

The syntax of quirky verbal morphology

PhD defence by Anne Kjeldahl
University of Aarhus
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My talk today

- Introduction
- Definition of quirky verbal morphology
- The multiple manifestations of quirky morphology
- The hypothesis: Structural deficiency as a trigger
 - Clause structure
 - Verb-internal structure
 - The structural environments

Introduction

The goal:

To give a unified analysis of superficially heterogenous constructions and thereby providing new perspectives on a well-studied construction; the IPP-effect.

The means:

- Danish, German; two related languages with some crucial basic differences (e.g. SVO/SOV, richness of inflection). The comparison enables new perspectives on either language.
 - Other West Germanic languages; English, Dutch, Afrikaans and dialects. Augments the empirical basis and hence helps prevent over-simplification.
 - Only remotely or non-related languages: Hindi, Yoruba, Akan etc. Gives weight to the claim of the universality of quirky verbal morphology

Defining quirkiness

Unexpected and/or semantically unmotivated morphology on verbs

Two main constructions:

Scandinavian Pseudo-coordination:

- 1) *Peter sidder og læser en bog*
Peter sits and reads a book 'Peter is reading a book'

West-Germanic IPP:

- 2) *Ich habe es nicht gewollt* / * *wollen*
I have it not want.PAST.PART./ want.INF. 'I haven't wanted it'
- 3) *Ich habe es nicht sehen wollen* / * *gewollt*
I have it not see.INF. want.INF./ want.PAST.PART.
'I haven't wanted to see it'

Pseudo-coordination (PC)

Positional pseudo-coordination

- 4) *Hvad sidder Peter og læser?* 5) * *Hvad griner Peter og skriver?*
What sits Peter and reads What laughs Peter and writes
'What is Peter reading?'

Aspectual, progressive reading.

Positional Pseudo-coordination: Default positional verbs 'sit, lie, stand, walk'

Directional pseudo-coordination:

- 6) *Hvad går Peter ud og køber?*
What walks Peter out and buys?

Directional Pseudo-coordination: All telic verbs of motion

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Pseudo-coordination (PC)

Ordinary coordination

- Extraction is not possible
- Subject repetition possible
- Reversal of conjuncts possible
- No restrictions on possible verbs
- No subject restrictions
- Aux may be shared
- Identity of inflection
- Linked by "og"

Pseudo-coordination

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Pseudo-coordination (PC):

Afrikaans: Positional pseudo-coordination only (De Vos 2005: 159)

- 7) *Hy sal die heeldag na die wolke lê en kyk*
He will the whole.day at the clouds lie and look
'He'll lie looking at the clouds all day'

Marsalese: Directional pseudo-coordination only (Cardinaletti/Giusti 2003: 31)

- 8) *Va a pigghia u pani*
go.3SG to fetch.3SG the bread 'He's going to fetch the bread'
- 9) *Va a pigghiari u pani*
go.3SG to fetch.INF the bread

Infinitivus Pro Participio (IPP)

Perfect tense of an IPP-verb + verbal complement

Standard German: Substitute infinitive:

- 10) *Ich habe es nicht sehen wollen*
I have it not see.INF.want.INF. 'I haven't wanted to see it'

Dialectal substitute supine (Oberschwöditz, Höhle 2006: 58):

- 11) *E hād larnd fā:re*
He has learn.SUP. drive.INF. 'He has learned to drive'
- 12) *Mər hunn halfd drā:e*
we have.him help.SUP. carry.INF. 'we have helped him carry'

Infinitivus Pro Participio (IPP)

Context: When an "IPP-verb" with a verbal complement appears in the perfect tense.
 Crosslinguistic variation: Size of class of "IPP-verbs"

