

**Spring 2016**

**BBN-ANG11-342.34 Sentence Structure / Mondatszerkezet (Abridged Handouts)**

**Set material:** Mark Newson, et al., 2006. *Basic English Syntax with Exercises* (= BESE), Bölcsész Konzorcium, Budapest. (Chs 5, 6, 7, and – if there is time – parts of Ch 8.)  
<http://primus.arts.u-szeged.hu/bese/> or [www.arts.u-szeged.hu/bese/index.htm](http://www.arts.u-szeged.hu/bese/index.htm).

**Unit 1: Revision (Revise BESE 15-24, 87-101, 105-110)**

**Predicates, arguments, thematic roles (=  $\theta$ -roles)**

(1) V = main verb/lexical verb/thematic verb = head of VP

VP = core of clause/sentence

(2)a. *John arrived.* [John] = *theme*

b. *John smiled.* [John] = *agent*

c. *John gave the girl a vase.* [John] = *agent*, [the girl] = *goal/beneficiary*,  
[a vase] = *theme*

d. *The girl broke the vase.* [the girl] = *agent*, [the vase] = *patient*

e. *Harry saw the accident.* [Harry] = *experiencer*, [the accident] = *theme*

(3)a. *The police announced Mary's arrival.* [the police] = *agent*

[Mary's arrival] = *theme*

b. *The police announced that Mary has arrived.* [the police] = *agent*

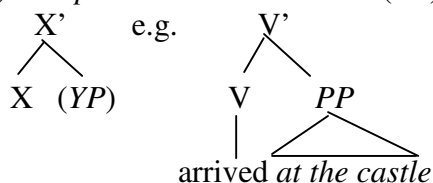
[that Mary has arrived] = *theme* =

*propositional*

N.B.: When the  $\theta$ -role of THEME is carried by a clause, BESE renames it as PROPOSITIONAL.

**Essentials of X-bar syntax**

(4) **Complement Rule:**  $X' \rightarrow X (YP)$

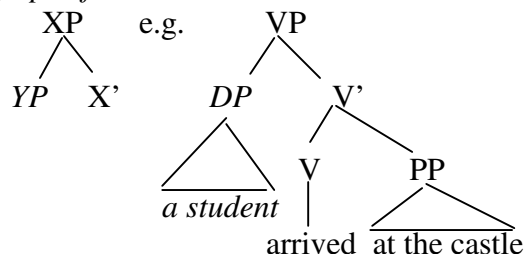


N.B.: Complement: ambiguous term

a) traditionally: a non-subject argument that is required by a predicate

b) in X-bar theory: a position which is sister to a head

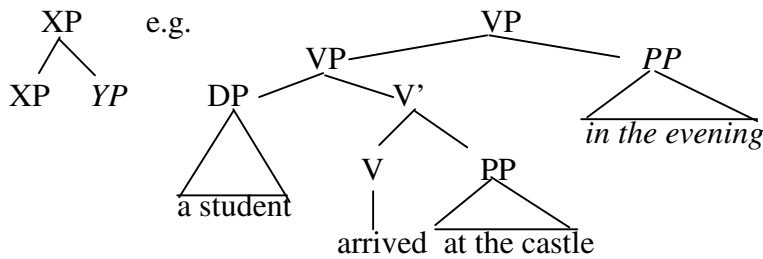
(5) **Specifier Rule:**  $XP \rightarrow YP X'$



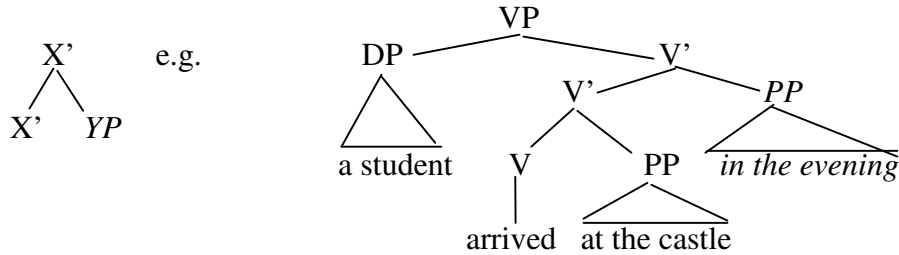
(6) **Adjunct Rule:**  $X \rightarrow X; Y$

$X' \rightarrow X'; YP$

$XP \rightarrow XP; YP$



Alternative analysis:

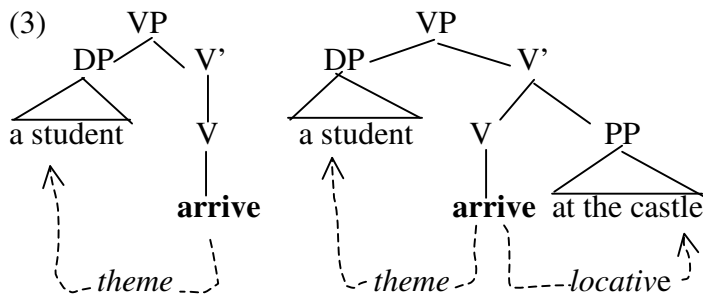


**Unit 2: Verb Types (Study BESE 153-202)**

- N.B.: 1. In the following diagrams the tense and agreement features of the verb will not be indicated. These will be added later.  
 2. When BESE deals with the various verb types, it speaks about the **event structure** of verbs, too. In this course we shall not deal with these and you may ignore them.

**Unaccusative verbs**

- (1) a. *A student arrived (at the castle).*    b. *The train departed (to Minsk).*  
 c. *The disease spread (to other towns).*    d. *The table sat in the corner.* (sit = 'be')  
 e. *The Picts lived in Scotland.* (live = 'reside')



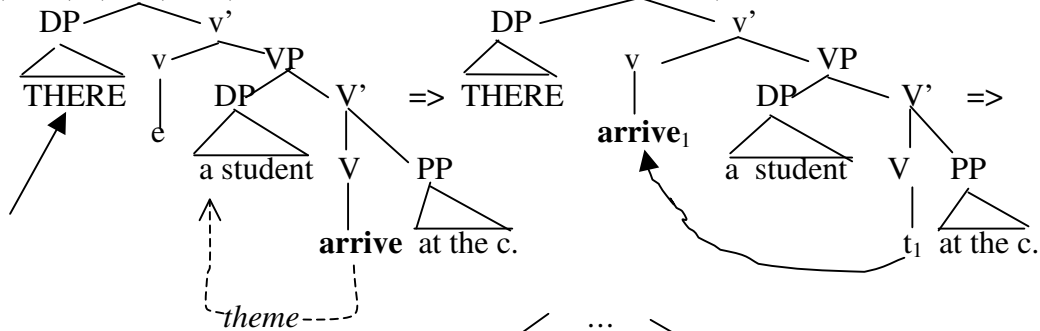
(4) **Uniform Theta-role Assignment Hypothesis = UTAH:** Specific  $\Theta$ -roles are assigned to similar positions in all structures in which they occur.

- (5) a. *There*-insertion: *There arrived a student (at the castle).*  
 b. *Locative inversion:* *At the castle (there) arrived a student.*  
 N.B.: *there* = expletive / pleonastic pronoun

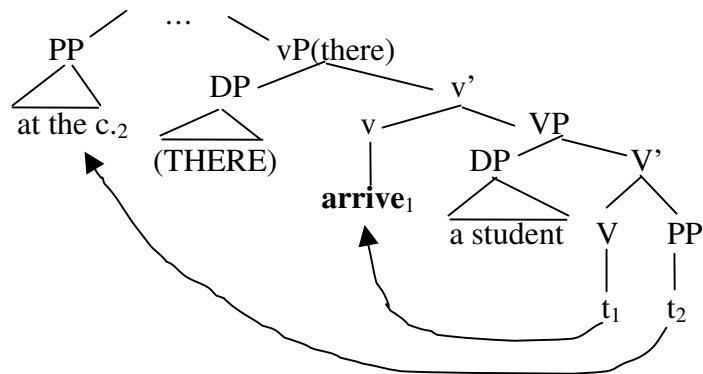
(6) The notion of light verb (Jespersen's name is misspelt on p. 159 of BESE).

The "there-inserting light v"

(7)a. = (5a) vP(there)



b. = (5b)

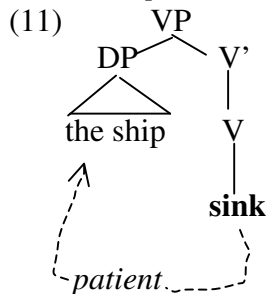


N.B.: At this stage we cannot discuss what the PP in (5b) is actually adjoined to.

