AARHUS UNIVERSITET

Workshop on **Syntax & Morphology**
on the occasion of the Ph.D. defences of Johannes Kizach & of Anne Kjeldahl

Arranged by:
Sprogvidenskabelig Forskerskole Nord (SFN)
&
Section for English
Department of Language, Literature & Culture
University of Aarhus

Venue:
Building 1451, Nobelsalen (Ground floor)
Jens Chr. Skous Vej 3
University of Aarhus

This workshop follows the defence (in English) of **Anne Kjeldahl's** Ph.D. dissertation:
The syntax of quirky verbal morphology
Wednesday, September 29, 2010, 13:15, Building 1451, Room 120 ("Nobel-salen")

as well as the defence (also in English) of **Johannes Kizach's** Ph.D. dissertation:
The Function of Word Order in Russian Compared with Danish and English
Thursday, September 30, 2010, 13:30, Building 1451, Room 120 ("Nobel-salen")

Friday, October 1, 2010			
10:15-11:00	**John Hawkins** (University of Cambridge / University of California, Davis)	**Disharmonic Word Order from a Processing Typology Perspective**	abstract
11:15-12:00	**Theresa Biberauer** (University of Cambridge)	**Disharmonic Word Order, Quirky Morphology and the Afrikaans Verb Cluster**	abstract
12:15-13:00	**Laura Janda** (University of Tromsø)	**The prominent verbs in interactions of aspect, tense and mood in Russian**	abstract
13:00-14:15	-- Lunch --		
14:15-15:00	**Josef Bayer** (University of Konstanz)	**What is Verb-second?**	abstract
15:15-16:00	**Ellen Brandner** (University of Wuppertal)	**V1 clauses aren't V2 clauses 'in disguise'**	abstract
16:15-17:00	**Sten Vikner & Johanna Wood** (University of Aarhus)	**Such is "such", and so is "so"**	abstract
18:30	-- Dinner --		

Participation is free and open to everybody interested. If you plan to attend the workshop, please help us make sure that there will be enough hand-outs (and coffee and cookies) by sending an e-mail to Sten Vikner.

Organizers: Sten Vikner & Johanna Wood

The workshop is financed by the Faculty of Humanities, University of Aarhus.

Disharmonic Word Order from a Processing Typology Perspective

John A. Hawkins,
Research Centre for English and Applied Linguistics,
University of Cambridge, UK
&
Department of Linguistics, University of California, Davis CA, U.S.A.

This paper examines 'harmonic' versus 'disharmonic' word orders from both a typological and a formal grammatical perspective. In particular it considers how head-initial, head-final and mixed head-initial and head-final structures are processed in real time and argues that languages have conventionalized head orderings throughout their grammars in proportion to their ease of processing. Performance has profoundly shaped competence grammars in this area, resulting in cross-linguistic variation patterns, in accordance with the following hypothesis (cf. Hawkins 2004):

> <u>Performance-Grammar Correspondence Hypothesis</u> (PGCH)
> Grammars have conventionalized syntactic structures in proportion to their degree of preference in performance, as evidenced by patterns of selection in corpora and by ease of processing in psycholinguistic experiments.

A recent formal grammatical proposal is discussed, the Final-Over-Final Constraint (cf. Biberauer, Holmberg & Roberts 2007, 2008), which defines harmony versus disharmony differently from classical work in the typological tradition. The predictions of the FOFC are considered from the processing typology perspective and it is argued that an interdisciplinary approach that combines formal grammatical insights with cross-linguistic surface typology plus considerations of on-line processing can achieve a better description and an explanation of the word order patterns than each of these research traditions can achieve on its own.

