Project summary

Comparative syntax
Layers of structure and the cartography project
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1.   Overall objectives and theoretical background of the research

This project focuses on the study of variation in syntax, and covers both microvariation and macrovariation (with English being compared to other languages, esp. the Romance languages). The research is set against the theoretical background of generative syntax, including the 'cartographic' approach, initiated in the 1990s by Guglielmo Cinque (U. of Venice) and Luigi Rizzi (U. of Siena) (see Cinque 1999 and Rizzi 1997 for seminal work), whose aim is to identify as carefully as possible the minimal structural units that compose the clause and their hierarchical organisation.

Research in the past 10 years has given rise to a substantive literature on the cartography of the clause, as evidenced by the publications in *The Cartography of Syntactic Structures* volumes (*Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax*- Oxford University Press). With some exceptions, a lot of work has focused on documenting evidence for individual languages and empirical domains (the clause periphery being central), but there has been relatively little attempt to integrate the analyses of specific phenomena into an overarching framework. Also, relatively little work has been done on the cartography of English. The project seeks to fill these gaps by bringing data from different languages together on a comparative basis, addressing the questions that arise on both a descriptive and explanatory level. The project includes empirical data that have not been examined within the cartographic tradition so far.

1.1. General theoretical background and empirical basis

One of the starting points of the generative approach to syntax is the assumption that languages are structured according to a universal template (cf. Stowell 1981, Chomsky 1986, Kayne 1984, 1994). Specifically, it is assumed that all syntactic structure is built according to the X-bar format, *i.e.,* the blueprint for the formation of each syntactic constituent is uniform and corresponds to the format (1a):

(1)   a
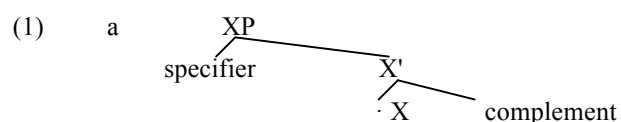
Constituents are built around a head (X, in (1a)), expanded with a complement, and the resulting unit (labelled X') is combined with a 'specifier'. Noun phrases (NP) are built around a head Noun, Verb phrases (VP) are built around a Verb. Sentences consist of three layers, each in accordance with (1a):
(i) VP, (ii) the Tense Phrase (TP, also labelled IP) and (iii) the layer of the complementizer (CP):

(1)   b
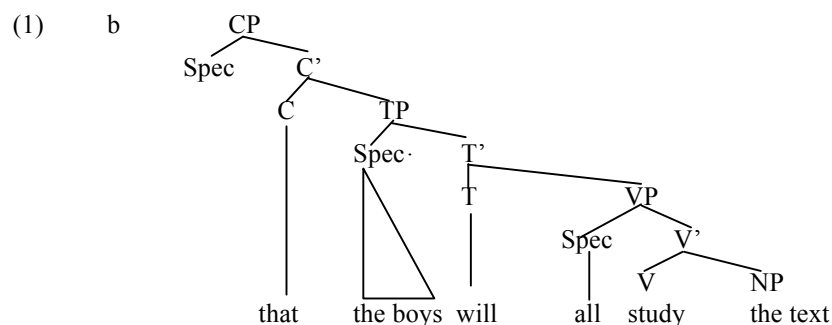
The Tense phrase (TP) is built around the temporal, modal and aspectual features of the verb; the domain of the conjunction (CP) is headed by the position C, which can be filled by the conjunction. V,

the head of VP, is a lexical head, it has descriptive content and is part of an open lexical class; on the other hand, T(ense), auxiliaries, and C(complementizer) are functional heads: the items in these positions belong to closed classes and do not directly contribute to the core descriptive content of the clause. Each layer of the clause is associated with a specialised semantics: VP encodes the core properties of the action/state expressed in the sentence ('who does what to whom', including the participants in the action (AGENT, PATIENT, BENEFICIARY etc)). TP encodes the localisation of the action/state expressed in the VP with respect to temporal, modal and aspectual properties. CP encodes relations between the sentence and the discourse, including among other things, illocutionary force, topic and focus. It is further proposed that the subject (here *the boys*) originates VP internally and moves to the TP layer. In (1b) the quantifier *all* is related to the base position of the subject (Kuroda 1986, Sportiche 1988, Koopman and Sportiche 1991).

