.

Intuition that more structure means more possibilities, we take over. However...

- The split-IP hypothesis does not take verb second into account.

- (5) a. Það hefur komið strákur Icelandic
there has come a boy
a'. *Í gær hefur það komið strákur?
yesterday has there come a boy
b. Es iz gekumen a yingl Yiddish
there is come a boy
b'. *Nekhtn iz es gekumen a yingl
yesterday is there come a boy

There is no reason to assume that expletives bar topics in general:

- (6) Igår/Hvorfor er der kommet en dreng Danish
yesterday/why is there come a boy

Icelandic/Yiddish have more structural room, but Danish has an additional pattern.

CONCLUSION: expletives in Yiddish and Icelandic can only occupy specCP and never appear in the position in which they are supposedly inserted under the split-IP hypothesis.

- The contrast only follow under the assumption that subjects (but not objects) must leave VP.

CONCLUSION: Without a theory about where subjects and expletives are licensed, the claim that structural size matters remains an underived observation.

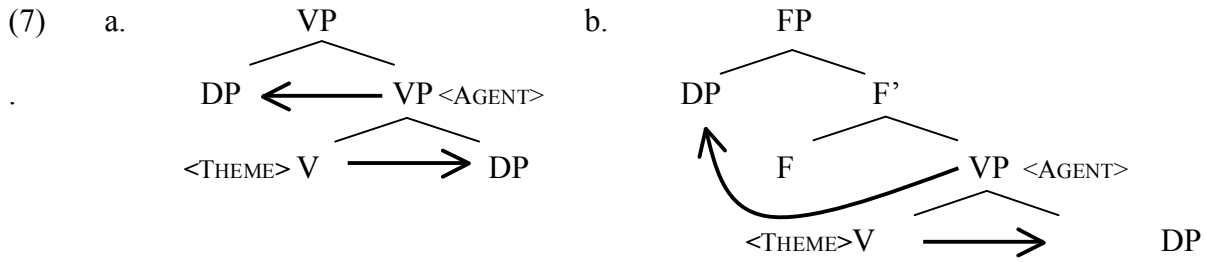
4.2 The proposal

Ingredients for the analysis:

- (i) The size of the clause, which is independently determined.
- (ii) Economy
- (iii) Predication theory: An argument must be within the m-command domain of the verb (internal arguments) or of the verb phrase (external arguments).²

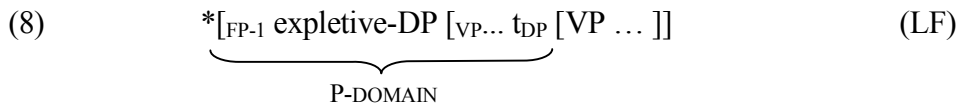
² Let me, for clarity's sake, repeat the definitions here:

- (i) A category α c-commands a category β if and only if (i) α does not dominate β , and (ii) every category that dominates α dominates β .
- (ii) A category α m-commands a category β if and only if (i) α does not dominate β , and (ii) every maximal category that dominates α dominates β .



Hypothesis:

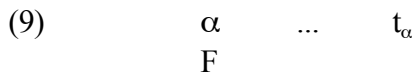
No argument can move within the predicational domain. Under the assumption that expletives mark the LF position of their associate, either the expletive or subject occurs in the predicational domain P-domain.



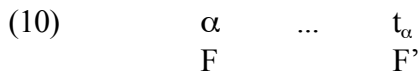
Several ways of expressing the intuition:

- It violates anti-locality.
- Economy: expletives cannot mark a positions where the subject could have been generated.

Movement is triggered: The head of a chain fulfils some function that the tail cannot perform.

