Uncharted Territory?
# Towards a non-cartographic account of Germanic syntax.

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1. **Introduction:** syntactic positions
2. **Transitivity failures:** left periphery, middle field, adverbs, adjectives
3. **Consequences for Germanic syntax:** CP-domain, topics, subjects, objects

1. Introduction

(1) What is a syntactic position? (cf. Nilsen 2003)
    a. defined in terms of a map of the clause (cartographic approach)
    b. defined in terms of local environment (dynamic approach)

(2) Weak cartographic approach:
Not all projections need to be realized (in full), but when they are realized, they appear in a strict hierarchical order.

(3) Strong dynamic approach:
Every operation merge is triggered and takes place without consideration of overall syntactic architecture.

(4) Proposal: a syntactic position is defined in terms of the operation Merge

(5) Merge: assign an element from the resource (numeration) to the workspace (current derivation) ['unary merge']

(6) Position: the occurrence of the workspace (i.e. of the current stage of the derivation).

(7) Occurrence (Chomsky 2000:115): OCC (α) in $K = K - \alpha$

(8) When an element α merges to a workspace δ yielding P, the position of α = OCC (δ) in P.

(9)

position of α $\longrightarrow$ __   P δ
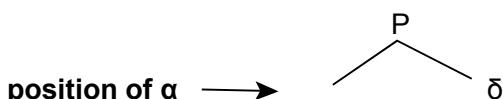
(10) It follows that δ (the current stage of the derivation at the moment of Merge) and P (the result of Merge) have no position (they are not *positioned* but *created* by Merge)

(11) Typical positions: subject/object, topic/focus/wh, adjective/adverb/negation, specifier

(12) A position is created because its occurrence needs it (trigger for Merge) (cf. Frampton & Gutmann 2000 "crash-proof syntax")

(13) Proposal: what the occurrence needs is resolution of an inner conflict (= EPP):
Examples: subject within a predicate, topic within a focus domain, etc.

(14) Merge = externalization
    but: Merge involves   1. new addition from the resource (*no* 'internal Merge')
                                           2. elimination of the offending element (yielding an open position = trace/copy)

(15)   It follows that **positions are not absolute but *relative to an occurrence***.

(16)   Terms like Spec,CP should be used with caution.

2. Transitivity failures

Empirical evidence against (even) the (weak) cartographic approach has accumulated in recent years, focusing on failures of word orders expected on the basis of reasoning by transitivity.

(17)

```
        A'
       /  \
      A    B'
          /  \
         B    C'
             /  \
            C    Z
```

If A, B, C are absolute positions, then we may infer:

A > B
B > C
──────
A > C   i.e. *C > A
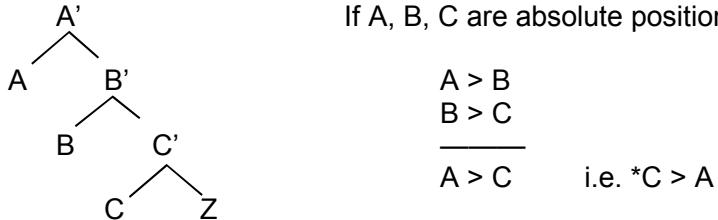
(18)   Testing grounds: - Rizzi's (1997) fine structure of the left periphery
                            - Cinque's (1999) adverb hierarchy
                            - Vendler's (1968) adjective hierarchy
                            - etc.

(19)   If positions are relative, the structure in (17) follows if

         a. Z needs C, C' needs B, B' needs A   *and*
         b. A' does not need B or C

(20)   C > A may occur if there is an inner conflict within A' caused by C

2.1 Van Craenenbroeck (2006) on the left periphery

(21)   CP: Force > (Top) > Foc > (Top) > Fin   (Rizzi 1997)

(22)   a. *wh > che*
             Me domando   *chi*   *che*   Nane ga visto al marcà   (**che chi*)
             I wonder   who   that   Nane saw at the market
         b. *che > CLLD*
             Me dispiase   *che*   *a Marco*   i ghe abia ditto cussi   (**a Marco che*)
             I'm sorry   that   to Marco   they told him so
         c. **wh > CLLD*
             *Me domando *a chi*   *(che)*   *el premio Nobel*   *(che)*   i ghe lo podarla dar
             I wonder   to who   that   the Nobel prize   that   they should give it to him
         d. *CLLD > wh*
             Me domando   *el premio Nobel*   *a chi*   *che*   i ghe lo podarla dar
             I wonder   the Nobel prize   to who   that   they should give it to him
         (Venetian, data from C. Poletto by p.c.)

