



- (7) cases of adjunction to the right reanalyzed (see in particular Kayne 1994)
- verb clustering ('verb raising') in Dutch
  - extraposition
  - adverbs in English
  - heavy NP shift
  - backgrounding/right dislocation
  - etc.

(8) verb clustering ('verb raising') in Dutch (Zwart 1996)

- a. \* ..dat Jan [ het boek lezen ] wil → dat Jan het boek  $t_i$  wil-lezen<sub>i</sub>  
 that John the book read-INF wants
- b. \*..dat [ Jan [ wil [ lezen [het boek] ]]] → dat Jan [het boek]<sub>i</sub> wil lezen  $t_i$

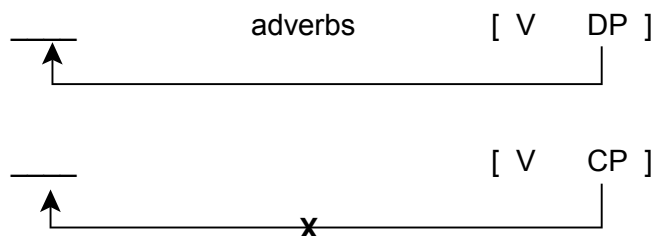
(9) extraposition

- a. ..dat Jan (dat) gisteren zei (\*dat)  
 that John that yesterday said that
- b. ..dat Jan (\*dat het regende) gisteren zei (dat het regende)  
 that it rained

(10) traditionally:     \_\_\_           adverbs [ DP / CP V ]

(11) head-initial analysis (Zwart 1994)

object position



(12) alternatively (Koster 2000a)

.. dat Jan [<sub>&P</sub> [[e] zei] [ & [dat het regent]]]

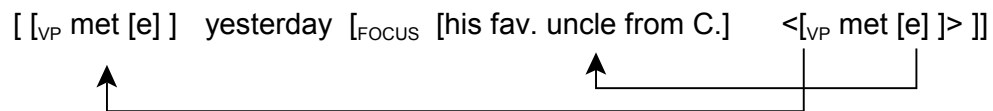
cf. ..dat Jan Piet zag en Marie [<sub>&P</sub> [Piet zag] [ & [Marie]]]  
 that John Pete saw and Mary

(13) adverbs in English (Cinque 1999, Koster 2000b)

- a. John [[saw Mary] yesterday ]
- b. \*John yesterday [saw Mary] → John [saw Mary]<sub>i</sub> yesterday  $t_i$

(14) heavy NP shift

John met yesterday (his favorite uncle from Cleveland / \*me)



(15) backgrounding/right dislocation (Zwart 2001)

a. Jan [[zag Marie] gisteren/\*gisteren ]

John saw Mary yesterday

b. gisteren [ Jan zag Marie ] → [Jan zag Marie]<sub>i</sub> gisteren t<sub>i</sub>

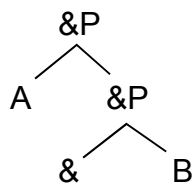
c. Ik ken 'm niet die jongen

I know him not that guy

d. that guy [ I know him not ] → [ I know him not ] that guy t

**Argument 2: coordination**

(16) Munn/Kayne analysis of coordination (cf. (12))



(17) Typological generalizations

- head-final languages have [A & B] as the unmarked pattern
- postpositional languages using P for & have [A-& B] (not [A B-&])
- if a language has [A & B &], and one & is optional, it is the second one
- where A, B are clauses, [A & B] is universal

(18) nonparallel cohesion (Kehler 2000)

- John came home and grabbed a sandwich (narrative)
- John missed the bus and was late for class (resultative)

(19) No language orders the consequence first

- \*John grabbed a sandwich and came home
- \*John was late for class and missed the bus

*No movement in coordination*

(20) *à la Richards*

Coordination = juxtaposition of likes with &P structure yielding distinctness

(21) universal head-complement order

## 2. Primordial syntax

(22) 4 stages of development:

	merge (structure)	linker	remerge (move)	
atomic objects	-	-	-	names
juxtapositions	+	-	-	scores
'distinctives'	+	+	-	coordination/linking
higher order objects	+	+	+	other phrases

(23) *juxtapositions* (exx. from Dutch, but probably universal?)

a. sports result	1-1	één-ÉÉN	
b. digit sequence	1, 2, 3	één-twee-DRIE	
c. numbers	21	een-en-TWINTIG	[one and twenty]
d. the time	1:30	half TWEE	[half two]
e. the amount	2,50	twee-VIJftig	
f. reduplication	zozo	zo-zo	'so-so'
g. titles		luitenant-kolonEL	'wing commander'
h. acronyms	PvdA	[payvaydayAH]	[socialist party]

(24) *composite names*

a.	(neelie) smit-KROES	(husband's name + maiden name)
b.	(pietjan) prinsen GEERligS	(double name)
c.	(marian) klein GUNnewiek	(farm name + diacritic adjective)
d.	humbert HUMBert	(first name + family name)

(25) *noncompositional (markovian) juxtapositions (Uriagereka)*

- VERYvery [old]
- LONGlong [way]