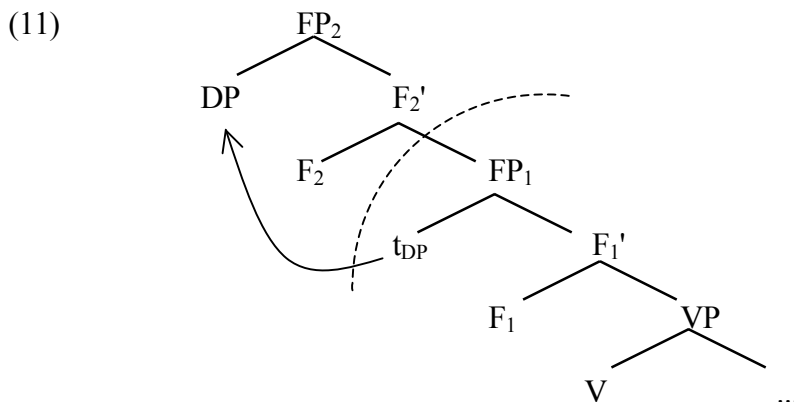


The same can be made to hold for traces:

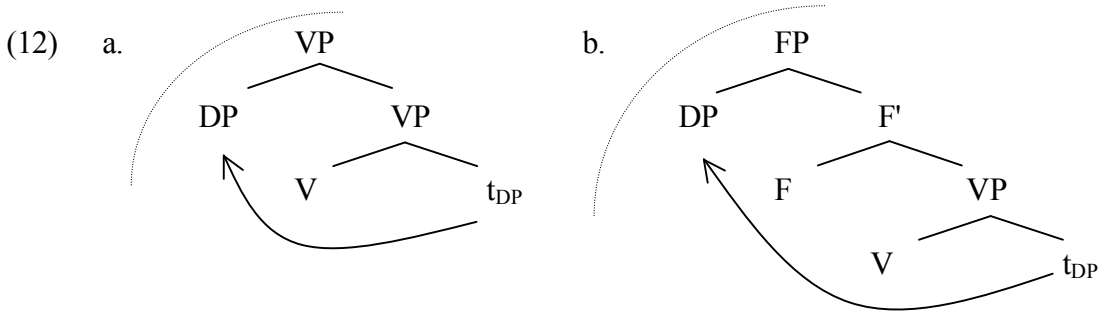


This leaves two possibilities

- Movement out of VP's predicational domain.



- Movement into VP's predicational domain:



4.3 Consequences for expletive insertion

PREDICTION 1:

Clauses with only one functional projection dominating VP should not allow for TECs.

- English: only TP:

- (13) a. *<sub>[TP There have <sub>[VP three men _[VP eaten an apple]]]]] (overt syntax)
 b. *_{[TP [There+three men] have _{[VP t_{DP} _[VP eaten an apple]]]]] (LF)}}</sub></sub>

- Mainland Scandinavian: only TP:

- (14) a. *<sub>[TP Det har <sub>[VP någon _[VP ätit ett äpple]]]]] Swedish
 There has someone eaten an apple
 b. *<sub>[TP Der har <sub>[VP nogen _[VP spist et æble]]]]] Danish
 there has someone eaten an apple</sub></sub></sub></sub>

- Embedded clauses in German: only AgrP

- (15) *<sub>[CP dass <sub>[AgrP *es <sub>[VP jemand _[VP einen Apfel gegessen hat]]]]]] German
 that there someone an apple eaten has</sub></sub></sub>

- French: only TP

- (16) *<sub>[TP Il a <sub>[VP un homme _[VP mangé une pomme]]]]] French
 there has a man eaten an apple</sub></sub>

PREDICTION 2:

Clauses with only one functional projection dominating VP should allow expletive constructions with unaccusative predicates.

- English: only TP:

- (17) a. There have arrived three men (overt syntax)

PREDICTION 3:

Clauses with two functional projections dominating VP should allow TECs.

- Main clauses in Icelandic and Yiddish: TP and AgrP

- (18) a. <sub>[TP Það hafa <sub>[AgrP margir jólasveinar _[VP borðað búðing]]]]] Icelandic
 there have many Santa Clauses eaten pudding</sub></sub>

- b. [TP Es hot [AgrP imitser [VP gegesn an epl]]] Yiddish
 There has someone eaten an apple
- Embedded clauses in Icelandic and Yiddish: TP and AgrP
- (19) a. [CP að [TP það mundi [AgrP einhver [VP hafa borðað þetta epli]]]] Icelandic
 that there would someone have eaten this apple
- b. [CP az [TP es volt [AgrP imitser [VP gevolt esn der epl]]]] Yiddish
 that there will someone would eat an apple
- Main clauses in German: TP and AgrP
- (20) a. [TP Es hat [AgrP jemand [VP einen Apfel gegessen]]] German
 there has someone an apple eaten

PREDICTION 4:

Clauses with two functional projections dominating VP should allow expletive constructions with unaccusative predicates.