**Ergative verbs**

i. Ergative verbs used intransitively

(9) *The ship sank.*



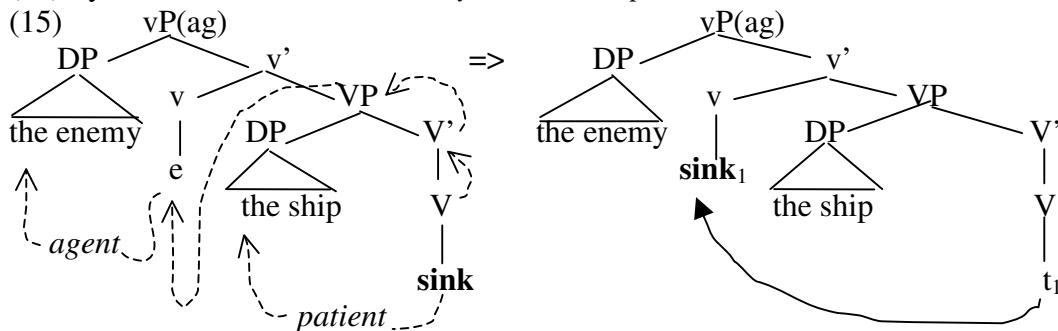
N.B.: Compare (5a, b)

(12)a. \**There sank a ship.*

b.\* *In the river sank a ship.*

ii. Ergative verbs used transitively

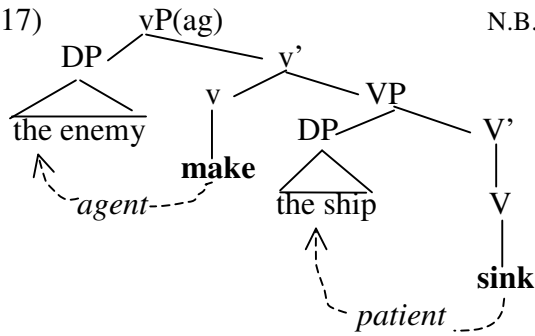
(13) Synthetic causative: *The enemy sank the ship*



(13) can be paraphrased as (16):

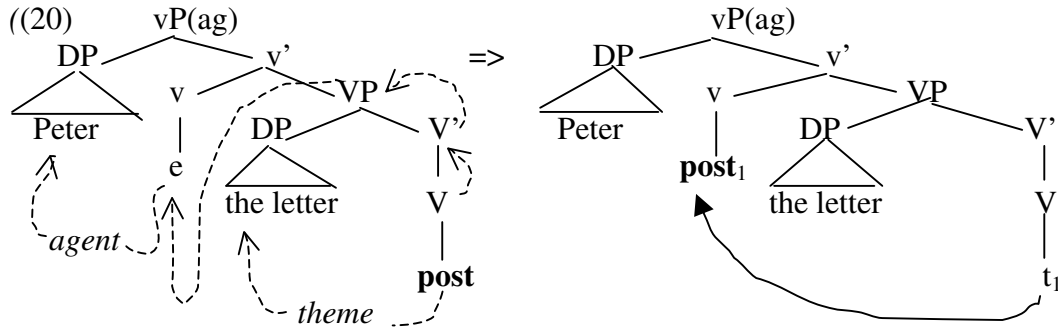
(16) Periphrastic causative: *The enemy made the ship sink.*

(17) N.B.: Other examples: John **had** the maid clean the room.  
John **let** the door close.

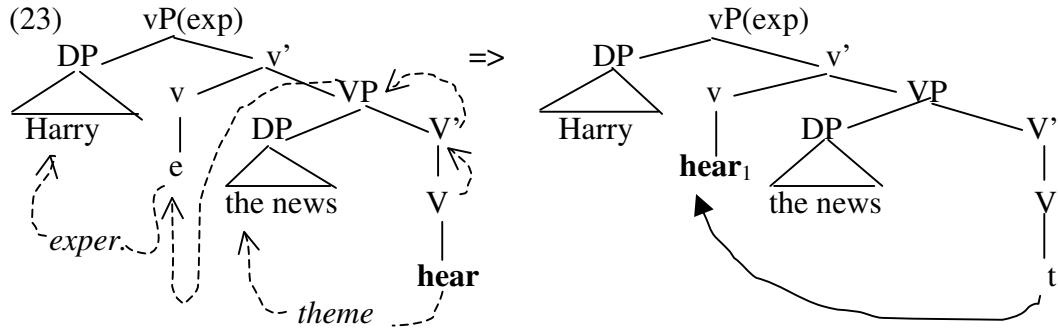


**'Prototypical' transitive verbs:**

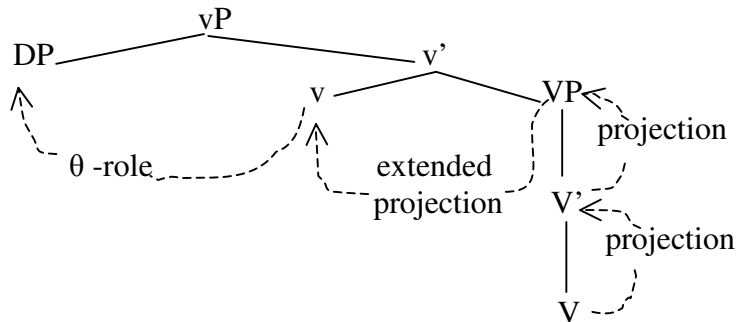
(18) *Peter posted the letter.*



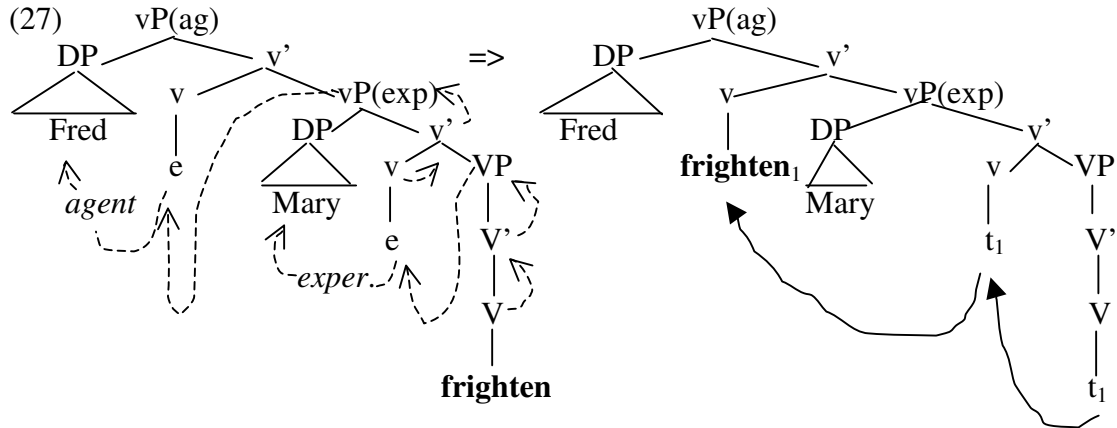
(21) *Harry heard the news.*



(24) Extended projection:



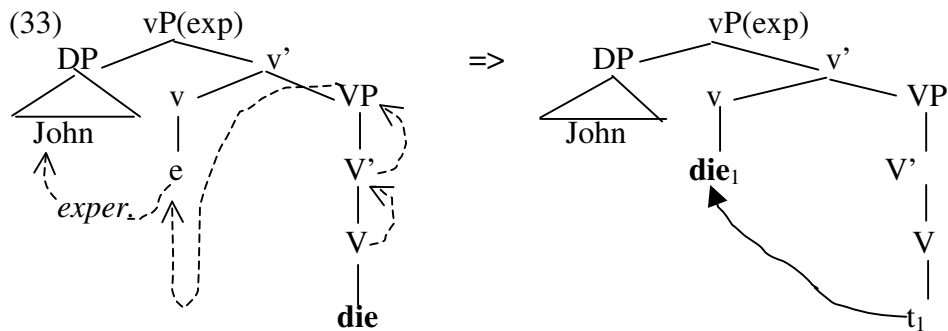
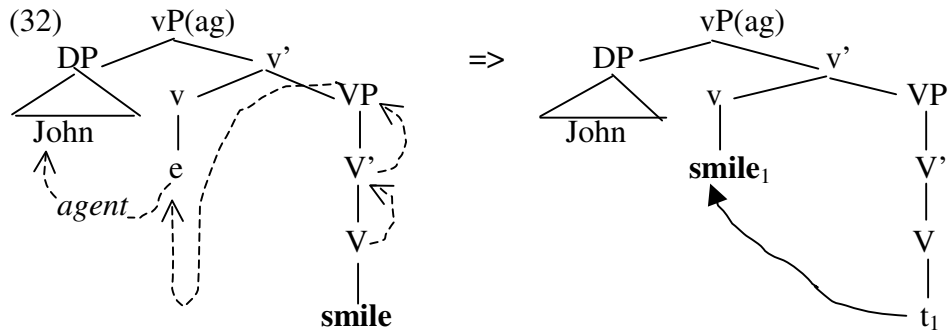
(25) *Fred frightened Mary.*



**'Prototypical' intransitive verbs:**

(28) *John smiled.*

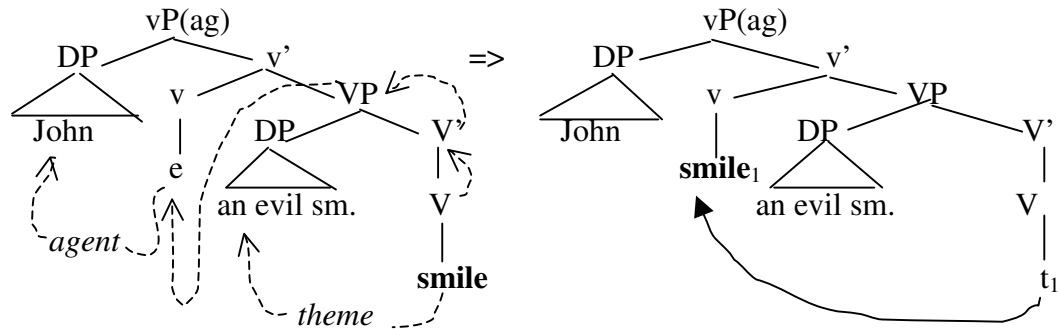
(30) *John died.*



(34)a. The possibility of a cognate object. (34)b. The impossibility of a *there*-construction.