(23)   Inner conflict in (22c/d): TOPIC (CLLD) within FOCUS domain (defined by WH)

2.2 Nilsen (2003) on adverbs

(24)   Adverb hierarchy (fragment): possibly > always   (Cinque 1999)

(25) a. *possibly > NEG*
        Ståle har   *muligens   ikke*   spist hvetekakene sine   (*_ikke muligens_)
        Ståle has   possibly   not   eaten his weaties
     b. *NEG > always*
        Ståle hadde   *ikke   alltid*   spist hvetekakene sine   (*_alltid ikke_)
        Ståle had   not   always   eaten his weaties
     c. *always > possibly*
        ..hvor spillerne   *alltid   muligens*   er et klikk fra å vinne $1000
        where players   always   possibly   are one click away from winning $1000
        (Swedish, Nilsen 2003:10-11)

(26) Explanation: *possibly* is a positive polarity item, yielding an inner conflict if contained within a negative domain (explaining 25a). No such conflict in (25b/c).

2.3 Bobaljik (1999) on argument/adjunct interaction

(27) a. Adverb hierarchy (Cinque 1999):
        speech act > evaluative > temporal > aspectual > manner

     b. GF hierarchy: subject > indirect object > direct object

(28) a. *low argument > high adjunct*
        ..dat Jan Marie   *het boek   eerlijk gezegd* niet gegeven heeft   (Dutch)
        that John Mary   the book   frankly   not given has
     b. *low adjunct > high argument*
        ..dat Jan   *snel   Marie*   het boek gegeven heeft
        that John   quickly Mary   the book given has

(29) Both hierarchies appear to play in different dimensions.

2.4 Adjective order

(30)   QUALITY > SIZE > SHAPE > COLOR > ORIGIN (Vendler 1968)

(31) a. *color > origin*
        een   *rode   Hongaarse*   auto   (Dutch)
        a   red   Hungarian   car
     b. *origin > color*
        een   *Hongaarse   rode*   wijn
        a   Hungarian   red   wine

(32) Adjectives from every semantic class may be construed in two ways: direct vs. indirect modification (Cinque 2003, Sproat & Shih 1988, Bolinger 1967).

(33) invisible   a. direct: too far off for light to reach us
                   b. indirect: temporarily blocked from sight

(33) *indirect > direct*
      the visible visible stars

(34) The difference between direct and indirect modification is a matter of *construction*

(35) a. morphological reduction
        een vlotte spreker   (direct: manner; indirect: characteristic of the person)
        een vlot spreker   (direct; *indirect)
        a well-paced (speech/behavior) speaker (Dutch)

b. syntactic position
   un homme grand (direct: manner; indirect: characteristic of the person)
   un grand homme (direct; *indirect)
   a great (proportions/significance) man (French)

c. modification   (indirect; *direct)
   een hongaarse (*belachelijk) rode wijn   (Dutch)
   a Hungarian ridiculously red wine

d. discontinuous construal (indirect; *direct)
   dan-da kunya-a walbu-wa nga-ku-l-da kurrka-n!
   this-NOM small-NOM raft-NOM 1-INC-PL-NOM take-NEGIMP

   jungarra kurrka-tha *walbu*   (Kayardild; Evans 1995: 249-250)
   big:NOM take-IMP raft:NOM

   'Let's not take this small raft! Take the *big* raft.'

(36) Two cycles of adjective hierarchy?
    [INDIRECT *quality > size > etc.*] > [DIRECT *quality > size > etc.*]

(37) Adjective hierarchy only obeyed in direct modification (Sproat & Shih 1990)

       size > shape   *shape > size*
indirect a. xiao de lü   de huaping lü de xiao de huaping
      small LINK green LINK vase
direct b. xiao lü   huaping   *lü xiao huaping
      small green vase
    (Mandarin; Sproat & Shih 1990:565-566)

(38) indirect modification   direct modification
    allowed   blocked

(39) Property of syntax is a function of **local requirements**, not of absolute hierarchy.

3. Some consequences for Germanic syntax

3.1 CP-domain   **3.3 subject position**
3.2 topic/wh position   **3.4 object position**

3.1 CP-domain

(40) Cartographic analysis (Zwart 1996/2000)

    [CP3 __ *als/zo* [CP2 __ *of* [CP1 __ *dat* [TP (...)]]]]   (Dutch)
        COND   WH   TOP