Ge	Be	SG	Zü	Du	WF	Af	verbal class	Examples	
+	+	+	+	+	+	+	causatives	<i>let, make, do</i>	+ = obligatory IPP - = no IPP +/- = optional IPP * = not applicable for independent reasons Be: Bern German Ge: Standard German SG: Sankt Gallen German Zü: Zürich German Du: Standard Dutch WF: West Flemish Af: Afrikaans
+	+	+	+	+	+	+	modals	<i>may, can, must, shall, need</i>	
+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+	+/-	perception verbs	<i>hear, see, feel, ...</i>	
+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+	+/-	benefactives	<i>help, learn, teach</i>	
-	+/-	-	-	+	+	+/-	duratives	<i>stay, remain, lie, sit, be, ...</i>	
-	+/-	+/-	-	-	+/-	+/-	inchoatives	<i>begin, continue, stop, ...</i>	
-	+/-	-	-	-	+/-	+/-	control verbs	<i>try, dare, promise, ...</i>	
*	*	*	*	*	*	-	raising verbs	<i>seem, appear, ...</i>	

(Schmid 2005:32)

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Morphological displacement

Standard German (Vogel 2009: 318)

13) *Er behauptete das Buch schon letzte Woche gekauft (V³) haben (V¹) zu wollen (V²)*
 He claimed the book already last week buy.PAST.PART. have.INF. to want.INF.
 'He claimed to have wanted to buy the book last week'

Expected forms:

(V¹) *zu haben* (selected by *behaupten*) → *zu* displaced to *wollen*
 (V²) *gewollt* (selected by *haben*) → participial morphology displaced to *kaufen*
 (V³) *kaufen* (selected by *wollen*) → infinitival morphology displaced to *haben*

Alternative to (V²) *wollen* → IPP

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Miscellaneous quirkiness

Colloquial Danish: Finiteness copying in double modal verb constructions

- 14) Vi må ska' dreje her
We must.FIN shall.FIN turn.INF. here 'I think we have to turn here'

vs. standard Danish

- 15) Vi må sku' dreje her
We must.FIN shall.INF. turn.INF. here 'I think we have to turn here'

Afrikaans (Donaldson 1993: 240):

- 16) Ek sal dit voor dié tyd gedoen het
I will this before this time do.PAST.PART. have.FIN.

Miscellaneous quirkiness

German: *Kommen* 'to come' + verbal complement:

- 17) Peter kam angerannt
Peter came to.run.PAST.PART.

Dutch-1 and Dutch-2: *Komen* + verbal complement (E-ANS 1997: §18.5.3)

- 18) Er kwam een politieauto aangereden
There came a police.car to.drive.PAST.PART.

- 19) Er kwam een politieauto aanrijden
There came a police.car to.drive.INF.

Miscellaneous quirkiness + displacement

German: Displaced *an*

20) *Der Hase kommt angehoppelt*
The hare comes to.jump.PAST.PART.

21) * *Der Hase hoppelt an*
The hare jumps to

an- either from *ankommen* 'arrive' or attached to [*kommen* [*hoppeln*]]

The hypothesis

Quirky verbal morphology is a result of too many verbs sharing too little structure.

This interferes with selection of the right form. Depending on the language, three things can happen:

- I) Insertion of a bare stem (SVC)
- II) Insertion of a non-finite form (IPP)
- II) Copying of inflection of another verb (PC)

Structural deficiency

Assumptions:

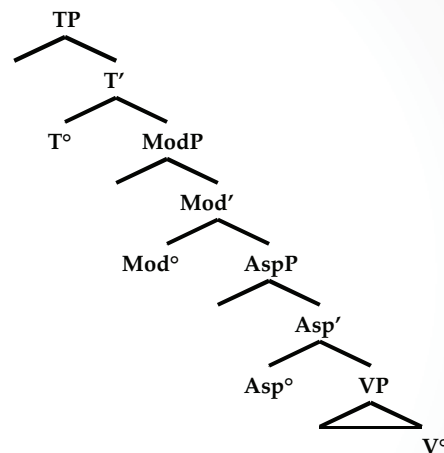
Both the clause and the word (verb) consist of fine-grained structures with layers of phrases, each serving its own purpose:

The clause: Cinque's functional hierarchy (1999, 2004)

The verb: Revised variant of Ramchand's semantic-syntactic decomposition approach (2008).