- (21) a. [TP Það hafa [AgrP < margir menn > [VP komið < margir menn > hingað í dag]]] Icelandic
 there have many men come many men here today
- b. [TP Es vert [AgrP < an epl > [VP gegesn < an epl >]]] Yiddish
 there was an apple eaten an apple

4.4 V to I movement and expletive insertion

In languages allowing TECs, expletives never show up in the specifier of the first functional projection dominating VP, spec-AgrP, not even if the verb is unaccusative.

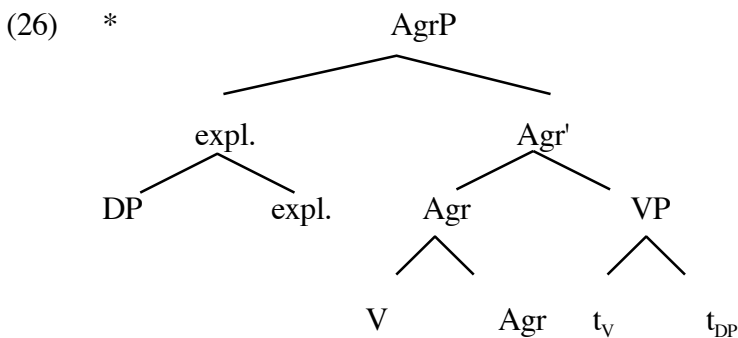
- (22) a. [TP Það hefur [AgrP [VP komið strákur]]] Icelandic
 there has come a boy
- b. [TP Í gær hefur [AgrP (*það) [VP komið strákur]]]
 yesterday has there come a boy
- c. [TP Af hverju hefur [AgrP (*það) [VP komið strákur]]]?
 why has there come a boy
- (23) a. [TP Es iz [AgrP [VP gekumen a yingl]]] Yiddish
 there is come a boy
- b. [TP Nekhtn iz [AgrP (*es) [VP gekumen a yingl]]]
 yesterday is there come a boy
- c. [TP Far vos iz [AgrP (*es) [VP gekumen a yingl]]]
 why is there come a boy
- (24) a. [TP Es ist [AgrP [VP ein Junge gekommen]]] German
 there is a boy come

- b. [TP Gestern ist [_{AgrP} (*es) [_{VP} ein Junge gekommen]]]
gestern ist there a boy come
- c. [TP Warum ist [_{AgrP} (*es) [_{VP} ein Junge gekommen]]]
why ist there a boy come

This is not expected.

- (25) a. [TP expletive C [_{AgrP} I [_{VP} V DP]]]
- b. [TP (XP) C [_{AgrP} (*expletive) I [_{VP} V DP]]]

Hypothesis: an adjoined associate cannot be a specifier.



Consequences:

- (i) In V2 languages with anaphoric agreement, the expletive must be in specTP
- (ii) In V2 languages with poor agreement, the expletive can be in specTP or adjoined to VP.

- (27) a. [TP Igår/Hvorfor er [_{VP} der [_{VP} kommet en dreng]]] Danish
yesterday/why is there come a boy
- b. [TP Idag/Varför har [_{VP} det [_{VP} kommit många lingvister hit]]] Swedish
today/why have there come many linguists here

4.5 The exceptional status of Dutch *er*

Analysis for Dutch

- (i) No AgrP projected, as Dutch is poorly inflected.
- (ii) TP projected, as Dutch has no evidence for an empty T-head

Prediction: Dutch should behave like Mainland Scandinavian. However...

- (28) Er heeft iemand een appel gegeten Dutch
there has someone an apple eaten

Suppose that we conclude that Dutch projects AgrP after all, then we expect it to behave like Icelandic and Yiddish:

- (29) a. dat er iemand een appel gegeten heeft Dutch
 that there someone an apple eaten has
 b. Gisteren heeft er iemand een appel gegeten
 yesterday has there someone eaten an apple

Hypothesis: Dutch *er* is not an expletive (i.e. an element marking the LF position of the subject) but a presuppositional adverb (Bennis, 1986).