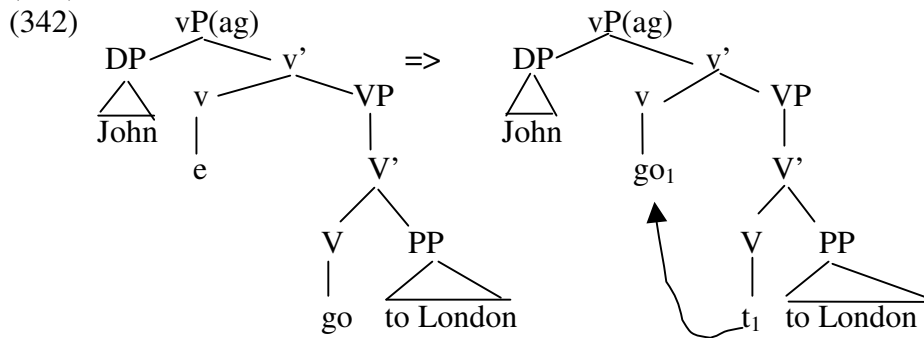
*John smiled an evil smile.*

*\*There smiled a student.*



**Agent-location verbs:**

(341) John went to London.



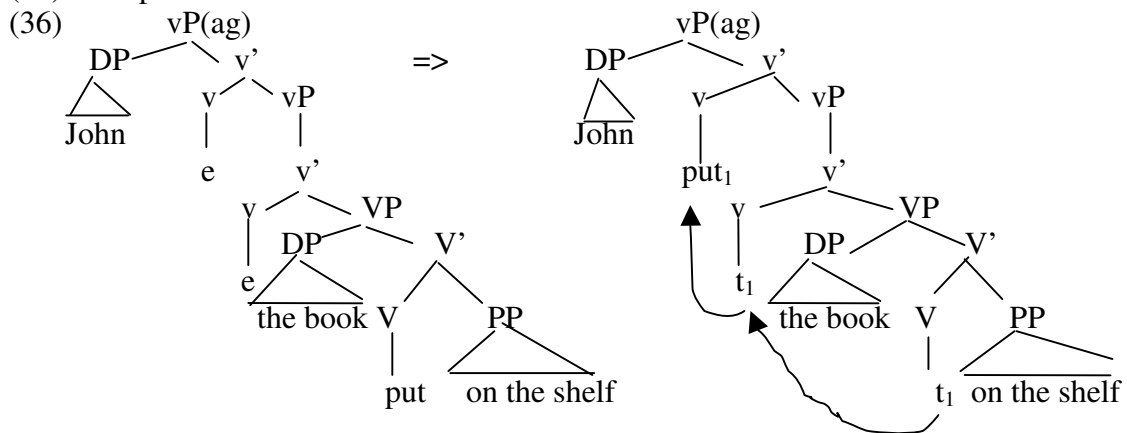
Sometimes the preposition can be dropped, as in (345a, b, c), and then the final PP has an empty head.

- (345)a. John climbed (up) the hill.
- b. John jumped (over) the fence.
- c. The planet circled (around) the sun.

**Multiple complement verbs:**

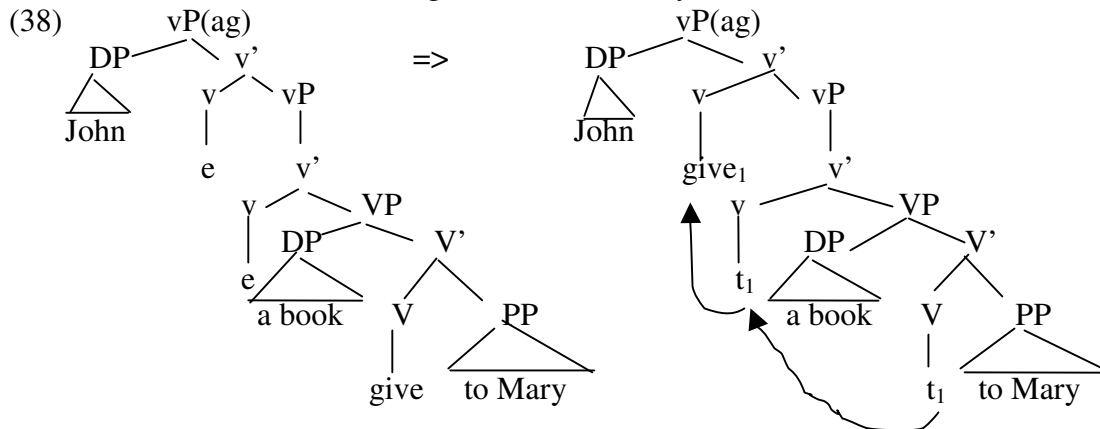
**(i) Transitive theme-location verbs:**

(35) John put the book on the shelf.



**(ii) Transitive goal-theme verbs:**

(37) *Dative construction:* John gave a book to Mary.

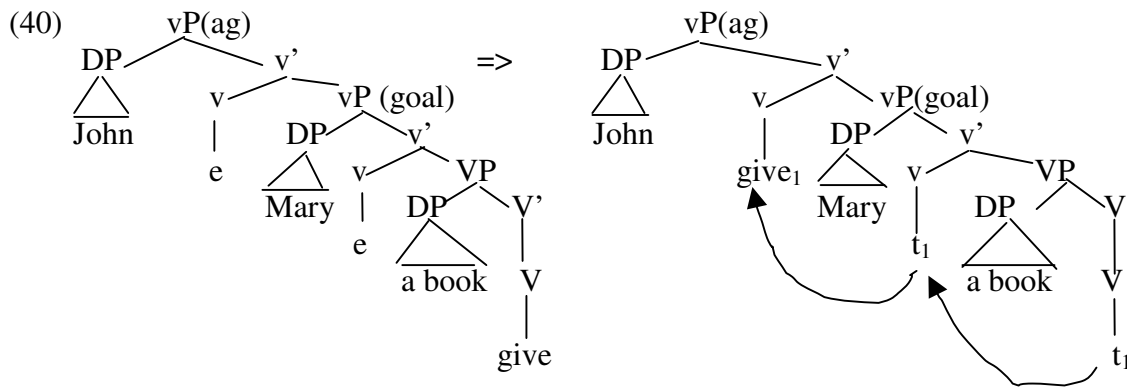


The Dative construction has a paraphrase: the Double Object construction.

(39) *Double Object construction*: John gave Mary a book.

N.B.: BESE (pp184-188) suggests that the Double Object construction is derived from the Dative Construction (38) by moving the final goal to the Specifier position of the second vP, but this is problematic because the goal in (38) is a PP (*to Mary*), whereas the goal in the Double Object construction is a DP (*Mary*).

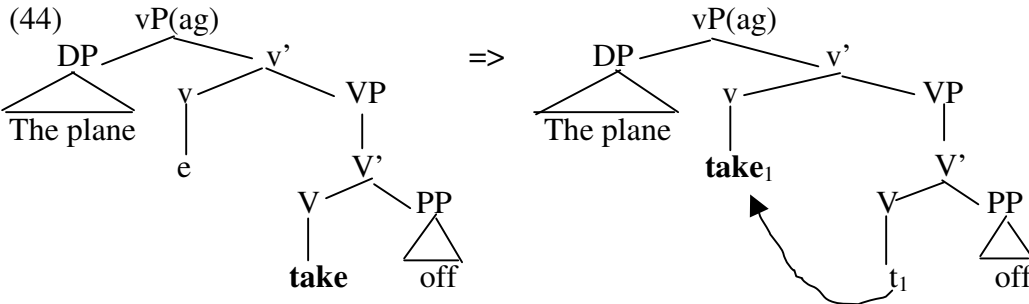
Therefore I suggest that in the Double Object construction the goal (*Mary*) is base-generated in the Specifier position of the second vP (= of the so-called goal-assigning vP), and so it is only the verb that moves, the goal DP does not. This is shown in (40):



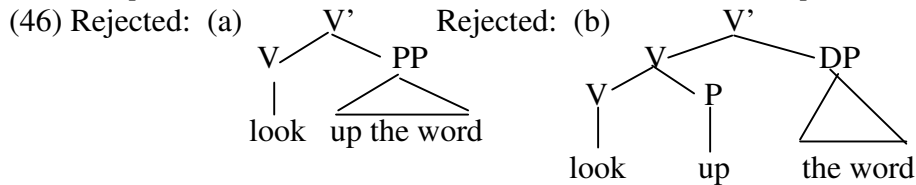
From this it follows that the goal (beneficiary) is either a PP complement of the V, or a DP specifier of the goal-assigning v.