Structural deficiency

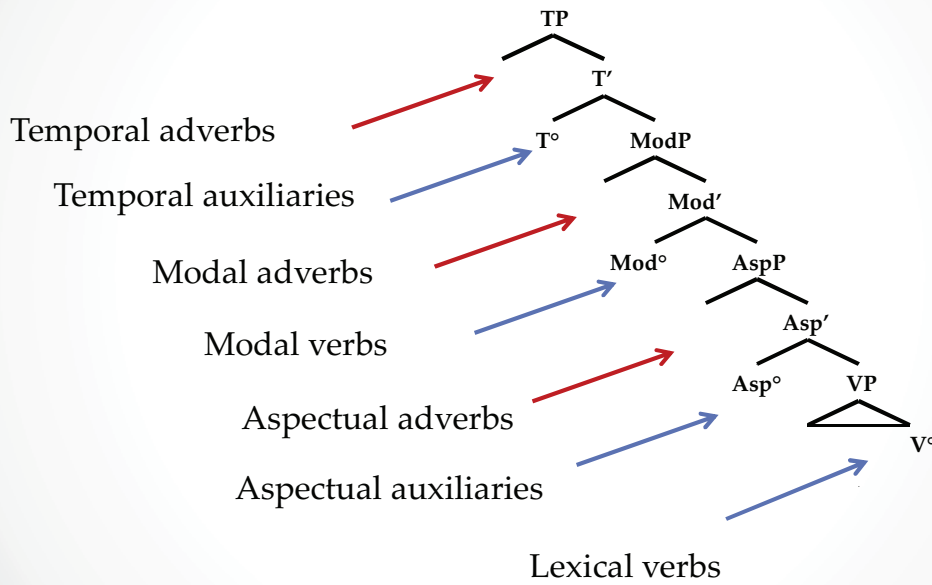
The (simplified) structure of the clause according to Cinque (1999)



The substructure of ModP:

[Mod_{epist} [T [Mod_{irrealis} [Mod_{necessity} [Mod_{possibility} [Mod_{volitional}]]]]]]]]

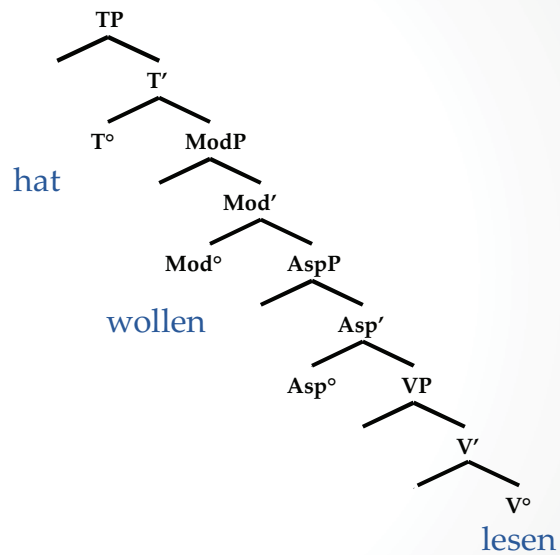
Structural deficiency



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Structural deficiency – overcrowded functional domain

Peter hat das Buch lesen wollen
 Peter has the book read want.INF.



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Structural deficiency with Lex + Lex

Testing for the functional structure of the verbal complement when the higher verb is a lexical verb (e.g. Pseudo-coordination):

Basic projections: [TP [ModP [AspP]]]

Testing for T: Temporal (in)dependence of the verbal complement on the higher verb. Temporal adverbs. If realisation of V^2 follows automatically from V^1 , it suggests the absence of T.

22) # *Peter gik ud og købte avisen, men butikken var lukket*
Peter walked out and bought the.paper but the.store was closed

Structural deficiency with Lex + Lex

Testing for Mod: Insertion of modal verbs/modal adverbs.
The impossibility suggests the absence of ModPs.

23) # *Peter sad og kunne læse*
Peter sat and can.PRET. read

Testing for AspP: Asp contains perfect tense auxiliaries: Impossibility of embedding a perfect tense suggests the absence of AspP.

