

## Embedded verb-second revisited: a layered derivations account

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30th TABU-dag  
Groningen, 12 June 2009

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- (2) Heit sei dat do **moast** soks net leauwe  
dad said that you must:2SG such not believe:INF  
'Dad said that you should not believe such things.'  
*normal*: ... *dat*sto soks net leauwe *moast*
- (3) Ich kann mir denken, er hat ihr etwas erzählt (German)  
I can REFL think he has her sth. told  
'I can imagine he told her something.'  
*normal*: ... *dagb* er ihr etwas erzählt *hat*
- (4) Han sa att Lisa **hade** troilgen rest till Rom (Swedish)  
he said that L. had probably gone to Rome  
'He said that Lisa had probably gone to Rome.'  
*normal*: ... att Lisa *troilgen* *hade* rest till Rom

3/34

Platzack (1986:24): COMP, INFL and Germanic Word order [in Helian & Koch Christensen, ed.]

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- ### Embedded verb-second
- properties
    - » the complementizer is inert
    - » the EV2 clause is opaque
    - » excluded in certain contexts

5/34

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## Embedded verb-second

- (1) Jan zei dat hij **kon** wel janken (Dutch)  
John said that he could AFF city  
*normal*: ... dat hij *wel* *kon* janken
- » a colloquial variant in all Germanic V2 languages

2/34

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- embedded verb-second (EV2)
    - » properties
    - » previous analyses
  - layered derivations
  - layered derivations analysis of EV2
- ### This talk

4/34

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- » no cliticization subject > complementizer (Frisian)
  - (5) a. Piet sei dat **hy** my sjoen **hie** [verb-final]  
Pete said that he me seen had  
'Pete said that he saw me.'
  - b. Piet sei dat **hy** hie my sjoen [EV2]  
Pete said that he had me seen (intended) 'Pete said that he saw me.'
  - (6) a. ✓Piet sei dat-**er** my sjoen **hie** [verb-final]  
Pete said that-SCL me seen had  
'Pete said that he saw me.'
  - b. ✗Piet sei dat-**er** hie my sjoen [EV2]  
Pete said that-SCL had me seen (intended) 'Pete said that he saw me.'

6/34

De Haan & Weerman (1986:85): Finiteness and Verb Fronting in Frisian [in Haider & Prinzhorn, eds.]

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## » no complementizer agreement

(Frisian)

- (7) ✓ **Heit sei dat-st do soks net leauwe moast**  
 dad said that-2SG you such not believe:INF must:2SG  
 'Dad said that you should not believe such things.'
- (8) ✗ **Heit sei dat-st do moast soks net leauwe**  
 dad said that-2SG you must:2SG such not believe  
 (cf. (2))

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## » islands for extraction

- (9) **Hy sei dat dizze oersetting net maklik lêst**  
 he said that this translation not easy reads  
 'He said that this translation doesn't read easily.'
- (10) **Hy sei dat dizze oersetting lêst net maklik**  
 he said that this translation reads not easy  
 (11) **Hokker oersetting ...** (which translation)  
 a. ✓ ... **sei hy dat net maklik lêst**  
 said he that not easy reads  
 'Which translation did he say doesn't read easily?'  
 b. ✗ ... **sei hy dat lêst net maklik**  
 said he that reads not easy

De Haan &amp; Weerman (1986:87): Finiteness and Verb Fronting in Frisian [in Halider &amp; Prinzhorn, eds.]