(41) Complex complementizers

    als-of *of-als   *als-of-dat
    als-dat *dat-als
    of-dat *dat-of

(42)   Relative clauses:

a. CP$_1$ 't jongsje   *dat à*   histeren   van 't dek   evalen is
             the kid   REL that   yesterday   off the roof   fallen is
             'the kid that fell off the deck yesterday' (Kruinings, Dek 1934:14)
b. CP$_2$ *wie   of* tie vis   kóft, die   skreef tat   óp
             REL   if   that fish   bought that-one   wrote   that   up
             'whoever bought that fish made a note of that' (Katwijks, Overdiep 1940:230)
c. CP$_{1+2}$ al *wa dad*   ek doe
             all   REL that   I   do
             'all I do' (Southeast Flemish, Teirlinck 1924:186)
d. CP$_{1+2}$ de vrouw   *of die*   ik gezien heb
             the woman   if   REL   I   seen have
             'the woman I saw' (Amsterdams, Hoekstra 1994:316)

(43)   de vrouw   *die wad   of* iech   gezeen had
        the woman   REL REL   if   I   seen had
        'the woman I had seen' (Maastrichts, Dumoulin & Coumans 1986:113)

        cf. Bavarian *der wo*

(44)   Dynamic approach: a.   a single C
                             b.   morphology of C shows agreement with REL (function of Merge)

(45)

(45 figure labels) *wie* → C > *of*   *die* → C > *dat*   *die* / *wat* → C > *of*
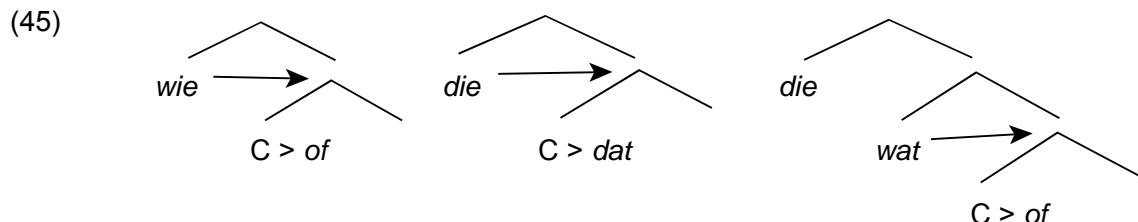
3.2 Topic/wh position

(46)   a.   Dat/welk boek ken   ik   niet
              that/which book know   I   not
              'I don't know that book/Which book don't I know?'

        b.   dat ik   het boek   niet   ken
                                   that   I   the book   not   know
                                   '..that I don't know the book'

(47)   [$_{WHP}$ welk boek C   [$_{TopP}$ dat boek   C   [ik niet   ]]]
                                 (ken)   (ken)

(48)   a.   [↑   [$_{GROUND}$ ik   [*welk boek*]   niet   ken]]
                  └──────────────────────── FOCUS

        b.   [↑   [$_{COMMENT}$ ik   [*dat boek*]   niet   ken]]
                  └──────────────────────── TOPIC

(49)   [dat [$_{PROPOSITION}$ ik het boek niet ken]]

(50)   V2: verb marks (the FOCUS-GROUND / TOPIC-COMMENT) dependency by position
        (Zwart 2005)

(51)   Subject initial main clause (SIMC): CP or TP?

(52) *Independent clause + topicalization: V2*
    a.   Gisteren   heeft   Jan   het boek   gelezen   (Dutch)
         yesterday   has   John   the book   read
         'Yesterday, John read the book.'
    b. * Gisteren   Jan   heeft   het boek   gelezen
         yesterday   John   has   the book   read

(53) *Dependent clause + topicalization: adjunction to TP*
    a.   ... dat   gisteren   Jan   het boek   gelezen   heeft
            that   yesterday   John   the book   read   has
         '...that yesterday John read the book.'
    b. * ... gisteren   dat   Jan   het boek   gelezen   heeft
            yesterday   that   John   the book   read   has

(54) If SIMC = TP, (52b) should be ✓, witness (53a)

(55) But (53b) shows: linker *dat* is merged after resolution of the inner conflict (topicalization) of the proposition it links.

(56) ... welk boek   of / dat / ofdat Jan   gelezen   heeft
     which book   C   John   read   has
    '... which book John read.'

(57) Complementizer creates a domain that requires externalization of FOCUS (Van Craenenbroeck 2006; cf. (22a))

3.3 Subject position

(58) 'Structural subject position' = Spec,TP.   Why?