(26) *noncompositional names*

	<i>phrase</i>		<i>family name</i>	
a.	met GOD	'with god'	(johnny) METgod	(PP)
b.	vijf Eiken	'five oaks'	(wiljan van) VIJFeiken	(NumP)
c.	jonge VOS	'young fox'	(houthandel) JONGevos	(AP)
d.	huis in het VELD	'house in the field'	(rex) HUIS in 't veld	(NP)
e.	boter en BROOD	'butter and bread'	(helen) BOTerenbrood	(&P)
f.	blij LEVEN	'happily live'	(jeroen) BLIJleven	(VP)
g.	wel tevREDen	'quite happy'	(henk) WELtevreden	(DegP)

(27) *stress pattern*

atomic objects	initial	names
juxtapositions	final	scores
'distinctives'	complement	coordination/linking
higher order objects	complement	other phrases

What explains the stress pattern of atomic syntactic objects?

- (28) *non-Germanic names*      (29) *fantasy names*  
(alex) pasTOOR                      (professor) prlwytzkOFsky  
(dick) pasSCHIER  
(tino) taBAK                      (30) *stress attraction by latinate suffixes*  
(philip) coCU                      JANsen > janSEnius  
(arie) delMOTte                      van BAARle > barLAEus

(31) Germanic stress is initial (Prokosch 1939:118)

(32) Conversely: stress in complex syntactic objects is a function of structure

(33)      < α, β >  
                  ↑

### 3. Nuclear stress and compound stress

(34) *syntactic default stress assignment procedure = Nuclear Stress Rule (NSR)*  
When α and β are combined (merged), yielding <α,β>, β is accentually marked (i.e. receives a focus feature [+f], to be spelled out as acoustic prominence)

Issues here:

- *local or global determination?*
- *effect of movement?*

(35) *Compound stress rule (CSR)*  
When α and β are combined, **yielding a compound** <α,β>, α is accentually marked

(36) *noun-headed compounds show STRONG-weak pattern*  
SLAGveld      'battle field'                      SLAVeld      'lettuce field'  
VELDslag      'battle' (lit. field battle)      VELDsla      'corn salad' (lit. field lettuce)  
TAFELberg      'table mountain'                      MANwif      'virago' (lit. man woman)

(37) *not universal (Romance)*  
ouvre-BOITE      'bottle opener' (lit. open bottle)                      French  
hombre-RANA      'frog man' (lit. man frog)                      Spanish  
asciuga-CAPELLI      'hair dryer' (lit. dry hair)                      Italian

Could there be movement in compounds? (Kayne 1994:41)

(38) status of compounds

- a. compositional? Yes.
- b. linkers? Yes.
- c. movement? Why not.

(39) *linkers in compounds*

De Vries 1972:60-68

HOND-e-kop 'dog's head'  
HAND-je-klap 'dealings' (lit. hand-DIM-clap)  
MOEder-s-zijde 'mother's side'

(40) *semantics of the relevant compounds*

Selkirk 1984:245

a. predication

[ mountain [ as/is [ table ]]] tafelberg 'table mountain'

b. situation

[ field [ of/for [ battle ]]] slagveld 'battle field'

(41) *compound without movement: izafet construction*

- a. hombre rana
- b. river Nile, city of Boston

(42) *names derived from compounds*

<i>compound</i>	>	<i>place name</i>	>	<i>family name</i>	
MOERdijk		moerDIJK		MOERdijk	[Moer-dike]
RAvenstein		ravenSTEIN		RAvestein	[Raven-stone]
MONnikendam		monnikenDAM		MONnikendam	[Monks-dam]
	[movement]		[no movement]		[no structure]

*If compounds involve movement, then movement is stress-conservative.*

(43) The CSR reduces to the NSR (which is a function of merge)

#### 4. Cyclic NSR

(44) *The old Bresnan facts (Bresnan 1971)*

- a. I had PLANS to leave
- b. I had plans to LEAVE

(45) I had [ -- (for) to leave plans ]

(46) *OV > VO reordering in Dutch*

- a. ..dat Jan het BOEK leest ← ... leest het BOEK complement  
that John the book reads
- b. ..dat Jan het boek UIT leest ← ... leest [ het boek UIT ] predicate  
that John the book out reads

(47) *with adverbs, stranded prepositions, auxiliaries etc.*

- a. ..dat Jan MARIE gisteren kuste  
that John Mary yesterday kissed-SG.PAST
- b. ..dat Jan een BOEK wou lezen  
that John a book wanted read-INF
- c. ..dat je er een BOEK voor leest  
that you there a book for read-2SG.NONPAST  
'..that you are reading a book for it.'

(48) *other stress patterns are marked*

Zwart 1997:92ff

- a. ..dat Jan het boek LEEST (cf. (46a))
- b. ..dat Jan Marie gisteren KUSTE (cf. (47a))

(49) *Global application of NSR*

- a. Cinque (1993:245): "stress prominence in a phrase is a mere reflection of depth of embedding"
- b. Zubizarreta (1998:43): "given two sister nodes [ $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ ], the one lower in the asymmetric c-command ordering is more prominent"

(50) 'Object shift is a defocusing operation' (cf. Reinhart 1997:159)

*testing marked (narrow) vs. unmarked (wide) focus*

(51) *Wide focus*

An acoustically prominent element  $\alpha$  is a term of a constituent  $\beta$  which can be associated with *only*.