**Phrasal verbs:**

(43)a. *The plane took off.* b. *He looked up the word.*

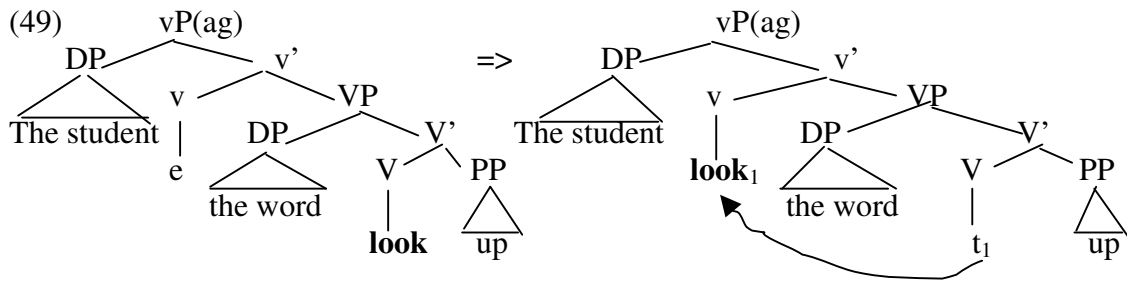


(45)a. \**Up the word, he looked in an instant.* b. \**He looked up the word and for the key.*

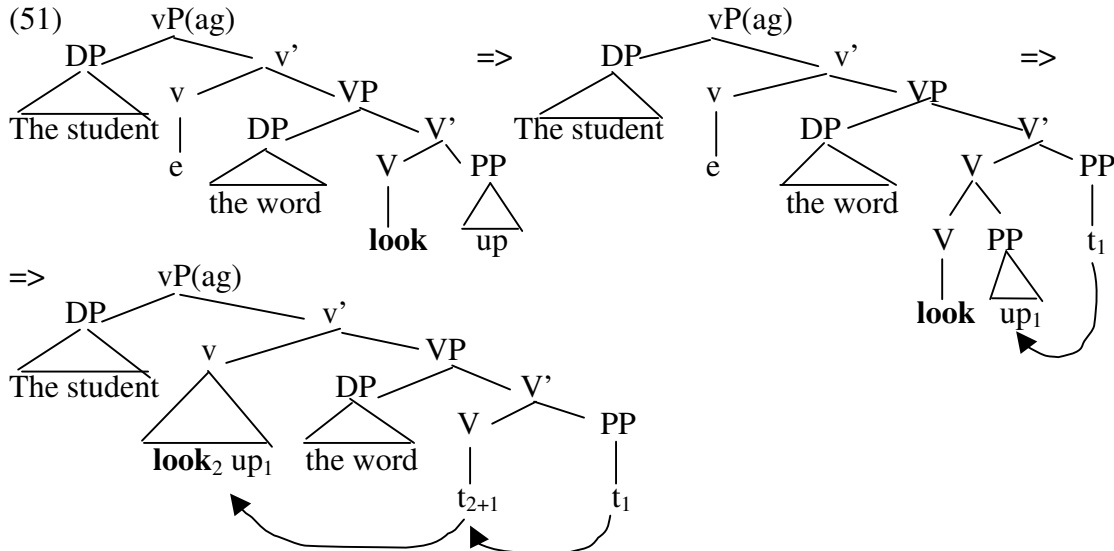


(47)a. *the new blackboard, \*the black new board*  
 b. *He looked up the word, He looked the word up.*

(48) *The student looked the word up.*



(50) *The student looked up the word.*



(52)a. *The student looked it up.* (It has a 'weak pronoun' object, its tree is like (49).)  
 b. \**The student looked up it.*

**Verbs with clausal complements:**

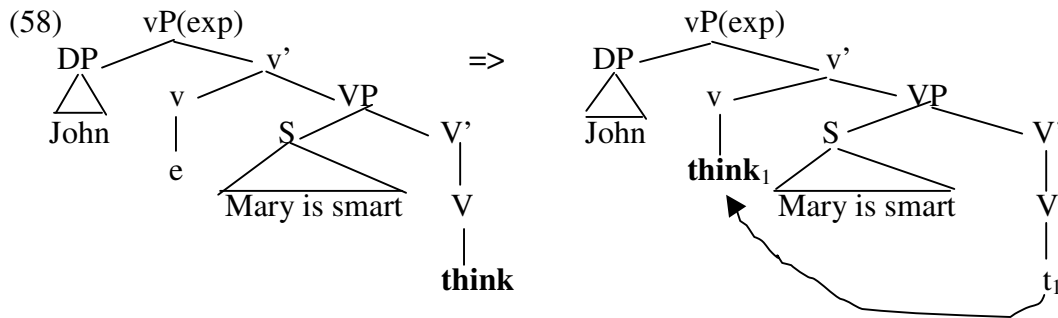
- (53)a. *John thinks [(that) Mary is smart].*
  - b. *Mark asked [why Amy hadn't come].*
  - c. *Peter wants [John to leave].*
  - d. *Bill believes [Poirot to be tall].*
  - e. *Fiona hopes [for John to fall in love with her].*
  - f. *Tony tried [to look innocent].*
- } finite subclauses  
 } non-finite subclauses

Such subclauses are objects and have the  $\theta$ -role of theme. (BESE renames the  $\theta$ -role of an entire clause as "propositional".) In accordance with the UTAH, this role is associated with the [Spec; VP] position. In BESE (pp. 193-196) it is assumed that the subclausal complement moves out of this position because it is a case position which it wants to avoid, and is then right-adjoined to VP towards the end of the sentence. We abandon this assumption, since the subclause will come last automatically when the verb after it moves forward.

Sentences like those in (53) will be analysed similarly to sentences with transitive verbs, see (18)-(27) above. The capital letter S is a temporary symbol for Sentence.

(57) *John thinks [(that) Mary is smart].*





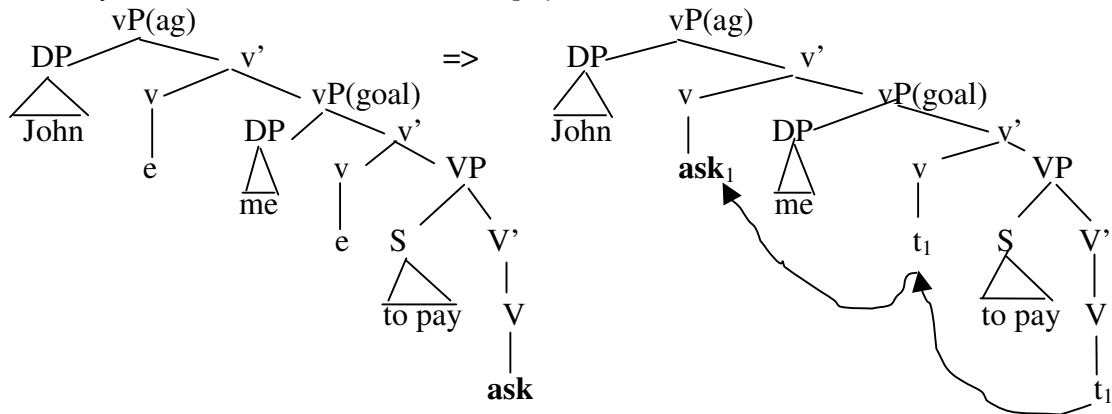
In the following sentences the verb is followed by two complements and the second is a non-finite subclause.