Evidence: German has both the expletive (*es*) and the presuppositional adverb (*da*).

- *Da* also requires that the object expresses new information

Question: *How are things with your friend?*

- (30) a. Es hat ihn die letzte Zeit keiner gesprochen German
 there has him recently no-one spoken
 b. #Da hat ihn die letzte Zeit keiner gesprochen
 there has him recently no-one spoken
 b'. #Die letzte Zeit hat ihn da keiner gesprochen.
 recently has him no-one spoken
 (Christine Erb and Dirk Bury, p.c.)

- (31) a. Niemand heeft 'm de laatste tijd gezien Dutch
 no-one has him recently seen
 b. #Er heeft niemand 'm de laatste tijd gezien
 there has no-one him recently seen
 b'. #De laatste tijd heeft er niemand 'm gezien
 recently has there no-one him see

- *Da* occurs in environments where *es* is excluded:

- (32) a. dass da/*es jemand einen Apfel gegessen hat German
 that there someone an apple eaten has
 b. Gestern hat da/*es jemand ein Apfel gegessen

- *Es* and non-locative *da* can cooccur in colloquial German.

- (33) Es hat da jemand einen Apfel gegessen (colloquial) German
 there has there someone an apple eaten

- Extraction across a 'real' expletive is out:

- (34) a. *Who_i do you think that there arrived t_i? English
 b. *Hvem_i tror du at det kom t_i igaar? Norwegian
 who think you that there came yesterday

- c. *Hvaða málfræðingar heldur Þu að Það hafi lesið *Barriers*? Icelandic
 What linguists think you that there have read *Barriers*
- d. Wie_i denk je dat ^{??}(er) t_i aangekomen is? Dutch
 who think you that there arrived is
- e. Wer_i glaubst du ist (da) t_i angekommen? German
 Who think you is there arrived

Two possible conclusions:

- (i) Dutch has two er's, one a true adverb, one a presuppositional adverb.
 (ii) Dutch has no expletive, only a presuppositional adverb.

4.6 Romance

- Italian: seems to lack expletives:

- (35) Sono entrati tre uomini
are entered three men
 'three men entered'

Covert expletive or simply a post-verbal subject construction?

- (36) Ha arrivato Kasparov
has arrived Kasparov

- French & Italian dialects: Default agreement

- (37) a. Il est arrivé un homme French
there is-sg. arrived a man-sg.
 b. Il est arrivé trois hommes
there is-sg. arrived three men-pl.
- (38) a. Gli è venuto delle ragazze Fiorentino
cl. 3rd sg. is come some girls
 b. E' vengnù qualche putela Trentino
is come some girls

Evidence for associate-to-expletive raising in English..

- (39) a. The inspector arrested three men without PRO identifying ^{OK}himself/ *themselves
 b. There arrived three men without PRO identifying themselves

...is lacking in these varieties:

- (40) a. *Il est arrivé un homme sans s'annoncer French
there is arrived a man without himself-cl. identifying

- (41) a. L'é rivà tre omini (*sensa presentarse) Bellunese
cl.-sg. arrived-sg. three men without introduce-themselves
- b. Ieri sarà vignù dentro dei omeni (*sensa presentarse) Paduan
yesterday will-sg. come-sg inside some men without introduce-themselves

CONCLUSION: Romance neither confirms nor falsifies out account.

Perhaps the lack of expletives in Romance is related to a ban on covert head-movement.

Section 5

Conclusion

The main hypothesis:

Verb movement is structure-creating and brings features in the right position.

Advantages:

- (i) Reduction of feature redundancy in syntax.
- (ii) Verb movement no longer violates the extension condition.
- (iii) It establishes a unification of the two verb movement operations

We postulated two verb movements and two triggers which conspire to...

- (i) determine the extent of verb movement in embedded clauses
- (ii) determine the possibilities for generation of a TEC.

