

Chapter 8

Advancement to subject

8.1 Introduction

- Your assignment asked you to refine your understanding of verbs and XP-movement interact, looking at V2 phenomena in German.
- This handout continues that trend by looking at more kinds of phenomena which have been analyzed as involving XP-movement.
- Specifically we are interested in phenomena putatively involving a gap which is bound by the subject. These include:
 - English and Spanish passives
 - Dutch ‘impersonal passives’
 - English *there*-unaccusatives and passives
 - Italian inversion with unaccusatives

8.2 V2 in German(ic)

- Assignment 4 was an exploration of a phenomenon known as ‘V2’ in German.
- V2 crops up in many Germanic languages, even in specific circumstances in English.
- In short: V2 describes a phenomenon in which a main clause is structured by placing the tensed verb directly after the first constituent.
- We can start by analyzing the structure of German *embedded clauses* (bolded).

- (8.1)
- Ich glaube, **dass Hans studiert.***
I believe that Hans studies
'I believe that Hans is studying'
 - Hans sagt, **dass er in Berlin wohnt.***
Hans says that he in Berlin lives
'Hans says that he lives in Berlin'
 - Ich weiss, **dass der Student Medizin studiert.***
I know that the student medicine studies
'I know that the student is studying medicine'
 - Mich stoert es,
me.ACC bothers it
dass die Kinder ein fremdes Maedchen nach Hause bringen.*
that the children a strange girl to house bring
'It bothers me that the children are bringing a strange girl home'

- What do we observe about the order of heads and complements?
- How can we account for the embeded clause ordering?

(8.2)

- Next, we saw embedded clauses with tensed auxiliaries.

- (8.3)
- Es ist traurig, dass alle Menschen sterben muessen.*
'It is sad that all men must die'
 - Ich weiss, dass er in Berlin gewohnt hat.*
'I know that he has lived in Berlin'
 - Wir glauben, dass er angekommen ist.*
'We believe that he has arrived'
 - Dass die Kinder nach Berlin gefahren sind, ist klar.*
'That the children have gone to Berlin is clear'
 - Er weiss, dass wir das Haus gesehen haben muessen.*
'He knows that we must have seen the house'
 - Ich glaube, dass der Professor das Buch gelesen haben kann.*
'I believe that the professor can have read the book'
 - Es ist unwahrscheinlich, dass er angekommen sein kann.*
'It is improbable that he can have arrived'

- We can explain this if Vs (aux and main) are always right headed, meaning the order of embedding is the reverse of linear order.

(8.4)

- The next set involves negated embedded clauses.

- (8.5)
- Ich glaube, dass Hans nicht studiert.*
'I believe Hans is not studying'
 - Ich denke, dass du nicht stehlen sollst.*
'I think you should not steal'

- c. *Ich glaube, dass der Professor nicht Fussball gespielt hat.*
'I believe the professor has not played soccer'
- d. *Ich denke, dass die Kinder nicht einen Affen nach Hause bringen sollen.*
'I think the children should not bring a monkey home'

- From (a): German doesn't use *do*-support, negation may attach to finite VPs.
- Negation is left-branching adjunct, we can't determine height from these examples alone.

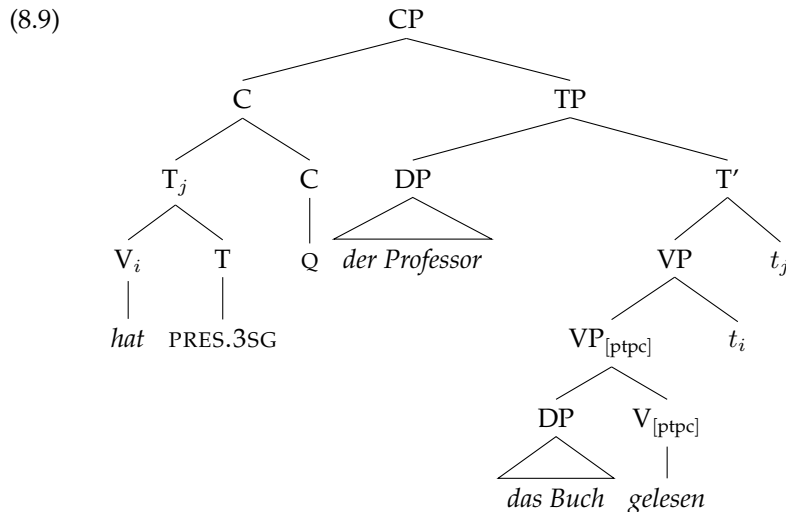
(8.6)

- Embedded polar interrogatives don't seem to have different syntax from embedded declaratives, just a change in C (*ob* instead of *dass*).

- (8.7) a. *Ich weiss nicht, ob er in Berlin wohnt.*
'I don't know whether he lives in Berlin.'
- b. *Die Frage ist, ob alle Menschen sterben muessen.*
'The question is whether all men must die.'
- c. *Die Frage ist, ob er nicht angekommen ist.*
'The question is whether he didn't arrive.'

- Root polar interrogatives are formed very differently. How are they like English polar interrogatives and how are they different?
- What happens with interrogatives with multiple Vs?