Biberauer, T., A. Holmberg & I. Roberts (2007) 'Disharmonic word-order systems and the Final-over-Final Constraint (FOFC)', in <u>Incontro di grammatical generativa</u>
Biberauer, T., A. Holmberg & I. Roberts (2008) 'Structure and linearization in disharmonic   word orders', in <u>Proceedings of the 26th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics</u>.
Hawkins, J.A. (2004) <u>Efficiency and Complexity in Grammars</u>, OUP, Oxford.
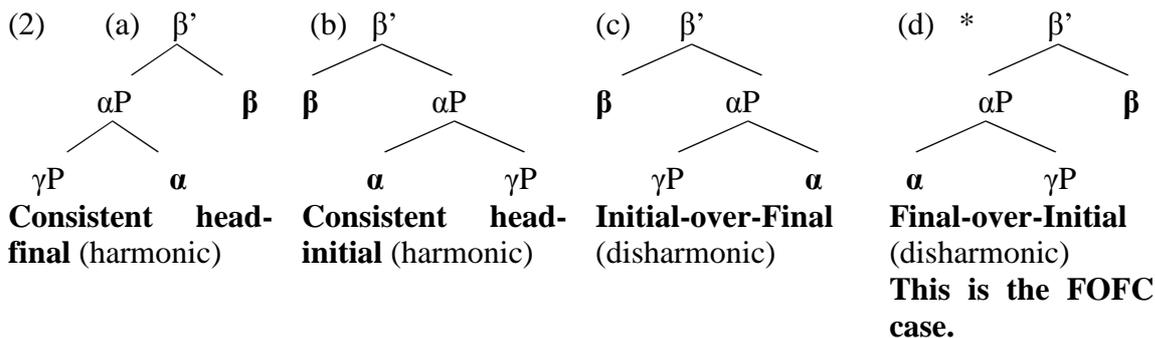
DISHARMONIC WORD ORDER, QUIRKY MORPHOLOGY AND THE AFRIKAANS VERB CLUSTER

Theresa Biberauer
University of Cambridge and Stellenbosch University

This paper takes as its point of departure the so-called Final-over-Final Constraint (FOFC) of Holmberg (2000) and Biberauer, Holmberg & Roberts/BHR (2007 *et seq.*; see BHR 2010 for the most recent discussion). FOFC, which can be shown to hold in a very wide range of domains (clausal, nominal, etc.) can be stated as follows:

(1)   For all heads {α, β, ..} on a single projection line, if α is a head-initial phrase and β is a phrase immediately dominating α, then β must be head-initial. If α is a head-final phrase, and β is a phrase immediately dominating α, then β can be head-initial or head-final.

(1), then, sets up an asymmetry between disharmonic word orders, ruling out disharmonic structures of the type in (2d), while ruling in the (2c)-type alongside harmonic options as in (2a) and (2b):

(2)   (a) β'
           / \
         αP   β
        / \
      γP   α
Consistent head-final (harmonic)

      (b) β'
           / \
          β   αP
             / \
            α   γP
Consistent head-initial (harmonic)

      (c) β'
           / \
          β   αP
             / \
           γP   α
Initial-over-Final (disharmonic)

      (d) *   β'
               / \
             αP   β
            / \
           α   γP
Final-over-Initial (disharmonic)
This is the FOFC case.

(1) correctly rules out, i.a, the SVOAux orders that have never been attested at any stage in the history of Germanic, including stages at which word-order variation was readily sanctioned (cf. i.a. Kiparsky 1996), and that are also unavailable in unrelated languages like Finnish (Holmberg 2000) and Basque (Haddican 2004). Likewise, it rules out both the complementiser-final VO languages that systematic typological investigation has shown to be unattested (cf. Hawkins 1990, Dryer 1992, 2009), and neutral orders in OV languages in which complementiser-initial clauses mirror the behaviour of nominal objects in preceding their selecting verb (cf. again Dryer 2009, and also Biberauer & Sheehan 2010 for discussion of the extraposition that OV languages with initial complementisers typically show). In the domain of verb clusters and, specifically, West Germanic three-verb clusters, however, (1) appears to encounter a challenge, and it is this challenge which is the focus of this paper.

According to (1), we might expect one order to be impossible in the context of three-verb clusters: the 231 order, in which the hierarchically highest verb (1) is final, while the verb which it selects (2) is head-initial, with the consequence that its complement, headed by 3, follows it. Systematic research (cf. i.a. Wurmbrand 2005, Barbiers 2005, Schmid 2006) has, however, shown that the unattested order in West Germanic is 213 rather than 231. Until recently (Wurmbrand 2005), it was believed that 231 orders were "very rare", but research on Dutch dialects (cf. Barbiers 2005) and detailed consideration of Afrikaans (cf. Biberauer

2010, Biberauer & Walkden 2010) shows this to be false. The aim of this paper is to take a closer look at the Afrikaans data in particular as these have, firstly, not received systematic attention before and, secondly, it is clear that Afrikaans is the most prolific offender in relation to (1). Further, Afrikaans 231 structures point to the relevance of carefully investigating what Kjeldahl (2010) designates *quirky morphology* (cf. also Wurmbrand 2010 on so-called *parasitic morphology*) in relation to underlying syntactic structure as 231 structures quite systematically exhibit unexpected morphology (e.g. Infinitivus pro Participio/IPP, which we also see in Dutch and Germanic 231 structures, preterite assimilation, etc.).