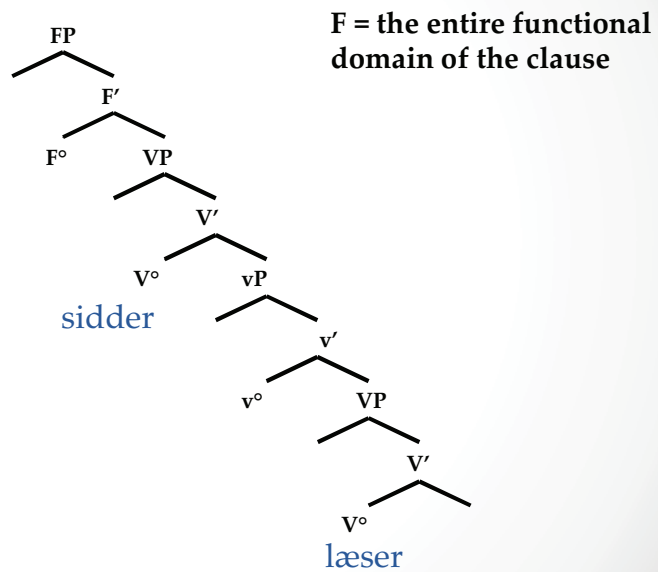
24) # *Peter sad og havde læst bogen*
Peter sat and had read.PAST.PART. the.book

The result: With quirky morphology involving two lexical verbs, the functional projections above vP are never present.

Structural deficiency with Lex + Lex

Two VPs for one FP

Peter sidder og læser
Peter sits and reads



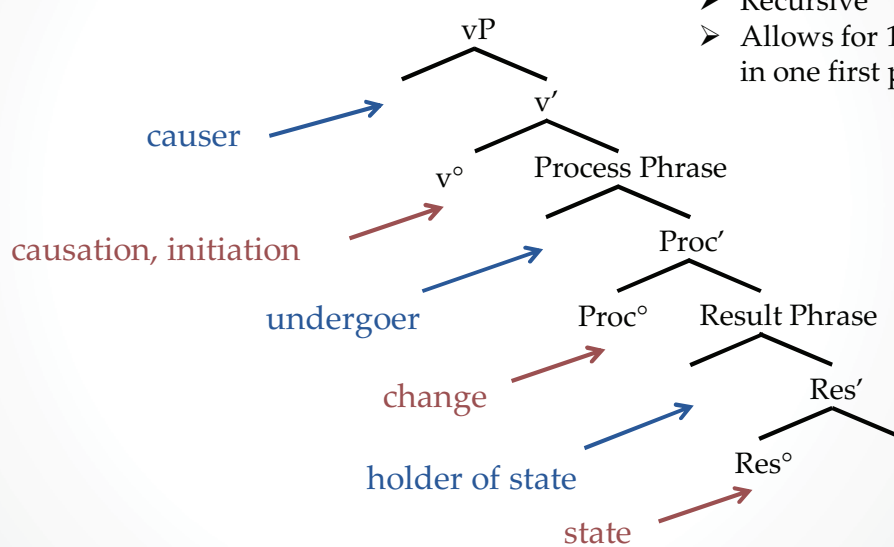
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Verb-internal structure

Revised version of Ramchand's (2008) first phase

The first phase is:

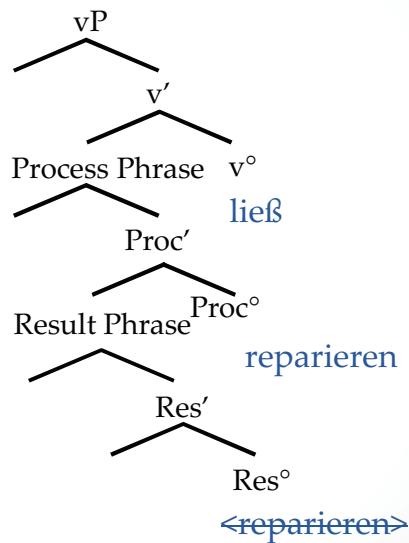
- Recursive
- Allows for 1+ verbs in one first phase



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Overcrowded verbal domain

Peter ließ seinen Wagen reparieren
Peter let his car repair.INF.
'Peter had his car repaired'



Structural conditions

By establishing the size of the functional clausal structure and applying semantic decomposition, the following contexts were identified:

- Two verbs in the functional domain (T + Mod/Mod + Mod: IPP with modalverbs, finite modal copying)
- Two full lexical verbs sharing one functional structure (recursive first phase): IPP with perception verbs, pseudo-coordination
- Two verbs in one lexical domain: IPP with causative *lassen*

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