- (8.8) a. *Wohnt er in Berlin?*
'Does he live in Berlin?'
- b. *Haben sie nicht einen Sohn?*
'Don't they have a son?'
- c. *Muessen alle Menschen sterben?*
'Must all men die?'
- d. *Ist er nicht angekommen?*
'Didn't he arrive?'
- e. *Hat der Professor das Buch gelesen?*
'Has the professor read the book?'

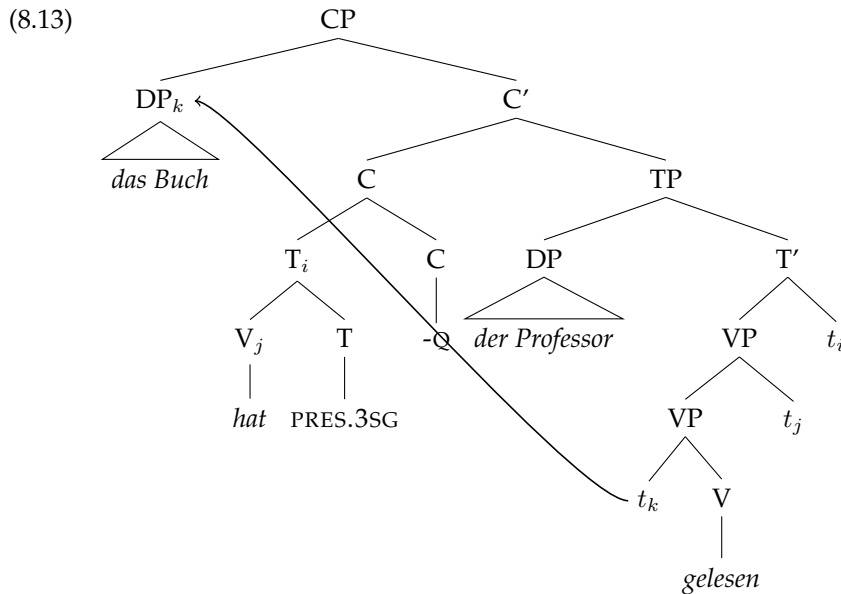


- Like English, root questions signalled by T-to-C raising. Unlike English, main verbs can undergo this movement.
- In order to observe the HMC (head-move one step at a time), the V must raise to T before T-to-C movement. We would want independent evidence for this (from right branching adverbs maybe).
- Now root declaratives pose a problem.
 - Describe the clause initial constituent?
 - Where does the finite verb sit linearly?
 - If the initial XP isn't the subject, where is the subject?

- (8.10)
- Er wohnt in Berlin.*
'He lives in Berlin'
 - In Berlin wohnt er.*
'He lives in Berlin'
 - Die Kinder bringen einen Affen nach Hause.*
'The children are bringing a monkey home'
 - Nach Hause bringen die Kinder einen Affen.*
'The children are bringing a monkey home'
 - Einen Affen bringen die Kinder nach Hause.*
'The children are bringing a monkey home'
- (8.11)
- **Fritz ein buch ueber die Liebe gelesen hat.*
 - **Ich ein Auto kaufen soll.*
 - **Die Kinder nicht nach Berlin gefahren sind.*
 - **Die Kinder einen Affen nach Hause gebracht haben muessen.*

- What happens to non-finite verbs in root declaratives?

- (8.12)
- Die Kinder sind nicht nach Berlin gefahren.*
'The children didn't go to Berlin'
 - Nach Berlin sind die Kinder nicht gefahren.*
'The children didn't go to Berlin'
 - Der Professor hat das Buch gelesen.*
'The professor has read the book'
 - Das Buch hat der Professor gelesen.*
'The professor has read the book'



- Root interrogatives and root declaratives both lack an overt complementizer. Instead, the tensed V occupies the pre-subject position.
- In root declaratives, a topicalized constituent appears before the pre-subject verb.
- Under this analysis: pre-subject V is in C via head movement, pre-V topic is in Spec,CP.
- What kinds of constituents can go in Spec,CP?

(8.14) *Dass die Kinder ein fremdes Maedchen nach Hause bringen, stoert mich.*
 that the children a strange girl to house bring disturbs me
 'That the children are bringing a strange girl home disturbs me'

- Can we propose a structure for the following?

(8.15) *Stoert es dich nicht, dass die Kinder nicht den Affen nach Hause bringen wollen?*
 bothers it you not, that the children not the monkey to home bring will
 'Doesn't it bother you that the children won't bring the monkey home?'

- The following motivate a new type of topicalized constituent:

(8.16) a. *Mit ihm gesprochen hat sie nie wieder.*
 with him spoken has she never again
 'She never spoke to him again.'
 b. *Eine Zeitung gekauft hat er.*
 a newspaper bought has he
 'He has bought a newspaper.'

- Finally, *wh*-questions are directly incorporated into the analysis when we observe that they are in complementary distribution with topicalized constituents.
- Where should we locate *wh*-words?

(8.17) a. **Was sie machen?*
 b. **Welchen Affen die Kinder nach Hause bringen?*
 c. **Was die Kinder gegessen haben?*
 d. **Warum ich muss sterben?*

- What is occupying C in the following examples?