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"The prominent verbs in interactions of aspect, tense and mood in Russian", by Laura A. Janda, co-authored with Olga Lyashevskaya

We propose the "grammatical profile" as a means of probing the aspectual behavior of verbs. A grammatical profile is the relative frequency distribution of the inflected forms of a word in a corpus. The grammatical profiles of Russian verbs provide data on two crucial issues: a) the overall relationship between perfective and imperfective verbs and b) the identification of verbs that characterize various intersections of aspect, tense and mood (TAM) with lexical classes. There is a long-standing debate over whether Russian aspectual "pairs" are formed only via suffixation (the Isačenko hypothesis) or whether they are formed via both suffixation and prefixation (the traditional view). We test the Isačenko hypothesis using data on the corpus frequency of inflected forms of verbs. We find that the behavior of perfective and imperfective verbs is the same regardless of whether the aspectual relationship is marked by prefixes or suffixes; our finding thus supports the traditional view.

Introspective descriptions of Russian aspect have often connected the use of particular inflectional forms with certain uses of aspect; for example, the use of imperative forms with the imperfective aspect to produce expressions that are very polite. Grammatical profiles make it possible to identify verbs that behave as outliers, presenting unusually large proportions of usage in parts of the paradigm. In other words, this study shows which verbs are most frequent in their use in TAM combinations such as imperfective imperative, perfective imperative, imperfective non-past, perfective non-past etc. This analysis both gives substance to and extends previous introspective descriptions by identifying the verbs most involved in certain TAM-category interactions. We find, for example, certain phenomena that have not been the subject of previous research, such as the use of imperfective imperatives in requests for assistance and kind wishes, and the presence of neutral uses (neither polite nor rude) for both imperfective and perfective imperatives. The main driving force for use of imperfective non-past forms is apparently gnomic reference, rather than the durative meaning of the imperfective that is usually considered most prototypical. Perfective non-past is dominated by predictions (including promises and threats), as well as performative uses of verbs. Infinitive forms are associated with modal uses, and the corpus data suggest that imperfective infinitive are used primarily for deontic generic modality, whereas perfective infinitives express dynamic or deontic modality in reference to specific situations. perfective infinitives additionally participate in constructions with tentative verbs (meaning 'try'), where they emphasize the difficulty or importance of an achievement. Imperfective past forms are associated with evidentials, habituals, and the narration of observations.

On a methodological level, this study contributes to current discussions on the use of inflected forms vs. lemmas in corpus studies. Whereas Gries (forthcoming) argues that inflectional forms do not necessarily provide a better basis for analysis than lemmas, Newman (2008) finds valuable information at the level of the inflectional form. We suggest that the appropriate level of granularity is determined by both the language and the linguistic phenomenon under analysis.

Gries, Stefan Th. Forthcoming. "Corpus data in usage-based linguistics: What's the right degree of granularity for the analysis of argument structure constructions?" In: Brdar, Mario, Milena Žic Fuchs, and Stefan Th. Gries (eds.). *Expanding cognitive linguistic horizons*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Newman, J. 2008. "Aiming low in linguistics: Low-level generalizations in corpus-based research". *Proceedings of the 11th International Symposium on Chinese Languages and Linguistics, National Chiao Tung University, Hsinchu, Taiwan*. May 24 2008. http://www.ualberta.ca/~johnnewm/Aiming%20Low.pdf.

What is Verb Second?