- (52) I *only* said that [<sub>+F</sub> John kissed MARY ]  
(not that [<sub>ALTERNATIVE</sub> I need more soup])  
I *only* said that John [<sub>+F</sub> KISSED] Mary  
(\*not that [<sub>ALTERNATIVE</sub> I need more soup])

- (53) Ik zei *alleen maar* dat [<sub>+F</sub> Jan MARIE gisteren kuste ]  
(niet dat [<sub>ALT</sub> ik meer soep wil])  
Ik zei *alleen maar* dat Jan Marie gisteren [<sub>+F</sub> KUSTE ]  
(\*niet dat [<sub>ALT</sub> ik meer soep wil])

[I said only dat John Mary yesterday kissed  
not that I more soup want]

*The NSR must be applied locally, i.e. with each pair of sisters (at each operation Merge)*

## Deriving wide vs. narrow focus

- (54) *Possible focus domains* Chomsky 1971  
I said that [<sub>+F</sub> John [<sub>+F</sub> kissed [<sub>+F</sub> MARY ]]]
- (55) a. Focus marking: by (34), applying automatically with each operation Merge  
b. Focus spell-out: on a term of [+f]-marked elements in the derivation
- (56) Acoustic prominence on *Mary* in (54) is **consistent with** the interpretation of multiple focus domains (as indicated)
- (57) *Contrastive focus: no focus projection*  
I said that John [<sub>+F</sub> KISSED ] Mary
- (58) *Contrast of implications*  
[<sub>+F</sub> kissed ] Mary *implies* [<sub>ALT</sub> kicked, married ] Mary  
[<sub>+F</sub> kissed Mary ] *implies* [<sub>ALT</sub> kicked (¬Mary), married (¬Mary) ]
- (59) *Hypothesis*  
Contrastive focus results from a marked reversal of (34)

## References

- Bresnan, Joan. 1971. Sentence stress and syntactic transformations. *Language* 47, 257-281. ! Chomsky, N. 1971. Deep Structure, Surface Structure, and Semantic Interpretation. In *Semantics: An Interdisciplinary Reader in Philosophy, Linguistics, and Psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ! Cinque, Guglielmo. 1993. A null theory of phrase and compound stress. *Linguistic Inquiry* 24, 299-297. ! Cinque, Guglielmo. 1999. *Adverbs and functional heads*. New York: Oxford University Press. ! De Vries, Wobbe. 1972. *Iets over woordvorming*. Zutphen: Thieme. ! Kayne, R.S. 1994. *The antisymmetry of syntax*. Cambridge: MIT Press. ! Kehler, Andrew. 2000. Coherence and the resolution of ellipsis. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 23, 533-575. ! Koster, Jan. 2000a. Extraposition as parallel construal. Ms., University of Groningen. <http://www.let.rug.nl/~koster/papers/parallel.pdf> ! Koster, Jan. 2000b. Pied piping and the word orders of English and Dutch. *Proceedings of NELS* 30, 415-426. ! Munn, Alan. 1993. *Topics in the syntax and semantics of coordination*. Maryland dissertation. ! Prokosch, Eduard. 1939. *A comparative Germanic grammar*. Philadelphia: Linguistic Society of America. ! Reinhart, T. 1997. Interface economy and markedness. In *The role of economy principles in linguistic theory*, Chris Wilder, Hans-Martin Gärtner, and Manfred Bierwisch, eds., 146-169. Berlin: Akademie Verlag. ! Selkirk, Lisa. 1984. *Phonology and syntax: the relation between sound and structure*. Cambridge: MIT Press. ! Tomlin, Russell. 1986. *Basic word order: functional principles*. London: Croom Helm. ! Van den Toorn, Maarten. 1980. Accentdifferentiatie bij eigennamen. *Gramma* 4: 153. ! Zubizarreta, Maria Luisa. 1998. *Prosody, focus, and word order*. Cambridge: MIT Press. ! Zwart, Jan-Wouter. 1996. Verb clusters in Continental West Germanic dialects. In *Microparametric syntax and dialect variation*. James R. Black and Virginia Motapanyane, eds., 229-258. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. ! Zwart, Jan-Wouter. 1997. *Morphosyntax of verb movement: a minimalist approach to the syntax of Dutch*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers. ! Zwart, Jan-Wouter. 2001. Backgrounding ("right dislocation") in Dutch. Ms., University of Groningen. <http://www.let.rug.nl/~zwart/docs/backgr.pdf> ! Zwart, Jan-Wouter. 2003. What's in a name? Syntactic and asyntactic accentuation in Dutch. In *Grammatik i fokus / Grammar in focus: Festschrift for Christer Platzack 18 november 2003*, Lars-Olof Delsing, Cecilia Falk, Gunlög Josefsson, and Hálldor Á. Sigurðsson, eds. Department of Scandinavian Languages, Lund. Pp 395-401.