- (8.18) a. *Ich frage mich was wir tun sollen.*
I ask myself what we do should
'I wonder what we should do.'
- b. **Ich frage mich was sollen wir tun.*

- Like English, we can posit a null complementizer in embedded *wh*-clauses, which *does not* trigger T-to-C.
- Comparing German and English complementizers under this theory:

(8.19)

German complementizers:				English complementizers			
Phon	Cat	Select	Spec:	Phon	Cat	Select	Spec:
<i>dass</i>	C _[-R,-Q]	T	∅	<i>that, ∅</i>	C _[-R,-Q]	T	∅
<i>ob</i>	C _[-R,+Q]	T	∅	<i>if, whether</i>	C _[-R,+Q]	T	∅
∅	C _[-R,+Q,+wh]	T	[+WH]	∅	C _[-R,+Q,+wh]	T	[+WH]
∅	C _[+R,-Q]	T _[Gap:T]	[+TOP]	∅	C _[+R,-Q]	T	∅
∅	C _[+R,+Q]	T _[Gap:T]	∅	∅	C _[+R,+Q]	T _[Gap:T_{aux}]	∅
∅	C _[+R,+Q,+wh]	T _[Gap:T]	[+WH]	∅	C _[+R,+Q,+wh]	T _[Gap:T_{aux}]	[+WH]

- We now have a theory of 'V2' word order (the tensed verb follows the first constituent):
 - The tensed verb occupies C.
 - The specifier of CP is occupied by a topicalized constituent.

8.3 Passives

8.3.1 Passives and gaps

- The (c) examples below are called "passives" in traditional grammars.

- (8.20) a. The kids threw toys into the playhouse.
b. *The kids threw into the playhouse.
c. Toys were thrown into the playhouse.
d. *Toys were thrown playthings into the playhouse.
- (8.21) a. The girl pursued the hypothesis.
b. *The girl pursued.
c. The hypothesis was pursued.
d. *The hypothesis was pursued the idea.
- (8.22) a. The authorities spotted Sam.
b. *The authorities spotted.
c. Sam was spotted.
d. *Sam was spotted the criminal.
- (8.23) a. The students may have recognized the difficulty of the problem.
b. *The students may have recognized.
c. The difficulty of the problem may have been recognized.
d. *The difficulty of the problem may have been recognized the complexities.

- First, what can we say about the subcategorization of the verbs (re: selection)?
- How do we have to amend our theory of *be*? Look at [8.24](#)

(8.24) Those walls may have been being replastered.

- Consider whether or not passives are derived involving XP-movement (gap theory).
- Take into consideration the examples above as well as these:

(8.25) a. We fainted.
 b. *We fainted the duchess.
 c. *The duchess was fainted.

(8.26) a. The prisoners died.
 b. *The prisoners died the jailor.
 c. *The jailor was died.

8.3.2 Passives vs. adjectival passives

- We should first set aside a superficially similar construction, which arises because there is a derivational process in English that derives adjectives from verbs in the past participle form:

(8.27) a. That car is stolen.
 b. The fence used to be painted red.
 c. Harvey looks exhausted.
 d. Our students end up well trained.

- When such an adjective is the complement of the copula, as in (8.27), the result looks something like a passive, and such constructions are sometimes called Adjectival Passives.
- Jorge Hankamer: “That is a mistake, because there is nothing passive about them. They should rather be called fake passives.”
- Some diagnostics re: fake vs. ‘real’ passives.

(8.28) a. If it can take a by-phrase corresponding to the ‘agentive participant’, then it’s a real passive.
 b. If it can interpretive eventively (not statively), e.g., can appear in the progressive, it is a real passive.
 c. If it can take a DP complement, then it is a real passive.

- Is (8.29) a real or fake passive?

(8.29) Jerry was given a life sentence.

(8.30) a. Somebody gave Jerry a life sentence.
 b. Somebody gave a life sentence.
 c. Jerry was given a life sentence.
 d. Jerry was given Max a life sentence.

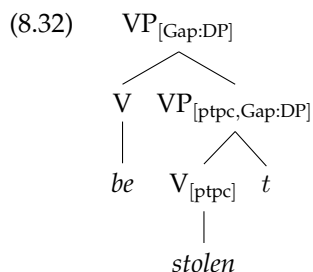
8.3.3 Structuring passives

- It seems clear that English (real) passives have at least the following properties:
 - Formed by combining *be* with the past participle of a main verb.
 - The participle must select for an XP-gap.
 - The XP-gap is bound by the subject.
 - The agent is either interpreted existentially or in a *by* phrase.

- A new lexical entry:

$$(8.31) \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Cat: } V \\ \text{Select: } V_{[\text{ptpc}], [\text{Gap:DP}]} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow be_{\text{pass}}$$

- This is an example tree, satisfying the two constraints (i) main verb in [ptpc] form, and (ii) a trace in the VP.



- Question: what does the above theory say about the following?

