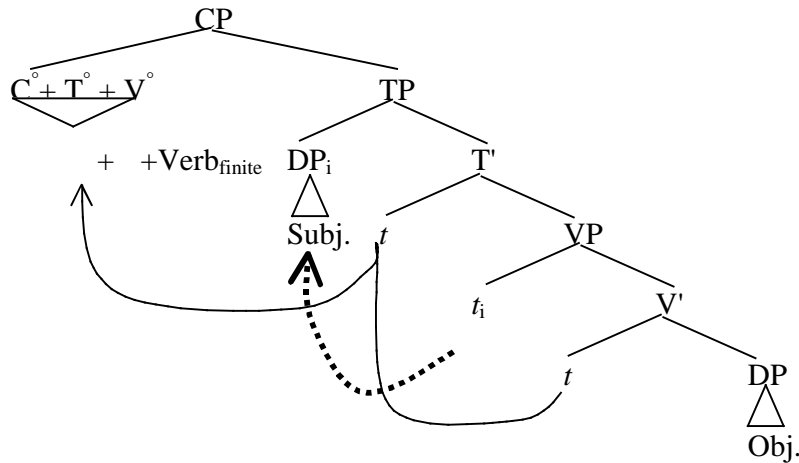


NO Official Questions this week (though of course unofficial ones fine)

1 VSO order

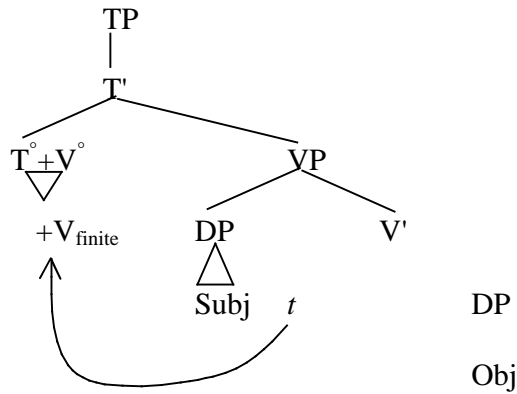
1.



→ this isn't right because still VSO in embedded clauses (when C is filled)
 → and other reasons, see McCloskey 1991

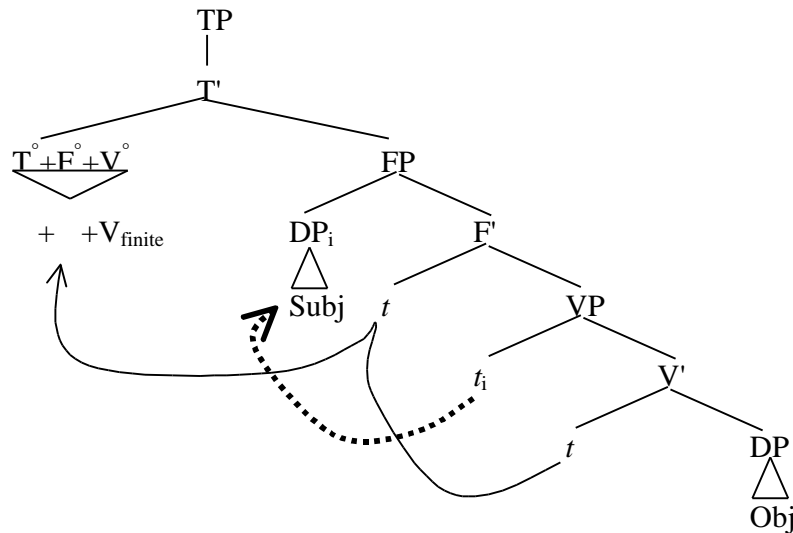
or

2.



→ This paper: it's a little more complicated than that
 → McCloskey argues that, although the verb isn't in C°, the subject has moved out of VP in Irish. This means that there has to be another possible landing spot — another specifier — between TP and VP in Irish. That is, Irish clause structure really looks like this:

3.



2 The Extended Projection Principle

→ For many purposes, we can equate subjecthood with nominative case. Even when we have an *it*-expletive, we could say that the *it* is inserted to check nominative case (when the derivation would otherwise crash if it was unchecked).

→ In some cases, though, this isn't good enough:

4. English existentials

- a) There were three men in the room.
- b) Three men were in the room.