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## • excluded in certain contexts

## » negative contexts

- (11) ✓ **Jan betreurde dat hij dat boek kende**  
 John regretted that he that book knew  
 'John regretted that he knew that book.'
- (12) ✗ **Jan betreurde dat hij kende dat boek**  
 John regretted that he knew that book
- (13) ✓ **Jan dacht niet dat hij dat boek kende**  
 John thought not that he that book knew  
 'John didn't think that he knew that book.'
- (14) ✗ **Jan dacht niet dat hij kende dat boek**  
 John thought not that he knew that book

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## » irrealis contexts

- (15) ✓ **Jan had willen zeggen dat hij dat boek kende**  
 John had want say that he that book knew  
 'John would have said that he knew that book.'
- (16) ✗ **Jan had willen zeggen dat hij kende dat boek**  
 John had want say that he knew that book

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## » adjunct clauses

- (17) ✓ **Wrijven helpt niet als je maagpijn hebt**  
 rubbing helps not if you stomach ache have  
 'Rubbing does not help if you have a stomach ache.'
- (18) ✗ **Wrijven helpt niet als je hebt maagpijn**  
 rubbing helps not if you have stomach ache  
 » subject clauses
- (19) ✓ **Dat Jan dat boek kent is verrassend**  
 that John that book knows is surprising  
 'That John knows that book is surprising.'
- (20) ✗ **Dat Jan kent dat boek is verrassend**  
 that John knows that book is surprising

De Haan &amp; Weerman op.cit. on Frisian; Zwart (1997:230f) Morphosyntax of Verb Movement on Dutch

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## Embedded verb-second

- previous analyses
  - » embedded root phenomena (Hoopfer & Thompson 1973) *Linguistic Inquiry* 4
  - » hybrid coordination/subordination (De Haan 1990) *Hand. 40e Ned. Filoloogcongres*
  - » CP-recursion (Vikner 1995) *Verb movement and expletive subjects in the Germanic languages*
  - » restart (Zwart 1997) op.cit.

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- Hooper & Thompson 1973
    - » embedded clause showing root phenomena contains the **main assertion** of the utterance
    - » test: complement preposing
- (21) Jan **zei** dat hij dat boek niet kende  
John said that he that book not knew
- (22) ✓ Hij kende dat boek niet. **zei** Jan  
he knew that book not said John
- (23) Jan **betreunde** dat hij dat boek niet kende  
John regretted that he that book not knew
- (24) ✗ Hij kende dat boek niet. **betreunde** Jan  
he knew that book not regretted John

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- » test: negation of main assertion
- (25) **Zei** je dat je dat boek niet kende ?  
said you that you that book not knew  
'Did you say that you didn't know that book?'
- (26) **Nee!**  
» *I don't know it* (A)
- (27) **Betreunde** je dat je dat boek niet kende ?  
regretted you that you that book not knew  
'Did you regret that you didn't know that book?'
- (28) **Nee!**  
» *I don't regret it* (A)

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## Conclusion

- any analysis of EV2 will have to derive the fact that the embedded clause is really the main event

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## Layered derivations

- Alayered derivation is:
  - » a network of derivations, such that
  - » the output of one derivation is part of the input of another derivation
  - » i.e. a recursive derivation
- Hypothesis: all derivations are inevitably layered

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## What is a derivation ?

- a procedure that converts a **set of items** into a **string**
- two stages:
  - » merging elements (yielding a **structure**)
  - » linearizing the structure (yielding a string)

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## Model of grammar

set of items { a, b } (Numeration)

Merge ⟨ a, b ⟩ (Computational system C<sub>III</sub>)

linearization / a b / (Interface)

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## Model of grammar

<b>D1</b>	set of items Merge linearization	{ a, b } < a, b > / a b /	(Numeration) (C <sub>NUM</sub> ) (Interface)
<b>D2</b>	set of items Merge linearization	{ a, b } < a, b > / a b /	(Numeration) (C <sub>NUM</sub> ) (Interface)

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## Upshot

- Something that is **complex** and **structured** in the context of derivation 1 (D1) may be **simple** and **atomic** in the context of derivation 2 (D2)  
Or ...
- Something that is **phrasal** in the context of derivation 1 (D1) may be **lexical** in the context of derivation 2 (D2)

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## Examples

- (complex) words
  - » compounds
  - » derived words
  - » hybrids (phrase+affix)
- idioms
- certain phrases
  - » nominalizations
  - » relative clauses
  - » parentheticals, interpolations
  - » backgrounded material, topics
  - » conjuncts
  - » (complex) subjects and adjuncts

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## How do we know ?