(60)a. *John asked [me] [to pay].*

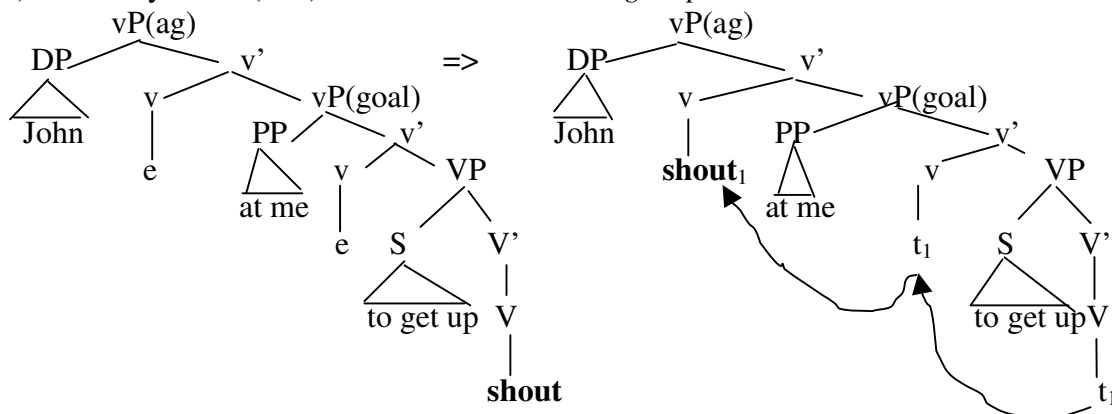
b. *John shouted [at me] [to get up].*

These will be analysed similarly to Double Object constructions, see (39)-(40).

(63) Analysis for (60a): *John asked me to pay.*



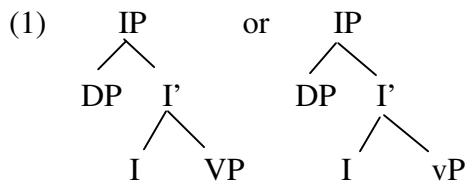
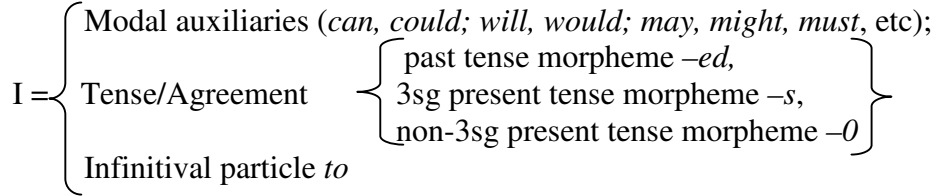
(65) The analysis for (60b): *John shouted at me to get up.*



**Unit 3: Inflectional Phrases = IPs (Study BESE 213-237, 197-207)**

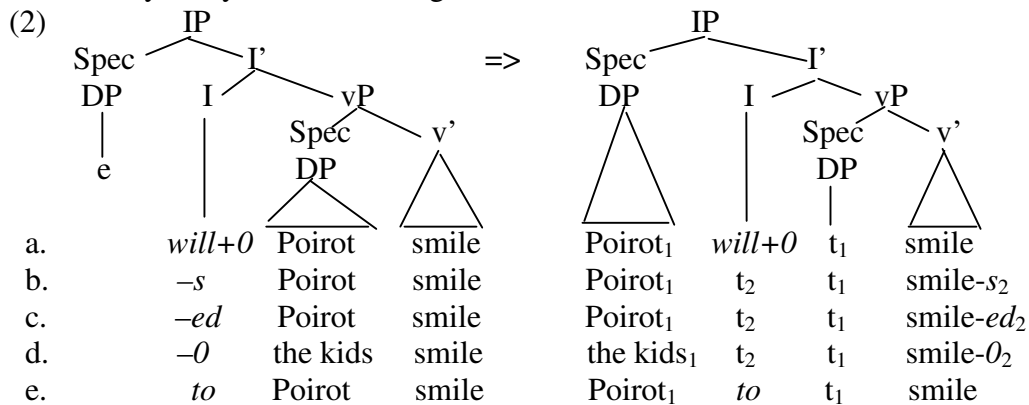
**The structure of IPs**

Inflectional elements ([+F, -N, +V]) in the sentence:



**The syntax of inflection**

Preliminary analysis, tense and agreement are both in I:



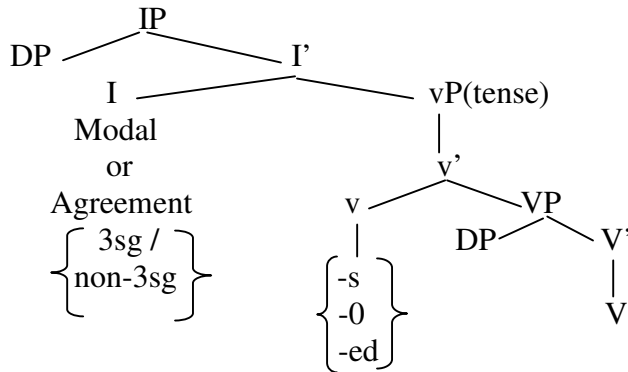
But this is problematic in view of languages like e.g. Hungarian, where the tense marker stands separate from the agreement (i.e. person and number) marker.

(3) *ír-t-am, ír-t-ál, ír-t-0, ír-t-unk, ír-t-atok, ír-t-ak*

Therefore another approach has been proposed, in which Tense (i.e. present or past in English) is separated from the other elements originally treated under I (i.e. modal auxiliaries, the particle *to* and the agreement [i.e. person and number] markers), and it is placed in a separate layer of analysis. This approach has several versions. In some versions the separate layer for the Tense is called the Tense Phrase (TP).

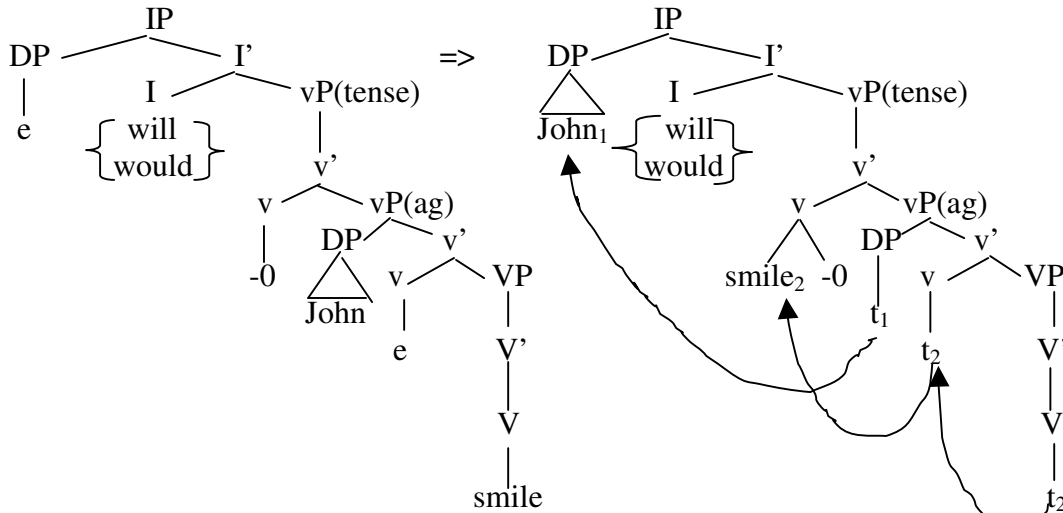
The BESE version keeps the I for (a) modal auxiliaries, (b) the particle *to*, and (c) the (often abstract) agreement markers, but puts the tense marker into the layer of a so called *tense-carrying light verb* phrase: vP(tense). In addition, the BESE model sends the Verb up (leftwards) to meet its inflections (rather than sending the inflection down (rightwards) to meet its Verb.

(4) A new kind of light verb: the tense-carrying v:



If there is a modal auxiliary in the I, it is tensed in situ, e.g. *will* = will+0, *would* = will+ed. BESE still retains a separate vP(tense), in which the head is occupied by -0, see (5):

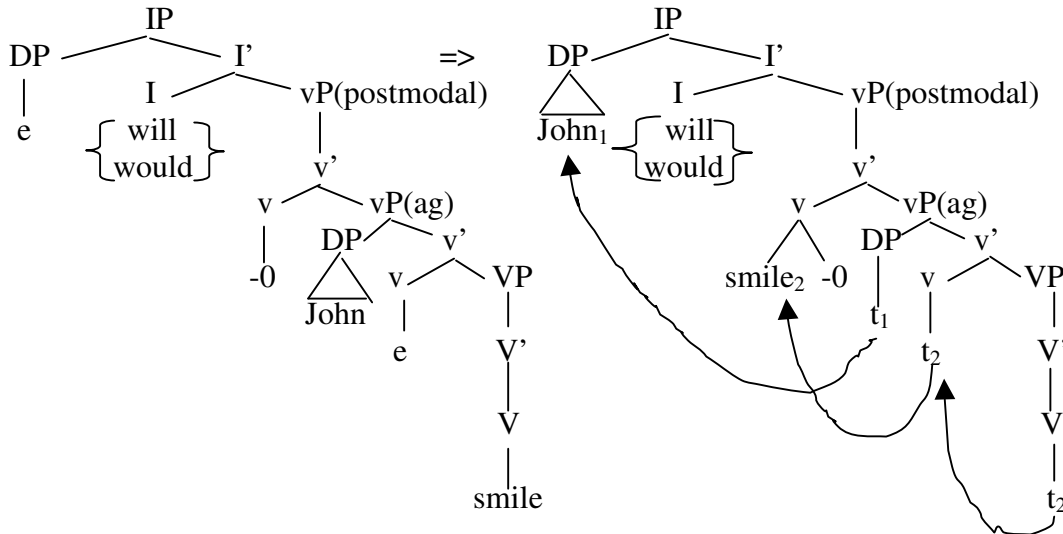
(5) *John will / would smile.*



Actually, when there is a modal auxiliary in the I, it would be more appropriate to use another name for the vP sister of I, e.g. *vP(postmodal)*, as shown in (51):