References

- Ackema, Peter, Ad Neeleman and Fred Weerman (1993) 'Deriving Functional Projections', in *NELS 23*, GSLA, Amherst, pp. 17-31.
- Auger, Julie (1992) 'Français parlé et 'fragmentabilité' des systèmes grammaticaux', paper presented at the Xve congrès international des linguistes, Québec.
- Barbiers, S. 1998. 'English and Dutch as SOV-languages and the distribution of CP-complements'. In *Linguistics in the Netherlands*, R. van Bezooijen en R. Kager (eds.), 13-25.
- Belletti, Adriana (1990) *Generalized verb movement: Aspects of verb syntax*, Rosenberg & Sellier, Torino.
- Bennis, Hans (1986) *Gaps and Dummies*, Foris, Dordrecht.
- Bentzen, K. & Ø. A. Vangsnes (eds.) *Nordlyd 34: Scandinavian Dialect Syntax 2005*, pp. 127-146.
- Bentzen, K. G. H. Hrafnbjargarson, A-L. Wiklund, and Þ.Hróarsdóttir . 2007. Verb movement in Scandinavian Non-V2 contexts. Talk presented at GLOW XXX, Tromsø, Norway.
- Besten, Hans den (1983) 'On the interaction of root transformations and lexical deletive rules' in Abraham, W. (ed.) *On the formal syntax of the Westgermania: Papers from the third Gronongen Grammar Talks*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia.
- Bobaljik, Jonathan (1995) *Morphosyntax: The syntax of verbal inflection*, Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.
- Bobaljik, Jonathan and Dianne Jonas (1996) 'Subject Positions and the Roles of TP', *Linguistic Inquiry* 27, 195-236.
- Bobaljik, Jonathan and Höskuldur Thráinsson (1998) 'Two Heads Aren't Always Better than One', *Syntax* 1, 37-71.
- Borer, Hagit (1986) *Parametric syntax*, Foris, Dordrecht.
- Brandi, Luciana & Patrizia Cordin (1989) 'Two Italian dialects and the null subject parameter', in Jaeggli, O. & K. Safir (eds.) *The null subject parameter*, Kluwer, Dordrecht.
- Chierchia, Gennaro (1995) 'Individual-Level Predicates as Inherent Generics', in G. Carlson and F. Pelleties (eds.) *The Generic Book*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, pp. 176-233.
- Chomsky, Noam (1995) *The Minimalist Program*, MIT Press, Cambridge.
- Craenenbroeck, J. van. 2006. Transitivity failures in the left periphery and foot-driven movement operations. In: Weijer, J. van de, & B. Los (eds.) *Linguistics in the Netherlands 2006*. John Benjamins: Amsterdam/Philadelphia.
- DiScullio, Anna Maria & Edwin Williams (1987) *On the definition of word*, MIT Press, Cambridge.
- Ferdinand, Astrid (1996) *The development of functional categories: The acquisition of the subject in French*, Ph.D. dissertation, Leiden University, HIL dissertations 23, HAG, The Hague.
- Franco, Jon (199?) 'Conditions on clitic doubling: The agreement hypothesis', in
- Haider, Hubert (2000). "OV is more basic than VO". In P. Svenonius (ed.), *The derivation of VO and OV*, 45-67. John Benjamins: Amsterdam/Philadelphia.
- Hale, Kenneth, & Samuel Jay Keyser (1993) 'On argument structure and the lexical expression of syntactic relations', in Hale, K. & S.J. Keyser (eds.) *The view from building 20*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Heycock, C. et al. 2003. Verb movement and the Philosopher's Stone: Some data from Faroese, Danish, and Swedish, ms., University of Edinburgh.
- Holmberg, Anders & Christer Platzack (1991) 'On the role of inflection in Scandinavian syntax', in Abraham, W., W. Kosmeijer & E. Reuland (eds.) *Issues in Germanic syntax*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin/New York.
- Hulk, Aafke (1986) 'Subject clitics and the pro-drop parameter' in Coopmans, P., I. Bordelouis, B. Dotson Smith (eds.) *Formal parameters of generative grammar II Going Romance*.
- Iatridou, Sabine (1990) 'About Agr(P)', *Linguistic Inquiry* 21, 551-577.
- Meisel, Jürgen (1990) 'INFL-lection: Subjects and subject-verb agreement', in Meisel, J. (ed.) *Two first languages: Early grammatical development in bilingual children*, Foris, Dordrecht, 237-298.
- Muller, Claude (1984) 'L'inversion du sujet clitique en français et la syntaxe du sujet', *Linguisticae Investigationes* VIII-2, 9-47.
- Neeleman, Ad and Fred Weerman (1999) *Flexible syntax: A theory of case and arguments*, Kluwer, Dordrecht.
- Kayne, Richard (1994) *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*, MIT Press, Cambridge.
- Kitagawa, Yoshihisa (1989) 'Deriving and Copying Predication', in *NELS 19*, 270-300.
- Koeneman, Olaf (1997) 'On V to I movement and Flexible Syntax', in T. Cambier-Langeveld et al. (eds.) *ConSOLE 5*, Leiden University, 183-198.
- Koeneman, O. (2000) *The flexible nature of verb movement*. PhD Diss., Utrecht University.
- Kosmeijer, Wim (1986) 'The Status of the Finite Inflection in Icelandic and Swedish', *Working Papers in Scandinavian*