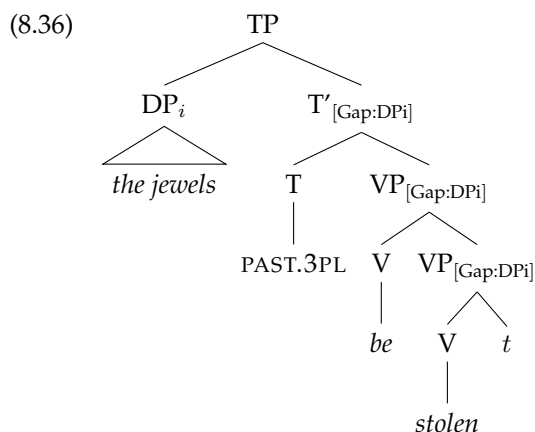
- (8.33)
- This floor has been danced on.
 - My shirt was vomited on!
 - The store was broken into.
 - These clothes have been slept in.

- Obviously there is a clear interpretive link between the subject of a passive and the gap.
- The semantic role of the passive subject is matched by the argument occupying the gap in the corresponding active.

- (8.34)
- The difficulty of the problem may have been recognized.
 - The students may have recognized the difficulty of the problem.

- (8.35)
- The store was broken into.
 - Thieves broke into the store.

- Our theory aims to capture this observation by having the passive subject bind the gap.



- So far there's no obvious way to ensure that the subject DP is the one that binds the gap (and not some other DP) via indexation, but we should come back to this in a bit.
- From the above structure, we make a very rough generalization:

- (8.37) **Semantic roles and traces:**
DPs take the semantic role associated with the position of their trace.

- Though Spec,TP often houses an agent in active sentences, not in passive sentences.
- (8.38) a. Jerry stole the jewels.
b. Jerry was stolen.
- Finally, what are *by*-phrases? From the data above they appear to not be necessary.
 - Test with VP-coordination
 - VP ellipsis
 - VP fronting
 - NB: *do so* cannot be passivized, so it doesn't help here.
 - Let's draw a tree for "the store was broken into by the thieves".
- (8.39)

8.4 Passives and DOM

- The following examples demonstrate the phenomenon of *differential object marking* (DOM)
 - Firstly, what is the generalization? NB: remember *al* is a contraction of *a el*.
- (8.40) a. *Juan vio el/*al platano*, Juan saw the banana
b. *Juan vio *(a) Maria.*, Juan saw Maria.
c. *El mono rompio la ventana.*, The monkey broke the window.
d. *El mono vio al coronel*, The monkey saw the colonel.
e. *Juan ama *(a) Maria*, Juan loves Maria.
f. *Maria ama *(a) Juan*, Maria loves Juan.
g. **A Juan ama a Maria.*
**Al coronel vio Juan.*
**A la muchacha vio el mono.*
- We will need to complicate the lexical entries of *romper*, *ver*, and *amar*. When we last saw Spanish we said something like this:
- (8.41) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Category: V} \\ \text{Select: D} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \text{ver, romper, amar}$
- (8.42)

- The following pose a problem for our theory of passives. Let's figure out why.
- (8.43)
- a. *La banana es requerida por el mono*, The banana is required by the monkey
 - b. *Los platanos pueden ser requeridos por los monos*, The bananas can be required by the monkeys.
 - c. *El platano ha sido comido por el mono*, The banana has been eaten by the monkey
 - d. *La banana ha sido comida por el mono*, The banana has been eaten by the monkey
 - e. *Los platanos han sido comidos por el mono*, The banana has been eaten by the monkey
 - f. *Las bananas han sido comidas por el mono*, The bananas have been eaten by the monkey
 - g. *El platano no puede haber sido comido por el mono*, The banana can't have been eaten by the monkey
 - h. *Las ventanas no pueden haber estado siendo lavadas por los monos*, The windows can't have been being washed by the monkeys
 - i. *Juan ha sido amado por Maria*, Juan has been loved by Maria
 - j. *Los coroneles pueden ser comidos por las bananas gigantes*, The colonels could be eaten by the giant bananas.
- We need to account for:
 - The structure of passives in Spanish,
 - The behavior of DOM,
 - Person, number, gender agreement.
 - Some observations about Spanish passives
 - How are passives formed? Is it like English?
 - What is the syntactic category of the subject
 - How is the agent expressed?
 - What does the tensed verb agree with? With what features?
 - What does the participle agree with? With what features?
 - What do the following tell you about the participle?
- (8.44)
- a. *El muchacho ha comido la banana/el platano.*, The boy has eaten the banana
 - b. *La muchacha ha comido la banana/el platano.*, The girl has eaten the banana.
 - c. *Las muchachas han comido los platanos*, The girls have eaten the bananas.
 - d. *Los muchachos han comido las bananas*, The boys have eaten the bananas.
- First a lexical entry for *ser_{pass}*. We have to account for:
 - The shape of the main verb
 - The category of the subject
 - The agreement between the main verb and subject.
- (8.45)
- What about *por_{pass}*? What category does it adjoin to?
- (8.46)

- What about PRES or PAST T? How do we account for subject-auxiliary agreement?

(8.47)

- Some open issues in passives below. We should come back to these.
 - We have to make sure that the gap within the participial phrase is *always* resolved by the subject. As of now this isn't ensured.
 - We incorrectly accept these kinds of data. Why?