5. French unaccusatives

Il est arrivée trois hommes
expl. are arrived three men
 "Three men have arrived"

6. Icelandic transitive expletive constructions:

- a) Jólasveinarnir borðuðu búðinginn
 the.Christmas.trolls.NOM ate the.pudding.ACC
 "The Christmas trolls ate the pudding"
- b) Óadh borðuðu sennilega margir jólasveinar bjúgun
 there ate probably many Christmas.trolls.NOM the.sausages.ACC
 "Many Christmas trolls probably ate the sausages"

→ The DP subjects of these verbs — *three men* and *trois hommes* in 4 and 5, and *Christmas Trolls* in 6b — get nominative case, just like any other subject DP. (You can actually see this morphologically in the Icelandic in 6. By hypothesis, *be* in English and *arriver* in French do not assign accusative case, since they're raising (unaccusative))

verbs. So the postverbal subjects must be getting nominative case somehow. If that's so, then the expletives must not be checking nominative case (otherwise these subjects would be violating the case filter. What are the expletives doing there at all? (i.e., why are the following ungrammatical? **Were three men in the room.* **Arrivé trois hommes.*

**Borðuðu sennilega margir jólasveinar bjúgun.*)

→ hypothesis: the expletive is there to satisfy the *EPP*: the Extended Projection Principle, which is a requirement that all clauses have something (a DP) in Spec-TP.

→ this is essentially like saying, "All clauses must have a subject" (remember your English grammar classes?)

→ Without the expletive, the EPP wouldn't be satisfied and the clauses are hence ungrammatical.

→ McCloskey's article is going to argue that in Irish, DPs must move to check case — but whatever that position is, it's different from the EPP position. There are clauses in Irish which can be shown to have nothing in either Spec-TP or Spec-FP.

3 Two kinds of unaccusative verbs in Irish

7. An unaccusative verb's theta-grid:

decrease	[Theme]
increase	[Theme]

→ no underlined theta-role; hence nothing is projected in Spec-VP (just as with *is certain* from last week's homework

<i>is certain</i>	[Proposition]
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→ *is certain* could take either a finite CP (with *that*) or a non-finite TP as its complement — that is, there were two different syntactic categories that were eligible to receive the theta-role "Proposition"

8. Subcategorization

→ even though semantically both TPs and CPs can denote Proposition, and receive the same theta-role, not all verbs that assign Proposition theta roles can take both kinds:

a) *Ones that can take both TPs and CPs*

<i>seem</i> : It seems	[_{CP} that John has gone]
John seems	[_{TP} <i>t</i> to have gone]

<i>appear</i> It appears	[_{CP} that John has gone]
John appears	[_{TP} <i>t</i> to have gone]

was believed: It was believed [CP that John had gone]
John was believed [TP *t* to have gone]

was thought: It was thought [CP that John had gone]
John was thought [TP *t* to have gone]

was said: It was said [CP that John had gone]
John was said [TP *t* to have gone]

is likely, is certain, was reported, etc. etc.

b) *Ones that can only take CPs*

was decided: It was decided [CP that John would go]
*John was decided [TP *t* to go]

was explained: It was explained [CP that John had gone]
*John was explained [TP *t* to have gone]

was regretted It was widely regretted [CP that John had gone]
*John was widely regretted [TP *t* to have gone]

...

→ How to capture this distinction?

9. Theta-grids = "semantic" requirements of a verb
Subcategorization frames = "syntactic" requirements of a verb

Lexical entry:

Phonology	Semantics	Syntax
<i>seem</i>	[Proposition]	V, [____ {CP, TP}]
<i>was decided</i>	[Proposition]	V, [____ CP]

The semantic information is the *theta grid*, the syntactic information is called the *subcategorization frame*.

→ Unaccusative verbs in English nearly always assign their Theme theta-role to a DP — that is, they nearly all subcategorize for a DP.

→ that's not always the case in Irish, though:

→ In Irish there are two kinds of unaccusatives: those whose Theme theta-role is assigned to a PP, and those whose Theme theta-role is assigned to a DP. McCloskey calls the former "*Salient*" unaccusatives (they subcategorize for a PP), and the latter "*Putative*"

unaccusatives (they subcategorize for a DP). Some verbs accept either — they have subcategorization frames which allow them to select either a DP or a PP.

