Heededness & V-movement

(1) CP
   Spec C'
       C IP
           DP_i I'
               Subject
                   I
                       VP
                           t_i V'
                               V
                                       DP Object

(2) John bought a book. English
    S V O

(3) John-ga hon-o kaimasita. Japanese
    S O V

(4) CP
    Spec C'
        C IP
            DP_i I'
                Subject
                VP
                    t_i V'
                        DP Object

Head parameter: Head-initial (English) Head-final (Japanese)

(5) John-ga hon-o kaimasita ka? J.
    John-NOM book-ACC bought Q
    ‘Did John buy a book?’

(6) Mary sagt, dass Hans den Ball gekauft hat. German
    Mary said that Hans the ball bought has
    ‘Mary said that Hans has bought the ball.’

(7) CP
    Spec C'
        C IP
            dass
                DP_i I'
                    Hans
                    VP I
                        t_i V'
                            DP V
                                den Ball gekauft

German: head-initial: CP (, DP, AP, PP)
head-final: VP, IP
(‘Mixed headedness’)

(8)
Languages can vary with respect to the order of Head and Complement (Headedness parameter).

However: Spec always seems to precede X’.

(8) Hans kaufte den Ball. Hans bought the ball  
(9) * Hans den Ball kaufte.  
(10) Hans hat den Ball gekauft. Hans has the ball bought  
(11) * Hans den Ball gekauft hat. Hans the ball bought has

Trouble for saying German (VP) is head-final?

(12) Gestern kaufte Hans den Ball. yesterday bought Hans the ball  
(13) * Gestern Hans den Ball kaufte. yesterday Hans the ball bought  
(14) Im Park hat Hans den Ball gekauft. in.the park has Hans the ball bought  
(15) * Im Park Hans den Ball gekauft hat. in.the park Hans the ball bought has  
(16) * Im Park Hans hat den Ball gekauft. in.the park Hans has the ball bought

Finite verb follows the first constituent. The verb must be second.

(Assuming German also abides by the EPP) The first thing seems to precede IP.


(17) CP  
    PP_j  
    im Park

    C’  
    C  
    I_k  
    hat

    IP

    C

    DP_1

    I’

    Hans  

    VP  

    t_k

    t_i  

    V’

    VP  

    t_j

    DP  

    den Ball gekauft

(18) Mary sagt, dass Hans den Ball gekauft hat. Mary said that Hans the ball bought has ‘Mary said that Hans has bought the ball.’

Why no V2 in embedded clauses?

It gets sort of complicated—A story for German?

(19) Er sagt, ‘he says’ dass die Kinder diesen Film gesehen haben  
that the children this film seen have

(20) Er sagt ‘he says’ diesen Film haben die Kinder gesehen this film have the children seen

Ok, V can’t move (to I and then) to C because C is full of dass in embedded clauses.

(21) What has John bought?  
(22) What did Mary say that John has bought?  
(23) What did Mary say John has bought?  
(24) * What did Mary say has John bought?

That can’t be the explanation for why V2 is restricted to matrix clauses in English.

Plus, other Germanic languages do allow V2 in embedded clauses (Icelandic, Yiddish).
English residual V2 also in *negative preposing*:

(25) Never have I seen such a thing.
(26) * Never I have seen such a thing.
(27) Under no circumstances should you sleep.
(28) * Under no circumstances you should sleep.
(29) Ed said that never had he seen such a thing.
(30) * Ed said that never he had seen such a thing.

To handle this requires changing our view of the phrase structure somewhat.

(31) CP₁ “CP recursion”? C₁'
    
    C₁ CP₂ Is CP₂ really a CP?...to be continued in Syntax II
    
    AdvP C₂' in Syntax II never
    
    C₂ IP had ...

We’ve seen SVO and SOV…

(32) Phób Máire an lacharachán *Irish*
kissed Mary the leprechaun
    ‘Mary kissed the leprechaun.’

(33) Tá Máire ag-pógáil an lacharachán
    is Mary ing-kiss the leprechaun
    ‘Mary is kissing the leprechaun.’