- (8.48)
- *The table was put the donuts on. (cf. The donuts were put on the table)
 - *The boy was given the book to. (cf. The book was given to the boy)
 - *The book was given the boy. (cf. The boy was given the book)
 - *Your supervisor was taken up the problem with (cf. The problem was taken up with your supervisor.)

8.5 *se-passives*

- Spanish has a second type of passive, namely the “*se-passive*”.
- What are its basic properties?

- (8.49)
- Se venden unas casas*
SE sell.3PL some houses
Houses are sold.
 - Las casas se venden*
the houses SE sell.3PL
The houses are sold
 - Se rompió una copa*
SE broke.3SG a cup
A glass broke.
 - Una copa se rompió*
a cup SE broke.3SG
A glass broke.

- What is the syntactic position of the non-agent argument?

- (8.50)
- Se emplea esta construcción con toda clase de sujetos.*
SE used.3SG this construction with all type of subjects
This construction is used with every kind of subject.
 - Se cantan estas canciones siempre primero.*
SE sung.3PL these songs always first
These songs are always sung first.

- What do the following tell us about *por*-phrases and *se-passives*?

- (8.51)
- **Una copa se rompió por la chica.*
a cup SE broke.3SG by the girl
 - **Se emplea esta construcción por todos los Hispanohablantes.*
SE used.3SG this construction by all the Spanish speakers

- Does our theory of *por*-phrases already predict their absence with *se*-passives?
- Where is the DP subject? Look at agreement and also at linear position. Why is this a difficult question to answer?

(8.52) **Two types of gap features:**

- Our standard Gap \uparrow :D feature (DP pronounced upstairs)
 - A distinct Gap \downarrow :D feature (DP pronounced upstairs or downstairs)
- Let's draw *Se venden las casas*.

(8.53)

- Theories of movement which allow pronunciation in either the lower or higher position are sometimes called the 'copy theory of movement' (see, e.g., Bobaljik 2002).

8.6 Types of intransitives

- Unaccusatives are intransitive verbs with non-agentive subjects.

(8.54) a. The lake froze.
 b. The leaves reddened
 c. Winter is coming.
 d. The child fell over.

- Typical unaccusative verbs (see Sorace 2000):
 - Change of state verbs: *freeze, redden, boil, burn, break, die*
 - Directed motion verbs: *come, go, arrive, leave*
 - Location stative verbs: *stand (there), lie (there), rest, stay, exist*
- Unaccusative are usually telic, encoding an inherent temporal endpoint (e.g., an event of 'freezing' ends when the subject is frozen). If they are not telic they are stative.
- Unaccusative verbs are contrasted with unergatives.

(8.55) a. The boy danced
 b. The women are working.
 c. The children are playing.
 d. The monkeys laugh

- Typical unergative verbs:

- Undirected motion: *laugh, play, work, dance, spin around, jump*
 - Manner of motion: *walk, run, trundle, skip*
 - Bodily processes: *urinate, vomit, cough, burp, sleep*
 - Weather verbs: *rain, snow, thunder, hail*
- Unergative verbs are generally activities with no temporal endpoint.
 - Modern theories of unaccusatives vs. unergatives are largely inspired by the proposal in Perlmutter 1978 and Perlmutter and Postal 1983.

8.6.1 Dutch impersonal passives

- Perlmutter is investigating ‘impersonal passives’ in Dutch.
- They are called ‘passives’ as they involve the auxiliary *worden* (become) plus the past participle, mirroring ordinary passive formation in Dutch (cf. English and Spanish passives).

(8.56) *Er wordt door de kinderen op het ijs geschaatst*
 It become.3SG by the children on the ice skate.PTPC
 The children skate on the ice.

- How would you describe the properties of Dutch impersonal passives:

- Why are impersonal passives not like the passives we have seen earlier?

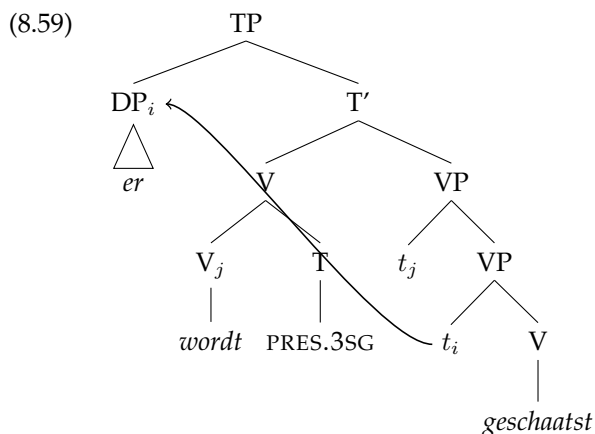
(8.57) **Unified passive hypothesis:**

All passives (ordinary and Dutch impersonal passives) involve the promotion of a non-agent to subject position (cf. Kiparsky 2013)

- Adapting this proposal into our framework, Perlmutter’s analysis means that Dutch *worden* in (8.56) is just like a regular passive.

(8.58) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Cat: } V \\ \text{Select: } V_{[\text{PTPC, Gap:D}]} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \textit{worden}$

- This analysis would mean that *er* is underlyingly a complement to the unergative *V*



- Perlmutter argues that this proposal elegantly explains restrictions on impersonal passives via the “unaccusative hypothesis”.