The cartography approach postulates that VP, TP and CP must be further decomposed into primitive units (again built according to (1a)). The clausal spine is decomposed into a hierarchically determined sequence of (functional) heads. For example, Cinque (1999) proposes that the TP-layer should be articulated around a sequence of aspectual and modal heads and associated adverbial adjuncts and that subject and negation marker(s) are parasitic on these projections. On the other hand, Cardinaletti (1997, 2004) reanalyses the leftmost edge of TP, which contains the canonical subject position, as a sequence of functional heads whose specifiers host subjects of various types. Rizzi (1997) articulates the structure of CP around the head Force (encoding illocutionary force) and Fin ('finite', encoding finiteness). In addition, CP contains discourse-related projections, TopicPhrase and FocusPhrase, which contribute to the information structure of the clause.[1]

1.2. Objectives

The explosion of functional categories in cartography-inspired work is the result of the rich and detailed empirical work that has been undertaken. However, the resulting richly articulated structures do not at first sight seem to be economical and the question arises whether, at least in some cases, even in keeping with the cartographic spirit, a more parsimonious account can be elaborated. A further question that needs addressing and which has not been addressed sufficiently explicitly is that of how the diverse detailed proposals for the sequencing of projections in the clause in specific languages, which have arisen out of the detailed empirical work, are compatible with each other and whether they should/can ultimately still be integrated into one universal hierarchy. One relevant general issue here is the question which core properties ultimately determine the functional hierarchy of the clause, that is, what are the *vertebrae* around which the structure is fleshed out. The attention to empirical detail has led to a number of proposals which, though individually convincing, lead to conflicting conclusions and create a tension between empirical depth and theoretical simplicity. On the basis of a detailed typological study of the distribution of adverbial adjuncts, auxiliaries and temporal, modal and aspectual markers, Cinque (1999) concludes that the hierarchy of adverbial projections determines the structure of TP. To account for the distribution of the material to the left of the canonical subject position, Rizzi (1997) concludes that, the structure of CP is predominantly regulated by information structure (topic, focus). In sum, different underlying factors are seen to determine the make-up of the specific layers. But this leads to potential inconsistencies within the various proposals, which ought to be addressed. For instance, in his discussion of the decomposition of CP, Rizzi (1997) postulates that Force encodes clause type, but his work makes no explicit reference to the relation (if any) between speaker-oriented adverbials in TP and the head Force in CP. In Cinque's approach speaker-oriented adverbials are explicitly located in the TP-domain; other authors, however, have elaborated a richly articulated structure for encoding illocutionary relations in the CP domain (Tenny 2000, Speas & Tenny 2003, Speas 2004, Hill 2007, Zagona 2007, and many recent proposals which advocate a functional head Force in relation to the licensing of 'Main Clause Phenomena').

Whereas in earlier accounts there seemed to exist a consensus as to the relative roles of CP, TP and VP, treated as discrete domains each with their own semantics, the detailed empirical work elaborated in the cartographic framework has meant that the distinction between CP/TP/VP has become blurred and it is not clear that the three domains are or can be sharply distinguished any more. For one thing, the demarcation between CP and TP is not clearly defined –indeed in terms of

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[1]   For a comparison with Minimalism see Rizzi (2004: 5-7). For a critique see Newmeyer (2004).

Minimalist (Chomsky 2001, 2005, 2006) proposals CP and TP constitute one 'phase', with T inheriting its features from C (Cf. Miyagawa (2005) for a hypothesis to cross-linguistic variation in terms of the location of focus and agreement features). Traditionally, the canonical subject position has tended to be associated with TP (cf. McCloskey 1997). However, based on different types of empirical evidence various authors, including Haegeman (1984, 2002a, 2008a,b), Cardinaletti (1997), Rizzi (2004, 2006) and Rizzi & Shlonsky (2005) have proposed that the canonical subject position be decomposed into a number of articulated subject positions, each with its specialised function. But given that it has also been proposed that the CP domain may contain a (low) subject position (the specifier of FinP) (Shlonsky 1994), then the question arises again how CP and TP are demarcated or indeed if they constitute two discrete domains. Rizzi & Shlonsky (2005) 's SubjP is a hybrid position which combines properties of the CP layer and the IP layer, suggesting that CP/TP might arguably constitute just one extended projection (Grimshaw 1991) of VP. The various domains seem to have overlapping functions.