So, VSO comes from V→I→C?

(34) An bhfacá tú an madra?
    Q see you the dog
    ‘Did you see the dog?’

(35) Duirt mé gur phóg Máire an lucharachán.
    said I that kissed Mary the leprechaun
    ‘I said that Mary kissed the leprechaun.’

Same problem we were having before with V2… V→I→C seems to require a “CP recursion” analysis.

An alternative possibility…

(36) raʔa-a lʔawlaad-u Zayd-an *Std Arabic*
saw-3S the-boys-NOM Zayd-ACC
    ‘The boys saw Zayd.’ (VSO)

(37) lʔawlaad-u raʔa-w Zayd-an
    the-boys-NOM saw-3PL Zayd-ACC
    ‘The boys saw Zayd.’ (SVO)

(38) IP Spec-head agreement
    
    DP₁ lʔawlaad-u?
    
    I' V' raʔa-w
    
    tᵢ Zayd-an

EPP!? We must suppose Std. Arabic has an expletive pro… (like it in English).

(39) IP
    
    proexp I'
    
    V' raʔa-a_j
    
    DP V' lʔawlaad-u
    
    tᵢ Zayd-an

(40) zaʔamu-u ?anna-u raʔa-a lʔawlaad-u Zayd-an.
    claimed-3PL that-it saw-3S the-boys-NOM Zayd-ACC
    ‘They claimed that the boys saw Zayd.’

(41) zaʔamu-u ?anna lʔawlaad-a raʔa-w Zayd-an
    claimed-3PL that the-boys-NOM saw-3PL Zayd-ACC
    ‘They claimed that the boys saw Zayd.’
An bhfaca tú an madra? 'Did you see the dog?'

Duirt mé gur phóg Máire an lucharachán. 'I said that Mary kissed the leprechaun.'

Who did John persuade \( t_1 \) to buy what?

John has seen Mary 'John has seen Mary'

Who whom has seen 'Who has seen whom'

* Who whom has seen? 'Who has seen whom'

* Who whom has seen? 'Who has seen whom'

It seems like there are at least two dimensions:

- SpecCP\([+Q]\) needs a \( wh \)-word (at SS). "\[+Q\]-CP"
- \( Wh \)-words need to be in SpecCP\([+Q]\) (at SS).
C [+Q] needs a *wh* 

wh needs C [+Q].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgarian</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
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<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>No</td>
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</tbody>
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**But** every language ends up like Bulgarian at LF:

(55)  

![Diagram: CP with Spec C, Spec C′, Spec who, Spec what, and C′ with I→ t_j]  

All of the *wh*-words need to end up in SpecCP.

(56)  *Who_i* t_j bought what?

(57)  *What did who buy t_i ?

(58)  

![Diagram: CP with Spec C, Spec C′, Spec who, Spec what, and C′ with I→ t_j]  

(59)  

![Diagram: CP with Spec C, Spec C′, Spec who, Spec what, and C′ with I→ t_j]  

(60)  *Why_i did you say what t_i ?

(61)  *What_i did you say t_i why ?

(62)  *Who_i t_i disappeared why?

(63)  *Why_i did who disappear t_i ?

(64)  ?? *What_i do you believe the claim that John bought t_i ?

(65)  *Why_i do you believe the claim that John left t_i ?

(66)  Mary-wa (‘Mary-TOP’)  

[Dp [CP [IP John-ga *nani*-o nusunda]] koto]-o  

John-NOM what-ACC stole fact-ACC  

mondai-ni siteru no ?  

problem-to make Q  

‘?x: Mary is making an issue out of the fact that [John stole x].’

(67) *Mary-wa (‘Mary-TOP’)  

[Dp [CP [IP John-ga *naze* sore-o nusunda]] koto]-o  

John-NOM why it-ACC stole fact-ACC  

mondai-ni siteru no ?  

problem-to make Q  

‘?y: Mary is making an issue out of the fact that [John stole it for reason y].’