8.6.2 The unaccusative hypothesis

- Perlmutter's theory about split intransitivity:
 - The sole argument of an unergative is underlyingly a subject.
 - The sole argument of an unaccusative is underlyingly not a subject, but may end up a subject at the surface level of representation.

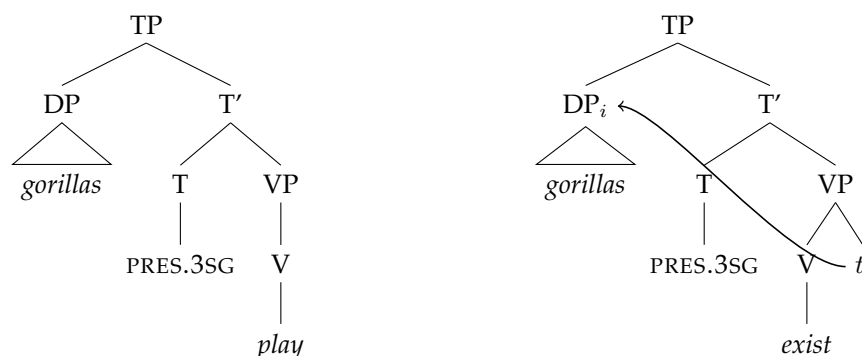
- First, Perlmutter and Postal 1983 propose the following:

(8.60) **The final 1 law:**

All clauses must have a subject.

- This rule is more commonly called the 'Extended Projection Principle' (EPP) in later theories, but the general specification is exactly the same.
- According to our framework:
 - What is a 'subject'? Hint: it's a position.
 - How do we ensure this position is filled?
- For Perlmutter, the **Final 1 law** ensures that unaccusative sole arguments must be 'promoted' to subjects.
- An adaptation of this proposal where promotion is understood as movement.
 - Unaccusatives involve movement to subject.
 - Unergatives do not involve any special movement.

(8.61)



- Perlmutter and Postal 1983 also propose the following rule:

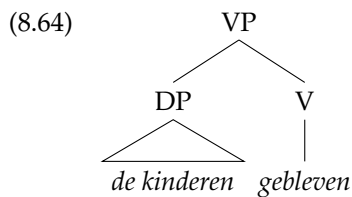
(8.62) **The 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law:**

No clause can contain more than one promotion to subject.

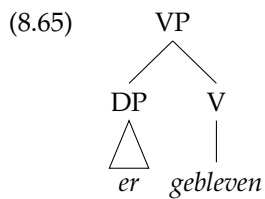
- How does our framework already ensure that law this is followed?
- By 1-Advancement Exclusiveness as well as the Final 1 Law, we explain why impersonal passives are not unaccusatives.

- (8.63)
- **Er werd door het water binnen een kwartier verdampt*
 it becomes by the water hour one quarter evaporated
 The water was evaporated in a quarter of an hour.
 - **Er werd door de kinderen in Amsterdam gebleven*
 it becomes by the children in Amsterdam stayed
 The children remained in Amsterdam
 - **Er werd door het concert een hele tijd geduurd*
 it becomes by the concert a long time lasted
 The concert lasted a long time.

- According to the unaccusative hypothesis in (8.61), the sole arguments of these verbs should underlyingly be in Comp,VP.



- If the sole argument *de kinderen* moves to Spec,TP, *er* cannot also be there, explaining the ungrammaticality above. Which law rules this out?
- Alternatively, the unaccusative could select for *er*, which raises to Spec,TP.



- Any ideas about how to rule this out?
- Perlmutter's idea: passivized verbs must encode an agentive argument.
 - So *gebleven* cannot be passivized as it is unaccusative (no agentive argument).

8.7 *there-unaccusatives*

- English permits a particular construction with (certain) unaccusative verbs: *there-unaccusatives*. What are its properties?

- (8.66)
- There is a fly in the Pope's soup.
 - There emerged a gopher from the hole.
 - There must have arisen a great wave of protest against the sin tax.
 - There may exist very large prime numbers.
 - There was a pig eating my garbage.

- Be careful to distinguish the *there* in *there-unaccusatives* (existential *there*) from locational *there*.

- (8.67)
- The fly will land there.
 - I put it there.
 - There she goes!

- One difference, existential *there* cannot be stressed, but locational *there* can.

- (8.68)
- The fly will land THERE.
 - *THERE is no largest prime number.

- For now, here's a lexical entry for locational *there* so we can ignore it.

- (8.69)
- $$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Cat: P} \\ \text{Adjoin: V} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \textit{there}$$

- How should we analyze existential *there*? Where is it located?

- (8.70) a. Will there remain many species of fish in the next century?
 b. (Where) have there been signs of progress?
 c. Is there a gopher in that hole?
 d. What is there in that hole?

- The distribution of existential *there* is very restricted. What do the following tell us?

- (8.71) a. *We sent there to the cleaners.
 b. *We left a bucket of there on the doorstep.
 c. *There's monkey went hungry.
 d. There was not a lot of room for the elephants.
 e. There did emerge one good idea from the discussion.