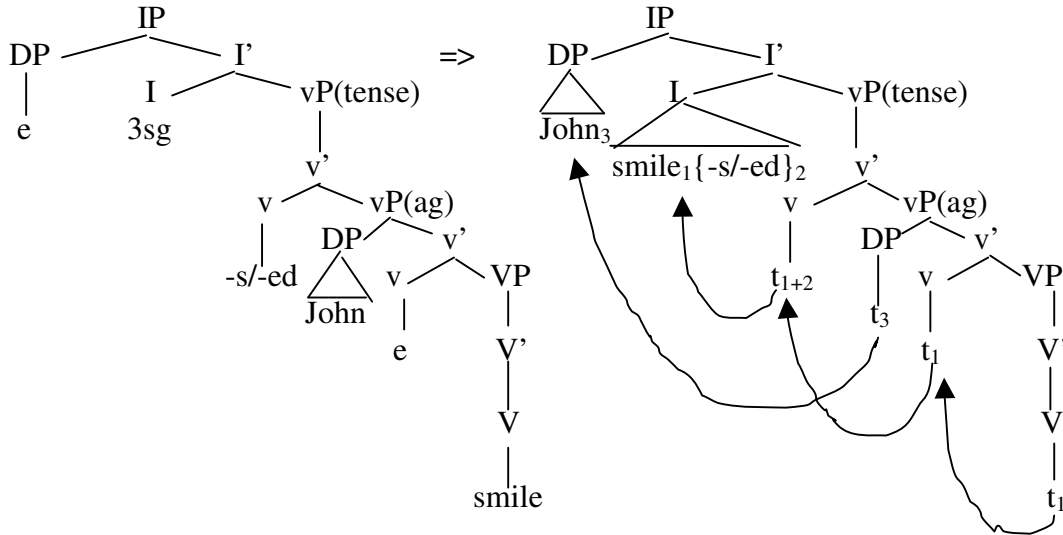
(51) An alternative for (5):

*John will / would smile.*

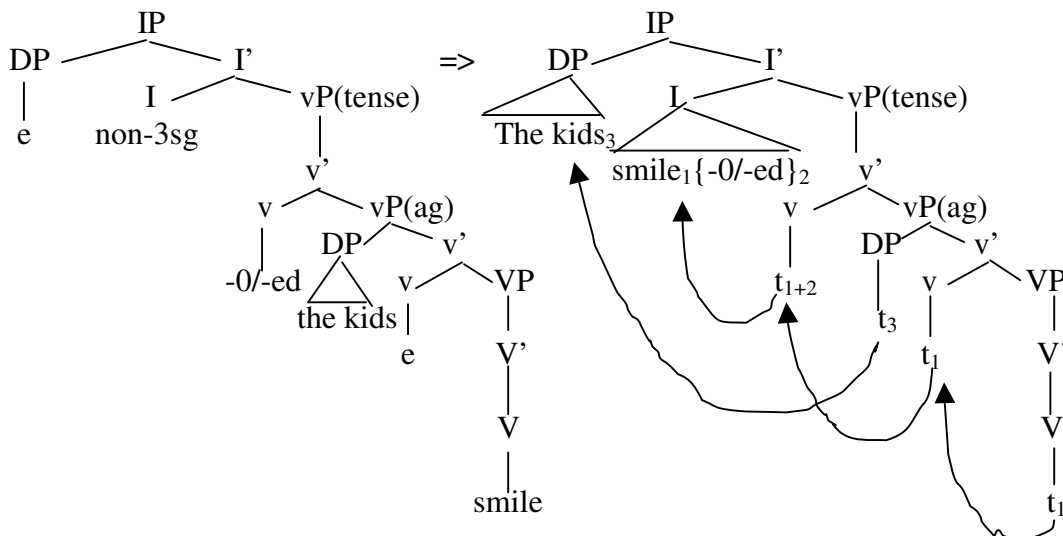


Nevertheless, since this change would affect too many concrete analyses in the BESE book, whenever there is a modal in the IP, we shall keep to the BESE analysis, i.e. for pedagogical considerations we shall use (5) rather than (51).

(6) If there is no auxiliary and the agreement feature is 3sg, the tense morpheme will be –s or –ed: *John smiles / smiled.*



(7) If there is a no auxiliary and the agreement feature is non-3sg, the tense morpheme will be –0 or –ed: *The kids smile / smiled.*



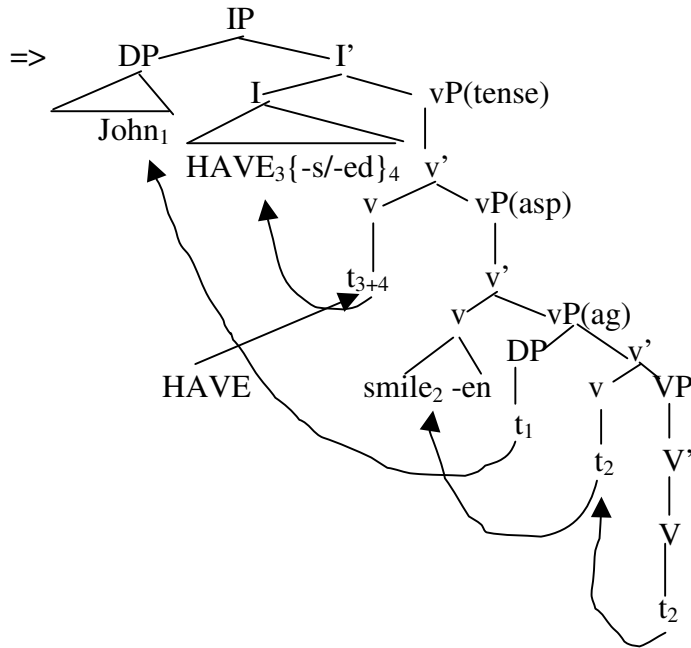
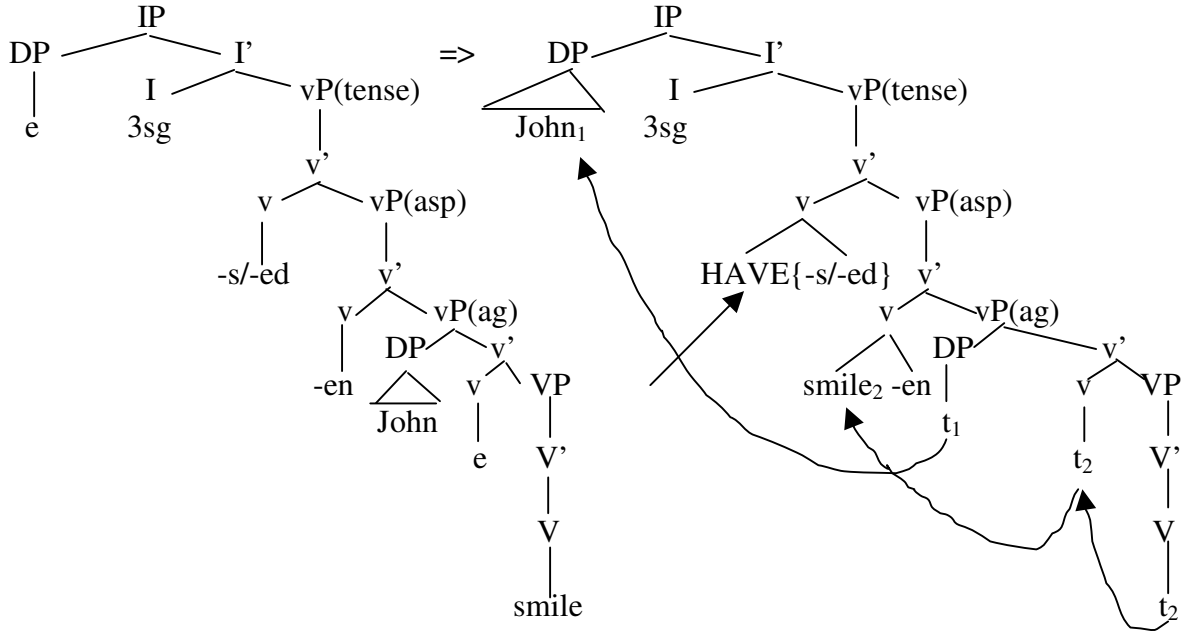
(8) Summary of the relations between the I and the tense-carrying light verb:

- a. [<sub>I</sub> [<sub>I</sub> Modal {-0/-ed}] [<sub>vP(tense)</sub> -0...]] , see (5)
- b. [<sub>I</sub> [<sub>I</sub> 3sg ] [<sub>vP(tense)</sub> {-s/-ed} ...]] , see (6)
- c. [<sub>I</sub> [<sub>I</sub> non-3sg ] [<sub>vP(tense)</sub> {-0/-ed} ...]] , see (7)

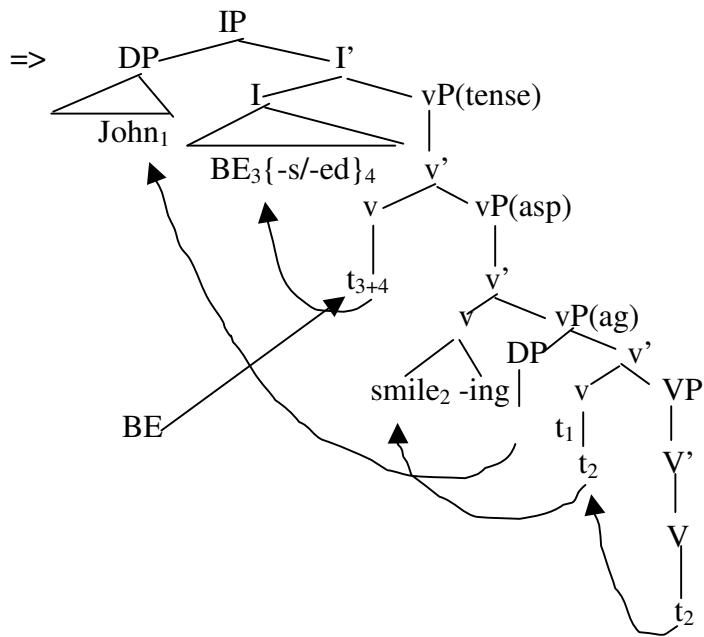
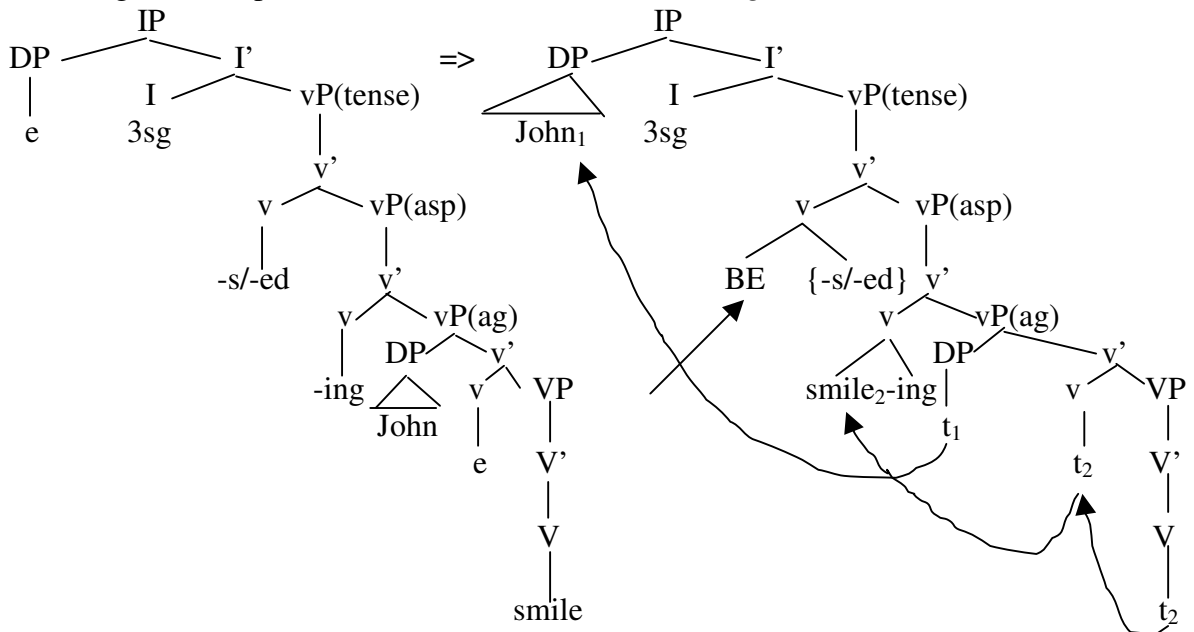
If there is an aspectual morpheme (perfective: –en, or progressive: –ing), we need to introduce a new kind of light verb again: the aspectual v. The aspectual v carries the

aspectual morpheme. The aspectual auxiliary *have* or *be* has to be inserted into the tense-carrying *v* from outside.

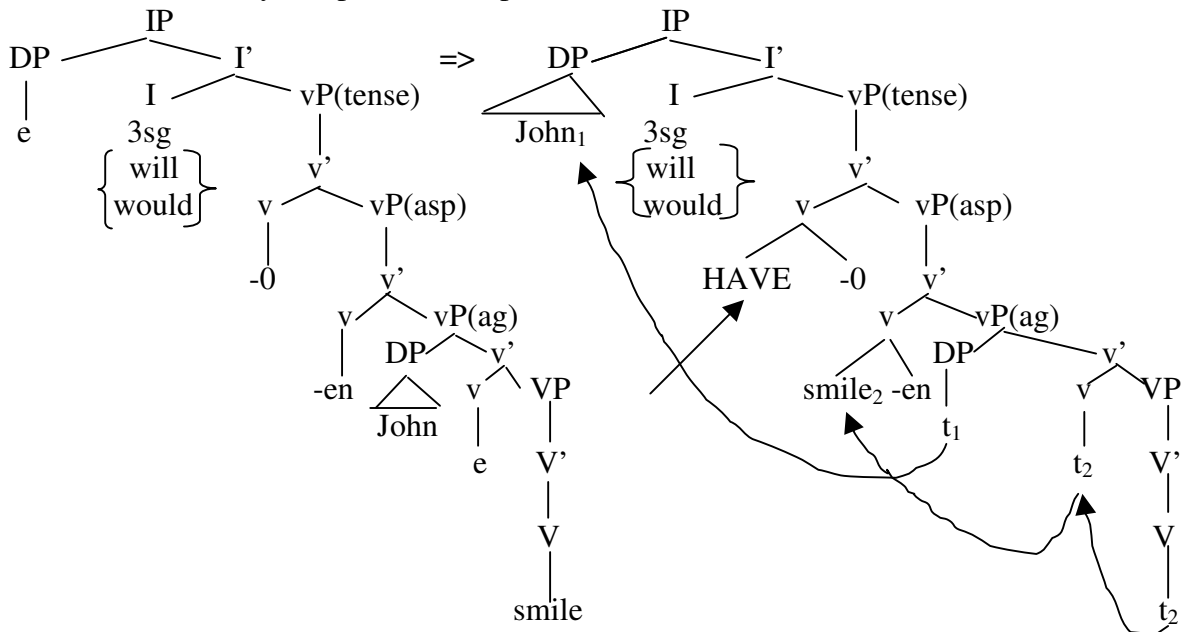
(9) Perfective aspectual inflection: *John has / had smiled.*



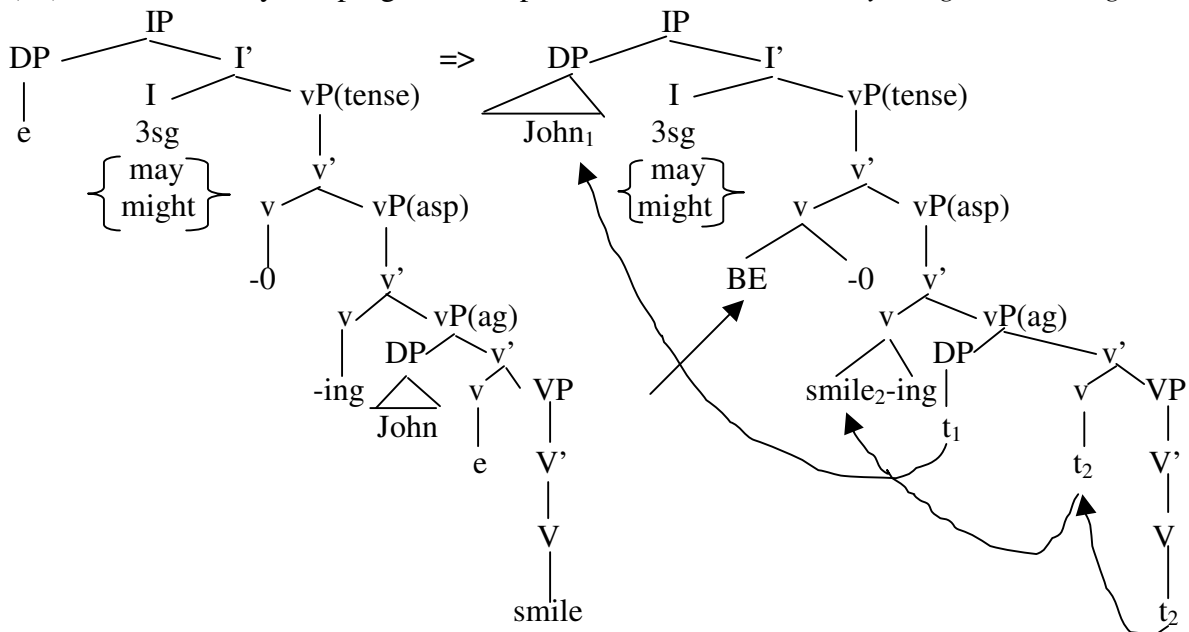
(10) Progressive aspectual inflection: *John is / was smiling.*