While initially Information Structure was typically associated with CP, Belletti (2004), among others, has proposed, mainly on the basis of data from Italian, that topic and focus projections are also instantiated lower in the structure, i.e. within TP. This raises the question as to how such TP-internal projections that encode information structure link up to the modal/aspectual adverbial projections in the TP hierarchy postulated by Cinque (1999) and to the articulated CP, the privileged domain for information structure.

If, as has been argued (Abney 1987, Bernstein 2001, etc), the internal structure of the nominal projection is largely similar to that of the clause, the question arises which of the clausal functional projections find a counterpart in the nominal projection and whether there are clearly identifiable layers. Various authors have proposed that the nominal domain also contains the projections of topic and focus, but this raises the question as to the semantics of these projections, topic and focus being more obviously related to information structure at the clausal level. Similarly, possessors in the nominal domain have been compared to subjects in the clausal domain. For a general overview of the current state of research in the syntax of the nominal projection and some evaluations of the various competing analyses see Alexiadou, Haegeman and Stavrou (2007).

2. Outline

2.1. Basis of the research

The project proposed here is developed along the lines of Liliane Haegeman's ongoing research in linguistic microvariation and macrovariation, and attempts to combine the empirical strength of descriptive /philological work with the formal rigour of generative syntax. The research is articulated around three specific projects, which shed light on the general questions raised above. Project 2.2.1. focuses on the clausal periphery ('CP'). One empirical focus will be the issue of the licensing of so-called Main Clause Phenomena/Root Transformations (Hooper and Thompson 1973) and their relation to Illocutionary Force. Project 2.2.2. considers the demarcation of TP and investigates the nature of subject positions and also raises the issue of clause combining, in particular to what extent a main clause and a non-finite clause undergo clause merger and how this should be formally represented. Project 2.2.3. extends the cartographic research to the structure of the NP.

2. 2. Research domains

2.2.1. The left periphery

In the generative literature the area to the left of the canonical subject position is referred to as the 'left periphery' of the clause (after Rizzi 1997). An issue that has received attention concerns the characterisation of main clause phenomena (MCP) or root phenomena, that is, syntactic patterns restricted to main clauses (Hooper and Thompson 1973, Heycock 2006). In earlier work Haegeman 2003a,b, 2006a,b etc.) has argued that adverbial clauses such as that in (2a) and complements of factive verbs such as the underlined section in (2b) are truncated structures lacking the functional projection(s) encoding speaker anchoring (cf. Hill 2007, Tenny 2000, Speas and Tenny 2003, Speas 2004). This hypothesis intended to account for the absence of MCP such as argument fronting (2) in these domains (cf. Rutherford 1970, Hooper and Thompson 1973, Maki *et al* 1999).

(2)   a   *<u>If this book you find in the bookshop</u>, you should buy it.
        b   ?*They regret <u>that this book they cannot find in the shops any more</u>.

The truncation hypothesis, which formalises proposals in Hooper and Thompson (1973) and associates illocutionary force with a specific functional head 'Force', has found widespread recognition. Munaro (2005) uses it to account for restrictions on fronting in Italian conditionals; Cardinaletti (2007) adopts it to account for resumptive preposing in Italian; Hernanz (2007) uses it to account for the expression of emphatic polarity (*si* 'yes'*, bien* 'well') in Spanish; Wilmott (2008) uses the hypothesis in her analysis of the interaction of mood and negation in Greek. Bentzen *et al* (2007) use it to characterise the constraints on embedded verb second in Scandinavian, relating the distribution of the finite verb in embedded clauses to the presence/absence of Force in the left periphery.

      However, the proposal that MCP depend on the functional head Force is not without empirical and conceptual problems (cf. Haegeman 2007 and also among others Zanuttini and Portner (2003), Gaertner and Steinbach (2006) for a critical view of the syntactic representation of Speech act). To address these problems Liliane Haegeman is elaborating an alternative account for the restrictions on argument fronting in English adverbial clauses, which derives the patterns in (2) from locality conditions on movement. The hypothesis is that adverbial clauses involve the leftward movement of an operator from the TP domain to the left periphery. Movements leading to MCP are then blocked because of intervention effects (Rizzi 1990?). One significant advantage of the new approach is that it reduces the need for tying the absence of a specific phenomenon directly to the (stipulated) absence of a specific projection type (i.e.'Force'). Rather, the unavailability of a pattern is the outcome of the interplay of other syntactic and semantic factors.