- As the name suggests, *there*-unaccusatives cannot appear with non-unaccusatives.

- (8.72) a. *?Did there sleep a gopher in the hole?
 b. *There devised a linguist these questions.
 c. *There ate a gorilla my sandwich.

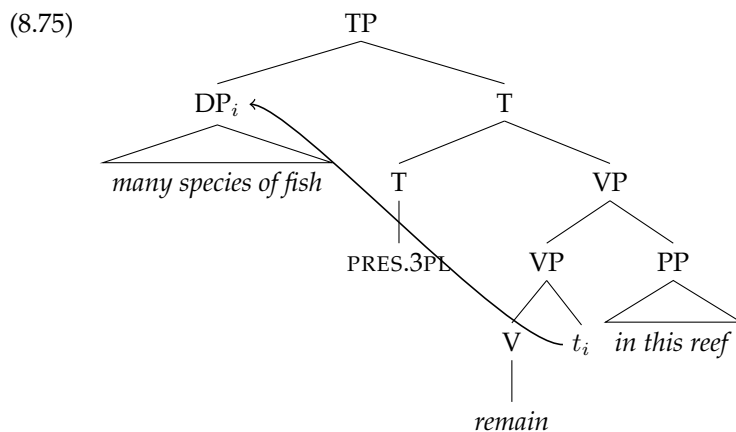
- However, not all unaccusatives allow existential *there*. Here's Perlmutter's (1978) list of unaccusative predicates:

- (8.73) a. *Change of state predicates*: burn, fall, drop, sink, float, slide, slip, glide, soar, flow, ooze, seep, trickle, drip, gush, hang, dangle, sway, wave, tremble, shake, languish, flourish, thrive, drown, stumble, trip, roll, succumb, dry, blow away, boil, seethe, lie (down), bend, melt, freeze, evaporate, vaporize, solidify, crystallize, dim, brighten, redden, darken, yellow, rot, decompose, germinate, sprout, bud, wilt, wither, increase, decrease, reduce, grow, collapse, dissolve, disintegrate
 b. *Predicates of existing and happening*: exist, happen, transpire, occur, take place, arise, ensue, result, show up, end up, turn up, pop up, vanish, disappear
 c. *Aspectual predicates and duratives*: begin, start, stop, cease, continue, end, last, remain, stay, survive
 d. *Directed motion*: come, go, arrive, leave, die, be born

- In accounting for the insertion of *there*, we need to account for the similarity in meaning and structure between the following pair:

- (8.74) a. Many species of fish remain in this reef.
 b. There remain many species of fish in this reef.

- We gave the basic unaccusative the following structure:



- Sketch a structure for (b):

(8.76)

- *there* cannot be used in any old structure, we need to account for the ungrammaticality of the following.
- The following data tell us something about the semantics of unaccusative verbs and *there*. Under *HypB*, this motivates a constraint on *there*-insertion, what is it?

- (8.77)
- *John emerged a fly from the hole.
 - *I arose a disturbance among the students.
 - *There ate my sandwich.
 - *There sleeps.
 - *There arose in the kitchen.
 - *There emerged from the hole in the ground.

- A final constraint on *there*.

- (8.78)
- *There emerged the fly from his nose.
 - *There arose the disturbance among the students.

- *Discussion*: This is unhelpfully called ‘the definiteness effect’, but see Keenan 2003 who shows that the generalization extends beyond definite DPs (e.g., **there are no students except phonologists at the party*). Keenan 2003 argues that this effect is probably best treated in the semantics rather than the syntax. Though this is a very open question.

8.8 Italian inversion, subjecthood, and clause structure

8.8.1 Italian auxiliaries and passives

- First let’s have a look at basic Italian clause structure and auxiliaries. Nothing should look too surprising considering our discussion of Spanish and French vs. English.
- Very unsurprisingly, Italian and Spanish are similar syntactically.

- (8.79)
- Giacomo telefona*
Giacomo telephone.3SG
Giacomo telephones.
 - Giacomo non telefona*
Giacomo not telephone.3SG
Giacomo doesn’t telephone.

- c. *Giacomo arriva*
Giacomo arrive.3SG
Giacomo arrives.
- d. *Giacomo mangia spesso il pollo*
Giacomo eat.3SG often the chicken
Giacomo often eats the chicken.
- e. *Giacomo può telefonare*
Giacomo can.3SG telephone
Giacomo can telephone.
- f. *Giacomo non deve arrivare*
Giacomo not must.3SG arrive
Giacomo must not arrive.
- g. *Giacomo ha telefonato spesso*
Giacomo has.3SG telephone.PTPC often
Giacomo has telephoned often.
- h. *Giacomo ha dovuto mangiare il pollo*
Giacomo has.3SG must.PTPC eat the chicken
Giacomo has had to eat the chicken.

- Propose an account of Italian auxiliaries and negation. Draw a tree for (h).

- Next, the following pairs demonstrate Italian active vs. passive structures. Again, there is nothing too surprising, considering our discussions of English and Dutch passives.