- Interface effects
    - » special sound effect (e.g. linear order, prosody)
    - » special meaning effect (e.g. discourse status, idiom)
  - Constituency
    - » elements merged must be constituents
    - » you can't merge the parts of a subject one by one
- (29) ✗ < the, < man, < kicked, < the, ball >>>  
(30) ✓ << (the man, < kicked, < the, ball >>>

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## What do we predict ? for the output of a derivation layer

- potential idiom
- potential 'construction' properties
  - » idiosyncratic sound/meaning pairing
  - » funny stuff (grammaticalization, reanalysis, recategorization)
- opacity
  - » Lexical Integrity:
    - you can't merge/move part of a 'lexical' item

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## A layered derivations analysis of embedded verb-second ?

- first hypothesis:
  - the EV2 clause is the output of a separate derivation
- advantages:
  - » explains verb-second
  - in the model of grammar assumed here, verb-second = linearization at the Interface
  - » explains opacity
  - expected property of derivation outputs
  - distinguished property of EV2 (cf. (11))

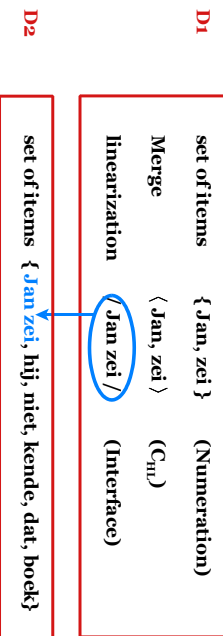
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- **problems:**
  - » verb-second is **not** a property of derivation outputs
  - subject/adjunct clauses **must be** derivation outputs (cf. (30))
  - yet they **cannot have** EV<sub>2</sub> (cf. (18)/(20))
- » it doesn't give us the Hooper & Thompson generalization
- the EV<sub>2</sub> clause is the main event

- **second hypothesis:**
  2. the matrix clause is the output of a separate derivation
    - » the matrix clause = D<sub>1</sub>
    - » turned into a single item without a complement clause being merged
    - » the embedded clause = D<sub>2</sub>
    - » to which the output of D<sub>1</sub> is just an add-on

### EV<sub>2</sub> layered derivation analysis



- **advantages:**
  - » explains verb-second
  - linearization at the interface concluding D<sub>2</sub>
  - » yields the Hooper & Thompson generalization
  - the embedded clause is the main assertion

### The layered derivations analysis of EV<sub>2</sub>: can we explain its properties?

- the complementizer is inert
- opacity
- distribution

- the complementizer is inert
    - » the complementizer seems to have no function
    - absent in German EV<sub>2</sub>
  - » on our assumption, it must be part of the output of D<sub>1</sub>
  - D<sub>2</sub> yields an independent (main assertion) clause
  - main clauses have no complementizer
  - » facts follow if:
    - cliticization/complementizer agreement are interface effects
- (cf. Zwart 2006 on complementizer agreement)

- opacity
  - » long-distance movement = movement **into matrix clause**
  - » but the matrix clause is output of D1, i.e. an **atom**
  - » facts follow from Lexical Integrity
    - no movement into or out of a 'lexical' item (‘lexical’ = output of previous derivation)

- restricted distribution
  - » hypothesis: output of D1 must be a **basic expression**
  - (31) Jan zei ( ~~X~~ zo ongeveer ) dat hij kon wel janken  
( ~~X~~ met zovveel woorden )  
John said sort of/with so many words that he could cry [EV2]
  - » negation/modality are **nonbasic modifications**
  - » EV2 not in subject/adjunct clauses:
    - EV2 is a feature of **superordination**,  
subject/adjunct clauses are subordinated

## The layered derivations analysis of EV2: can we explain its properties?

Arguably.

## Thank you.

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