      A more general question that emerges is to what extent MCP are cross-linguistically homogeneous and how their occurrence (or not) in certain clause types is to be accounted for. A comparative study of MCP will determine to what extent one needs to appeal to parametric variation (cf. Emonds 2004). It is becoming clear that syntactic operations which at first sight are similar do not necessarily pattern in the same way with respect to the restrictions on clause type. This becomes clear when one compares, for instance, the distribution of Clitic Left Dislocation in Romance with that of argument topicalization in English, or when one considers the expressions of emphatic polarity in a range of languages. (cf. Haegeman and Breitbarth 2008, Haegeman 2009). The question then arises why apparently similar phenomena have clearly distinct distributions.

2.2.2. *The boundaries of the TP domain*

2.2.2.1. SUBJECT POSITIONS

Another point that emerges from recent work in the cartographic tradition is that of defining the relation between CP and TP, which is standardly taken to be demarcated by the canonical subject position. In recent work (Chomsky 2005, Miyagawa 2005) it has been proposed that the φ features of C are inherited by T. Evidence for the relation between C and T in terms of φ features is the well known Complementizer Agreement data from West Flemish (Haegeman 1992). A strict application of C-feature inheritance leads to the prediction that the agreement features of C must be identical to those of T. In joint work with Marjo van Koppen (University of Utrecht) this hypothesis is being re-examined (cf. Haegeman and Van Koppen 2009).

2.2.2.2. MONOCLAUSAL VS BICLAUSAL STRUCTURES AND GERMANIC VERB (PROJECTION) RAISING [2]

Clause merger or restructuring is one strategy that has been proposed for the integration of non-finite complements into a matrix domain. Traditionally, it has been assumed that there is a class of so-called 'restructuring' verbs, i.e. verbs that trigger a process whereby a complex structure is converted to a simplex one (Rizzi 1978). Thus in (3) the matrix verb *volere* ('want') would be a restructuring verb: it triggers restructuring with the non-finite complement headed by *vedere* ('see'), as shown by clitic climbing of *lo* ('it'). Cinque (2002, 2004), however, proposes that 'restructuring verbs' are directly

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[2]   Verb (Projection) Raising is referred to as 'de dubbele werkwoordgroep' in Dutch linguistics. See, for instance, Meeussen and Vanacker (1951), Pardoen (1986), De Schutter (1964) and many others.

inserted ('merged') in functional heads, rather than being inserted as lexical verbs that trigger clause merger. As a consequence, so-called restructuring contexts are analysed as simplex clauses throughout the derivation. Thus in (3) the higher 'restructuring' verb *volere* ('want') is inserted in a functional head that encodes volitional modality.

(3)   Lo volevo   vedere subito.
         It   want-PAST -1SG see   immediately
         'I wanted to see it immediately.'

This analysis of restructuring leads to new questions for the analysis of verb (projection) raising (VPR) (Haegeman and Van Riemsdijk 1986, Haegeman 1988, 1994a), illustrated in West Flemish (4), in which progressively more elements from the lower clause turn up in the matrix domain.

(4)   WFl   a   da Valère nu zou willen <u>morgen</u> <u>zen boeken naar de bibliotheek</u> doen
                           that Valère now would want tomorrow his books to the library take
                  b   da Valère nu zou <u>morgen</u> willen zen boeken naar de bibliotheek doen
                  c   da Valère nu zou <u>morgen zen boeken</u> willen naar de bibliotheek doen
                  d   da Valère nu zou <u>morgen zen boeken naar de bibliotheek</u> willen doen
                  e   da Valère nu <u>morgen</u> zou willen zen boeken naar de bibliotheek doen
                  f   da Valère nu <u>morgen zen boeken</u> zou willen naar de bibliotheek doen
                  g   da Valère nu <u>morgen zen boeken naar de bibliotheek</u> zou willen doen

The question arises whether all instances of VPR can/should be analysed in terms of a simple structure, or whether one should continue to also allow for (lexical) restructuring in complex clauses (Wurmbrand 2004). On the basis of West Flemish data such as (4), the predictions made by the monoclausal and the biclausal approaches will be tested and hypotheses will be formulated for the demarcation of the domains and the functional hierarchy in the clause. Since VPR involves at least two verbs, each potentially licensing a subject position, the question arises about the effect of restructuring - however formalised - on the availability of subject positions: for instance, indefinite subjects in existential patterns (5) may occur inside (5a,b) or outside (5c) the verb cluster. The data also bear on questions concerning subject positions (McCloskey 1997, Davies and Dubinsky 2001, Boskovic 2004) and on the role of predication in the clausal make-up (Bowers 1993, 2002, Adger and Ramchand 2003, Den Dikken 2006).