- (8.80)
- a. *Giacomo ha arrestati molti studenti* 'Giacomo arrested many students'
- b. *Molti studenti furono arrestati (da Giacomo)*
many students were.3PL arrested.PTPC.PL by G.
Many students were arrested by Giacomo.
- c. *Giacomo ha aperto la porta* 'Giacomo opened the door.'
- d. *La porta fu aperta* 'The door was opened'
- e. *Giacomo ha comprato queste mele* 'Giacomo has bought these apples.'
- f. *Queste mele furono comprate* 'These apples were bought.'

- NB: *furono* and *fu* are the 3PL and 3SG past forms of the 'be' verb *essere*.¹
- Propose an account of *essere*_{Pass}.

¹The use of *furono/fu* is somewhat less natural than *sono/è state/o/a* which is composed of two instances of *essere*!

8.8.2 Italian auxiliary selection

- Many Germanic and Romance languages, though not modern English or Spanish, demonstrate a phenomenon called ‘auxiliary selection’.
- To construct a perfect in English and Spanish, *have/haber* (plus a past participle) is used almost entirely with all intransitives (e.g., *have arrived, have swum, have decayed*).
- In French, Italian, German, Dutch, and others, certain verbs take the *be*-auxiliary and others take the *have*-auxiliary (see Burzio 1986 on Italian, Zaenen 1993 on Dutch, Primus 2010 on German, etc.). Examples from Sorace 2004.

- (8.81)
- I vampiri non sono mai esistiti* ‘Vampires have (lit. are) never existed’
 - Paolo ha riso fino a sentirsi male* ‘Paolo has laughed until he felt sick.’
 - Paolo è venuto all’appuntamento* ‘Paolo has (lit. is) come to the meeting.’
 - I delegati hanno parlato tutto il giorno* ‘The delegates have talked the whole day.’
 - Il bicchiere è caduto dal tavolo* ‘The glass has (lit. is) fallen from the table.’
 - I poliziotti hanno lavorato fino all’alba* ‘The police have worked the whole afternoon.’

- Like English *there*-unaccusatives, auxiliary selection does not necessarily target every unaccusative predicate. The ‘pickiness’ of auxiliary selection also varies language to language.
- French only allows *être* ‘be’ with a few predicates (Dr. Mrs. Vander Tramp):

	<i>devenir</i>	become	<i>descendre</i>	go down
	<i>rendre</i>	go back	<i>être</i>	be
	<i>mourir</i>	die	<i>retourner</i>	return
(8.82)	<i>revenir</i>	come back	<i>tourner</i>	turn
	<i>sortir</i>	go out	<i>rester</i>	stay
	<i>venir</i>	come	<i>ascendre</i>	go up
	<i>arriver</i>	arrive	<i>monter</i>	go up/onto
	<i>naître</i>	be born	<i>passer</i>	pass

- Can we extend our lexical entry for *essere*_{PASS} to perfect unaccusatives? Draw a tree for (e), *Il bicchiere è caduto dal tavolo*.

8.8.3 Inversion and *ne*-clitics

- As in Spanish, (all) Italian subjects can appear post-verbally.

- (8.83)
- Tre ragazze hanno parlato*
Three girls have.3PL speak.PTPC
Three girls have spoken.

- b. *Hanno parlato tre ragazze* 'Three girls have spoken.'
- c. *Tre settimane passano rapidamente* 'Three weeks pass quickly.'
- d. *Passano rapidamente tre settimane.* 'Three weeks pass quickly.'

- This makes it tricky to tell whether a subject is an in-situ unaccusative sole argument, or a post-posed subject.
- Draw trees for the two possible analyses of the following:

(8.84) *Sono rimasti dei profughi ungheresi*
 be.PRES.3PL remain.PTPC some refugees Hungarian
 Some Hungarian refugees remained.

(8.85)

- Burzio 1986 proposes that the clitic *ne* 'of it/them' (attaching to the left of the tensed verb) can diagnose a low subject.

(8.86) a. *Gianni trascorrerà tre settimane a Milano*
 Gianni spend.FUT.3SG three weeks in Milan
 Gianni will spend three weeks in Milan.

b. *Gianni ne trascorrerà tre a Milano* 'Gianni will spend three (of them) in Milan.'

c. *Tre settimane passano rapidamente* 'Three weeks pass quickly.'

d. **Tre ne passano rapidamente* 'Three (of them) pass quickly.'

e. *Hanno parlato tre ragazze* 'Three girls have spoken.'

f. **Ne hanno parlato tre* 'Three of them have spoken.'

g. *Sono passate tre settimane* 'Three weeks have (lit. are) passed.'

h. *Ne sono pasate tre* 'Three (of them) have passed.'

- What generalizations can we draw from the above data about intransitives?
- How about the following data on passives?

(8.87) a. *Molti esperti saranno invitati*
 many experts be.FUT.3PL invite.PTPC.PL.M
 Many experts will be invited

b. **Molti ne saranno invitati*

c. *Due macchine furono vendute* 'Two cars were sold.'

d. **Due ne furono vendute*

e. *Furono invitati molti esperti*

f. *Ne furono invitati molti* 'Many (of them) were invited.'

g. *Furono vendute due macchine*

h. *Ne furono vendute due* 'Two (of them) were sold.'

- State (in prose) the generalization about when *ne* is permitted to appear.

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