(59) VP = lexical domain   (cf. Travis 2000: l-syntax, a subpart of event structure, the heads of
                           which may be realized in a single word)
    TP = VP + tense/aspect = event

(60) GF subject = center of the event
    TP = centered event

(61) $[_{\text{EVENT}(-\text{CTR})}$ TENSE $[_{\text{VP}}$ *ext*   *V*   *int*   ]]

(62) *EPP*
    An event must be centered ("a clause must have a subject")

(63) $[_{\text{EVENT}(+\text{CTR})}$ SUBJECT $[_{\text{EVENT}(-\text{CTR})}$ TENSE $[_{\text{VP}}$ *ext*   *V*   *int*   ]]]

(64) *proposition*
    A proposition is the expression of a centered event (TP)

(65) SIMC = proposition + declarative force
    a. declarative force = unmarked case
    b. declarative force = operator

(66) SIMC $[_{\text{ForceP}}$ DECL $[_{\text{TP}}$ PROPOSITION   ]]

(67) *Dutch SIMC structure in cartographic terms*
    a. $[_{\text{CP}}$ Jan   heeft $[_{\text{TP}}$ het boek   gelezen   ]] 'symmetric analysis'
    b. $[_{\text{TP}}$ Jan   heeft $[_{\text{XP}}$ het boek   gelezen   ]] 'asymmetric analysis'
           John   has   the book   read

(68) *Question in terms of dynamic approach*
Is there an inner conflict in (66) forcing merger of the subject to [FORCE + TP] ?

(69) Apparently not: [welk boek heeft   [$_{TP}$ Jan   gelezen   ]]
                          which book has   John read

3.4 Object position

(70) Structural object position = outer spec,*v*P (Spec,AgrOP)

(71) *Object shift (not restricted to pronouns)*
a. .. dat   ik   hem   niet   zag   (Dutch)
        that I:NOM   he:ACC not   saw
    ' .. that I did not see him.'
b. .. dat   zij   hem   niet   schijnt te kennen
        that she:NOM he:ACC not   seems to know
    ' .. that she does not seem to know him.'

(72) Vanden Wyngaerd (1989): object shift = A-movement

(73) *Problem: object position varies with discourse status/specificity/prosody*
a. Wil   je   *de telefoon*   even   pakken ? (object = given)
    Wil   je   even   *de telefoon*   pakken ? (object = new)
    would you   the phone   PRT   the phone   take
    'Please get the phone.'

b. .. dat   ze   *illegalen*   altijd   op pakken   (obj = generic)
    .. dat   ze   altijd *illegalen*   op pakken   (obj = existential)
        that they illegals   always illegals   up take
    ' .. that they always arrest / are always arresting illegal aliens.'

(74) *Cartographic approach: mapping hypothesis (Diesing 1992)*

[$_{TP}$ (object)   DISCOURSE PARTICLES   [$_{VP}$ (object)   ..   ]]
            SPECIFIC   NONSPECIFIC

(75) a. .. weil   *feuerwehrleute*   ja doch   verfügbar sind   (i)
            weil   ja doch   *feuerwehrleute*   verfügbar sind   (ii)
            since firemen   PRT   firemen   available   are
        ' .. since firemen are available'   (i: generic; ii: existential)

b. .. weil   *feuerwehrleute*   ja doch   intelligent sind   (i)
    *   weil   ja doch   *feuerwehrleute*   intelligent sind   (ii)
        since firemen   PRT   firemen   intelligent are
    ' .. since firemen are available'   (i: generic; ii: *existential)

(76) *Problem: relevance of prosody (Krifka 1991, Zwart 1995)*
a. .. weil   ja doch   feuerwehrleute   VERFÜGBAR   sind   (generic)
    .. weil   ja doch   FEUERWEHRLEUTE   verfügbar   sind   (existential)
        since PRT   firemen   available   are
b. .. weil   ja doch   feuerwehrleute   INTELLIGENT   sind   (generic)
    *.. weil   ja doch   FEUERWEHRLEUTE   intelligent   sind   (*existential)
        since PRT   firemen   intelligent   are

(77) Lay-out in (75) assumes a certain prosody, but prosody and order are partially independent: discourse particles like *ja doch* may be further to the left, interpretation is a function of prosody

(78) generic NP: destressed
existential reading: episodic predicate

(79) a.   [DISC.PRT   [$_{FOCUS}$ NP   Predicate]]   (existential)
                                                                   +FOC   −FOC

b.   [DISC.PRT [NP   [$_{FOCUS}$ Predicate]]] (generic)
                                            +TOP   +FOC

c. [NP   [DISC.PRT   [$_{FOCUS}$ Predicate]]] (generic)
         +TOP   +FOC

(80) No evidence that the object (in Continental West-Germanic) ever stays inside VP

(81) .. dat   er   iemand   een boek   [zonder uit te lezen]   teruggebracht heeft
       that   there   someone   a book   without finishing   returned has
      '.. that someone returned a book without finishing it.' (Dutch; cf. Ter Beek 2006)

(82) What is the nature of the object position? (What is its occurrence ?)

4. Conclusion

(83)   1. Syntactic positions can be defined in terms of their local environment (i.e. in terms of Merge)

      2. Word order generalizations are to be (and can be) formulated in terms of local environments, not by reference to absolute (cartographically defined) positions

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