Josef Bayer
Universität Konstanz
josef.bayer@uni-konstanz.de

Although the Verb Second (V2) property which is found in most of the Germanic languages belongs to the most stable and well described grammatical phenomena, the nature of V2 and its explanation continues to be a matter of debate among linguists. In this presentation it will be argued on the basis of German data that V2 is essentially an epiphenomenon which emerges from the the requirement of morphological integrity. The expression "V2" is partially misleading because the verb in the sense of the verb stem is only affected due to the fact that the associated inflectional features must move to C. In other words, the verb stem is affected by *generalized pied-piping*. The talk will concentrate on the following phenomena:

1. periphrastic *tun* („do")
2. verb doubling
3. negative polarity
4. association with focus
5. verb and separable particle

It will be shown that in all these cases the verb itself is interpreted in its underlying clause-final position and not in the second position in which it is phonetically perceived, i.e. the verb is obligatorily reconstructed. The analysis does not only offer a consistent explanation of the data but also makes a strong point in favor of a syntactic theory in which movement leaves an inaudible copy, the so-called "copy-theory of movement". The result of V2 is V2 only at the PF-side of the grammar; it is I2 (or T2) at the LF-side of the grammar because the lexical part of the inflected verb remains at LF in the base position.

If time permits, the result will be placed in a larger typological context. Different, also weakly related or even unrelated languages of the world show V2-effects or related X2 phenomena. Comparisons offer room for speculations about the functionality of V2/X2.

V1 clauses aren't V2 clauses 'in disguise'

Ellen Brandner, Universität Wuppertal

Verb initial structures of the kind in (1) are widespread in German(ic). Putting imperatives aside (which are arguably of a different nature due to their special inflection), they can occur as Y/N questions (1a), Exclamatives (1b), Narratives (1c), and Conditionals (1d):

(1) a. Hat Hans sich aufgeregt?   Y/N question
     has H.   himself got-upset
  b. Hat Hans sich aufgeregt!   V-initial exclamative
     has H.   himself got-upset
  c. Kommt Fritzchen aus der Schule….   V-initial narrative
     Comes F.   from school
  d. Ist der Ruf erst ruiniert, lebt es sich ganz ungeniert   V-initial conditional
     Is he reputation ruined, lives one unabashed

A common view in generative syntax is that the seemingly empty 'Vorfeld'-position is actually not empty but occupied by an operator that is responsible for the relevant interpretation. Such a view has the advantage of being able to stick to a uniform analysis of all instances of V-C movement in German(ic). On the other hand, the postulation of an empty operator (which is only responsible for clause type and doesn't bind a variable) is a rather unusual type of element in syntactic theory.

In this talk, I will argue against the operator analysis and argue that

(i) these structures are truly verb-initial, i.e. there is no empty material before the finite verb

(ii) they are syntactically underspecified for their clause type and the actual interpretation is dependent (partially) on non-syntactic means (like the addition of particles, lexical choice, intonation)

(iii) the common nominator for all these clause types can only be defined negatively, namely that they are not 'plain assertions' in which the speaker is committed to the truth value

The analysis entails a view on phrase structure which treats head movement as 'self-attachment' of the finite verb to its own projection and thus does not rely on criterial checking of clause type features. This means that clause type is not encoded via syntactic features in the syntax; instead, the syntactic structure of a clause merely delimits the possible range of interpretations. It will be shown, on the basis of non-canonical uses of certain clause types, that this flexible view is empirically more adequate than previous accounts.

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Such is "such", and so is "so"
Johanna Wood & Sten Vikner, University of Aarhus
engjw@hum.au.dk, engsv@hum.au.dk
Clauses/nominals project: www.hum.au.dk/engelsk/engsv/clauses-nominals

We compare the etymologically related words *so* and *such* (English); *så* and *sådan* (Danish); and *so* and *solch* (German) and suggest a possible derivation. In the comparison, a number of similarities and differences have to be accounted for cross-linguistically: the syntax, (pre- or post- indefinite article), the modification (whether an AdjP or a DP/NP is modified) and, in Danish and German, the morphological agreement.

In the case of *so/så/so,* English and Danish differ from German in that *so/så* may only modify an AdjP, while German *so* may also modify the DP/NP. In the case of *such/sådan/solch,* Danish and German differ from English in that adjectives agree morphologically with the noun, but they differ from each other since, in German, only attributive adjectives, and not predicative adjectives, must agree, unlike Danish where both must agree (Vikner 2001). Danish and German both allow inflected *sådan/solch* to follow the article. English *such* differs from *sådan/solch* in that it may only precede the indefinite article and may only modify the DP/NP (Bolinger 1972, Wood 2002).

We discuss two possible syntactic derivations, predicate raising (e.g. Corver 1997, Bennis, Corver & den Dikken 1998) and XP movement from an attributive adjective position within the nominal (e.g. Matushansky 2002).

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