Syntax 26,1-41.

- Larson, Richard (1988) 'On the double object construction', *LinguisticInquiry* 19, 335-391.
- Mohr, Sabine (2005). *Clausal architecture and subject positions*. John Benjamins: Amsterdam/Philadelphia.
- Platzack, Christer. (1996). Germanic Verb Second languages – Attract vs. Repel: On optionality, A-bar movement and the symmetrical/asymmetrical Verb Second hypothesis. In Lang, E. & G. Zifonun (eds.) *Deutsch - typologisch*. 92–120. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Platzack, Christer and Anders Holmberg (1989) 'The Role of AGR and Finiteness', *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 44,101-117.
- Pollock, J.-Y. (1989), 'Verb movement, universal grammar and the structure of IP', *Linguistic Inquiry* 20: 365-424.
- Rizzi, Luigi (1982) *Issues in Italian Syntax*, Foris, Dordrecht.
- Roberge, Y. (1986) *The syntactic recoverability of null arguments*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Kingston.
- Roberts, Ian (1993) *Verbs and Diachronic Syntax*, Kluwer, Dordrecht.
- Rohrbacher, Bernhard (1994) *The Germanic Languages and the Full Paradigm*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts.
- Sankoff, Gillian (1982) 'Usage linguistique et grammaticalisation: Les clitiques sujets en français' in Dittmar N. & B. Sclieben-Lange (eds.) *Die sociolinguistik in romanischsprachigen Ländern*, Narr, Tübingen.
- Santorini, Beatrice (1992) 'Variation and change in Yiddish subordinate clause word order', *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 10, 595-640.
- Suñer, Margarita (1988) 'The role of AGR(ement) in clitic-doubled constructions', *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6, 391-434.
- Travis, Lisa (1988) 'The syntax of adverbs', in *McGill working papers in linguistics: Special issue on comparative syntax*, McGill University.
- Verrips, Maaïke & Jürgen Weissenborn (1992) 'Routes to verb placement in early German and French: The independence of finiteness and agreement' in Meisel, J. (ed.) *The acquisition of verb placement: Functional categories and V2 phenomena in language development*, Kluwer, Dordrecht.
- Vikner, Sten (1995) *Verb Movement and Expletive Subjects in the Germanic Languages*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Wexler, Kenneth (1994) 'Optional infinitives, head movement and the economy of derivations', in Hornstein, N & D. Lightfoot (eds.) *Verb Movement*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Williams, Edwin (1977) 'Discourse and Logical Form', *LinguisticInquiry* 8, 101-139.
- Williams, Edwin (1980) 'Predication', *LinguisticInquiry* 11, 203-238.
- Williams, Edwin (1981) 'Argument Structure and Morphology', *TLR* 1, 81-114.
- Williams, Edwin (1989) 'The Anaphoric Nature of Q-Roles', *LinguisticInquiry* 20, 425-456.
- Williams, Edwin (1994) *Thematic Structure in Syntax*, MIT Press, Cambridge.
- Williams, Edwin (1997) 'Blocking and Anaphora', *LinguisticInquiry* 28, 577-628.
- Zribi-Hertz, Anne (1993) 'La syntaxe des clitiques nominatifs en français standard et avancé', ms., University Paris-VIII.
- Zwart, J-W. 2004. Een dynamische structuur van de Nederlandse zin. In *TABU* 33.55-71, 151-172.