8. *Salient unaccusatives*

- a) Bhreisigh ar an gluaiseacht
 Increased on the movement
 "The movement increased"

Bhreisigh, 'increase'
 Theta-grid [Theme]
 Subcat frame [____ PP]

- b) D'éirigh idir na fir
 Rose between the men
 "The men quarrelled"

D'éirigh, 'rise, quarrel' [Theme]
 [____ PP]

9. *Putative unaccusatives*

- a) Neartaigh a ghlór
 strengthened his voice
 "His voice strengthened"

Neartaigh, 'strengthen' [Theme]
 [____ DP]

- b) Mhéadaigh mo shaibhreas
 Increased my wealth
 "My wealth increased"

Mhéadaigh, 'increase' [Theme]
 [____ DP]

In fact, many of the putative unaccusatives are also salient unaccusatives — that is, they may take *either* a DP or a PP complement. The semantic role assigned by such verbs remains the same, but their subcategorization frame contains the option:

10. Neartaigh ar a ghlór
 strengthened on his voice
 "His voice strengthened"

Neartaigh, 'strengthen' [Theme]
 [____ {DP, PP}]

4 The syntax of salient unaccusatives

→ McCloskey shows that these are real prepositions, subject to the same kind of requirements as are other prepositions. They can't be "just" case markers (as we discovered English *of* sometimes is).

11. *Salient unaccusatives are true "internal" arguments — they are realized in complement-to-V position*

→ Irish is VS(O) only in finite clauses. In non-finite clauses, SV(O) order is normal:

a) Agus é ag tarraingt ar an bhaile
and him PART draw on the home
S V_{-fin} PP
"as he approached home"

a') *Agus ag tarraingt é ar an bhaile
*and PART draw him on the home
V_{-fin} S PP

b) Nior mhaith liom [iad imeacht]
Neg please to.me [them leave(-FIN)]
[S V_{-fin}]
"I wouldn't like them to leave"

b') *Nior mhaith liom [imeacht iad]
*Neg please to.me [leave(-FIN) them]
[V_{-fin} S]

12. What about non-finite clauses with these salient unaccusatives?

a) Braithim [ag teacht as fhéithleoga]
Feel.1sg PART come out.of sinews
V_{-fin} PP
"I feel sinews stretching"

a') *Braithim [as fhéithleoga ag teacht]
*Feel.1sg out.ofsinews PART come
PP V_{-fin}

b) I ndiaidh [fealladh air (fiche uair)]
after [fail(-FIN) on-him(twenty times)]
V_{-fin} PP
"After he had failed twenty times..."

b')	*I ndiaidh	[air	fealladh	(fiche uair)]
	*after	[on-him	fail(-FIN)	(twenty times)]
		PP	V _{-fin}	

→ some stuff about progressives and small clauses here; I won't bother with it right now

→ McCloskey goes on to show that in the progressive, true subjects may not cleft together with the verb (the true subject is not a constituent with the progressive participle), but that the PP arguments of the salient unaccusative verbs *may* cleft together with the verb — that is the V+PP *are* a constituent. And this behavior is like that of progressive verbs with their *objects*. All of this seems to suggest that the PP of salient unaccusatives is in a position like that of regular objects, even at S-structure:

13. *Clefting*

a) *Subjects may not cleft together with their verb in Irish:*

*Is	[na daoine ag imeacht] _i	a	bhí	t _i
*is	[the people PART leave]	that	were	

"It's the people leaving that was happening" *or*
 "People leaving is what was happening"

b) *Objects may:*

Is	[ag tógáil tithe] _i	a	bhí	siad	t _i
is	[PART build houses]	that	were	they	

"It's building houses that they were doing" *or*
 "Building houses is what they were doing"

c) *Salient unaccusative Vs plus their PPs may:*

Agus is	[ag teacht ann] _i	a	bhí	t _i
and is	[PART come in-him]	that	was	

"It's him growing that was happening" *or*
 "Him growing is what was happening"

Non-finite salient unaccusatives, at least, then, seem to be plausible cases for truly subjectless sentences: no expletive, no anything in subject position.

5. **The syntax of putative unaccusatives**

→ Do putative unaccusatives and salient unaccusatives behave the same way? That is, do the DP arguments of putative unaccusatives occur in the same position as the PP arguments of salient unaccusatives?