 (5)   WFl   a   dat er zouden moeten <u>meer studenten</u> komen
                           that there should must more students come
                  b   dat er zouden <u>meer studenten</u> moeten komen
                  c   dat er <u>meer studenten</u> zouden moeten komen

VPR is characteristic of the Flemish 'tussentaal' ('in between language'), the informal language used by many speakers of Flemish; an understanding of the syntax of VPR will provide insight in the grammar of the *tussentaal*.

2.2.2.3. EVIDENTIAL VERBS AS FUNCTIONAL HEADS

Though semantically similar, evidential verbs such as *schijnen, lijken, seem, sembrare, sembler* (cf. Nuyts 1993) show remarkable syntactic cross-linguistic variation, as well as variation among speakers of one language. For some speakers of Italian *sembrare* has grammaticalised into a functional verb, while for others it remains a lexical verb (Cinque 2002): lexical *sembrare* may take an experience argument and does not allow clitic climbing, while functional *sembrare* is incompatible with an experiencer argument and triggers clitic climbing. Contrary to claims by Cinque (2002: 643) French *sembler* retains the status of a lexical verb (Haegeman 2006a, b).

2.2.2.4. THE SYNTAX OF SENTENTIAL NEGATION

Sentential negation is also, usually, related to the TP domain. The Flemish dialects offer an interesting empirical domain for research since many retain a system in which one negative expression (*niet, niemand* etc.) may be 'doubled' by a negative morpheme on the finite verb (*en*), corresponding to what

is known as stage II in Jespersen's cycle (Haegeman 1995, 2000a,b, Auwera and Neuckermans 2004, Auwera and De Vogelaer 2009). Stage II is also found in the *tussentaal* of some speakers (De Caluwe 2002, 2007). To assess the role of *en-* and other types of negative doubling, cross-dialectal empirical research is needed based on corpus material and on elicitation. This research, which also touches on the impact of sociological factors on linguistic innovation/conservativism (cf. also Lucas 2007 on language contact), will contribute to a better understanding of language change.

The phenomenon of negative concord has been the subject of much research in the generative framework. One recent approach amalgamates NC with syntactic agreement (Zeijlstra 2004), and in particular offers an approach in terms of multiple agreement. West Flemish data are shown to challenge this approach. In collaboration with Terje Lohndal, Liliane Haegeman is elaborating an adaptation of the Agree approach to NC which is compatible with the West Flemish data. In line with section 2.2.1. this research also brings to the fore the role of intervention and the need for a fine grained feature system along the lines of Starke (2001).

There remain important questions as to the encoding of sentential negation, among others whether there is evidence to postulate an independent functional category NegP, as the locus of sentential negation, and if so, where this is located, TP and CP being obvious candidates. English offers particularly interesting evidence for the relevance of both CP and TP because in addition to the TP internal encoding of sentential negation, the phenomenon of negative inversion is arguably a CP related phenomenon.

2.2.3. The functional structure of the noun phrase

West Flemish prenominal possessors provide evidence for a richly articulated structure of the noun phrase (Haegeman 2004a,b). The distribution of deictic adverb *hier* within the DP (cf. Bernstein 2001) and that of speaker oriented particles in relation to the various pronominal possessor patterns offers new insight into the left periphery of the nominal domain and its relation to the clausal periphery (Haegeman 2009a,b).

The syntax of possessors and that of determiner elements such as *which* and *such* also provides insight into the organisation of the flectional domain of the DP. (cf. Haegeman 2009a,b)

The research into the DP structure will also examine the pattern of negative doubling found in some varieties of Flemish and exemplified in (6) (see Vanacker 1975, Haegeman 2002b).

(6)   k'en een <u>nie vee geen boeken </u>nie meer.
        I *en* have not many no books no more
        'I don't have many books left.'

These data are of particular interest with respect to the formalisation of negative concord (see Haegeman and Lohndal 2010).

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