(11) Modal auxiliary and perfective aspectual inflection: *John will / would have smiled.*

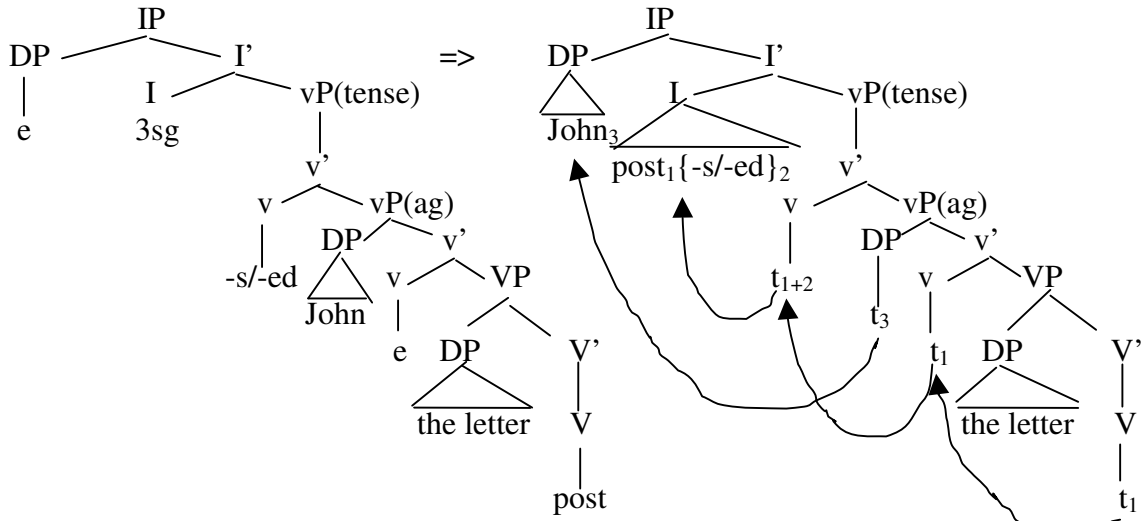


(12) Modal auxiliary and progressive aspectual inflection: *John may / might be smiling.*

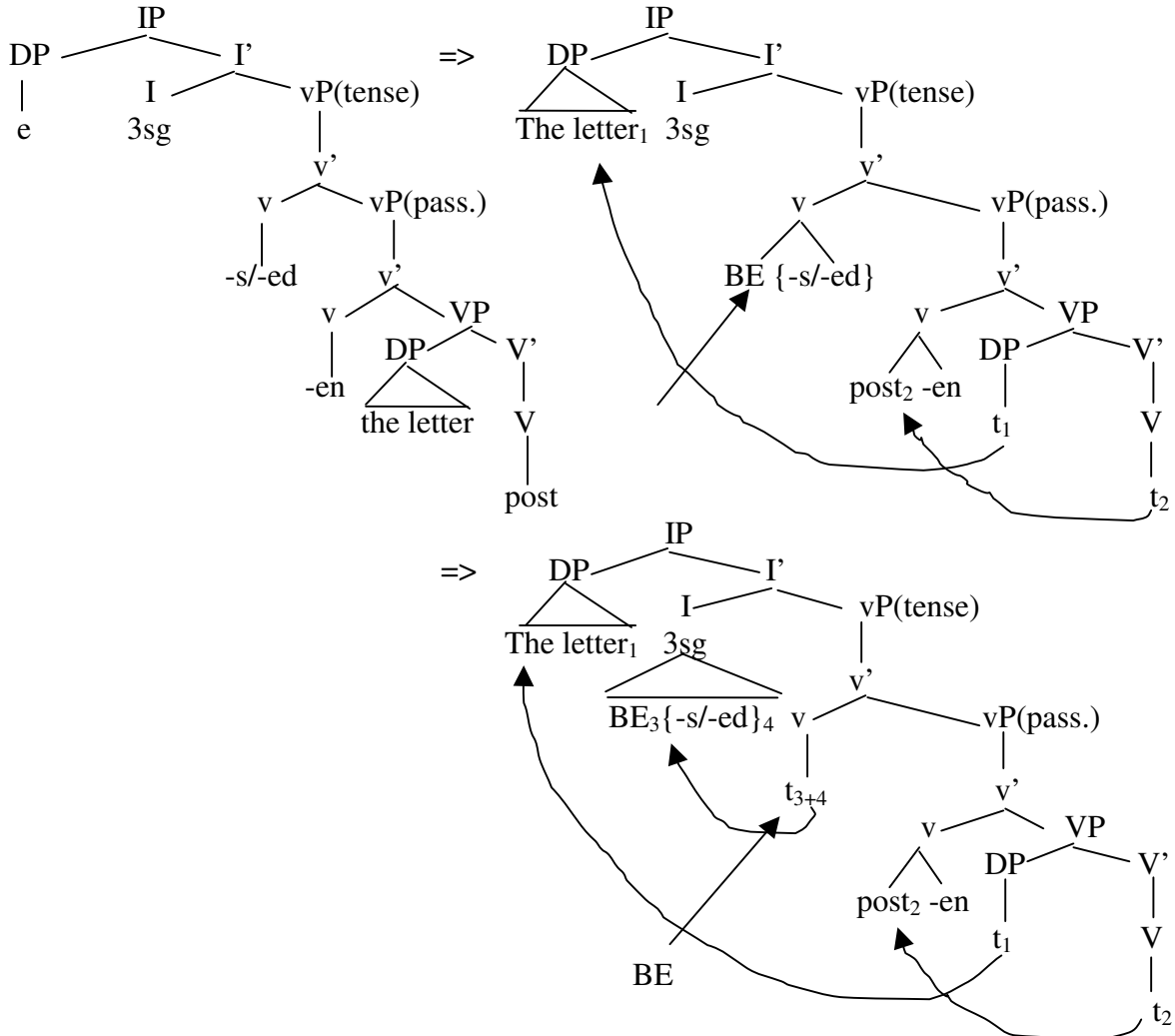


If there is a passive morpheme (*-en*), we need to introduce a new kind of light verb again: the passive v. The passive *v* carries the passive morpheme and it replaces the agentive *v* of the active sentence. The passive auxiliary *be* has to be inserted into the tense-carrying *v* from outside.

(13) Active: *John posts / posted the letter.*



(14) Passive: *The letter is / was posted.*

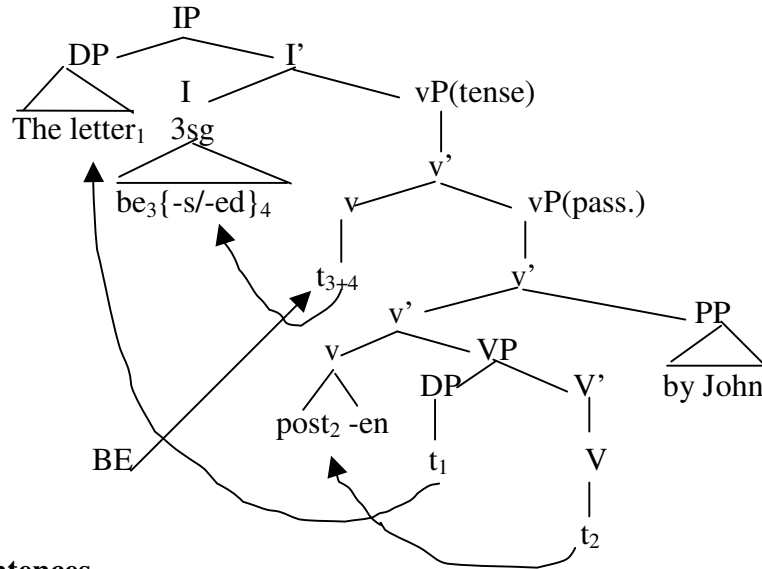




(15) Burzio's generalisation: If a verb fails to assign a theta-role to a specifier (subject), then it will not assign accusative case.

Explanation: if a light verb is not able to assign a  $\theta$ -role, then it is not able to assign accusative case, either.

(16) *The letter is / was posted by John.*



**Negative sentences**

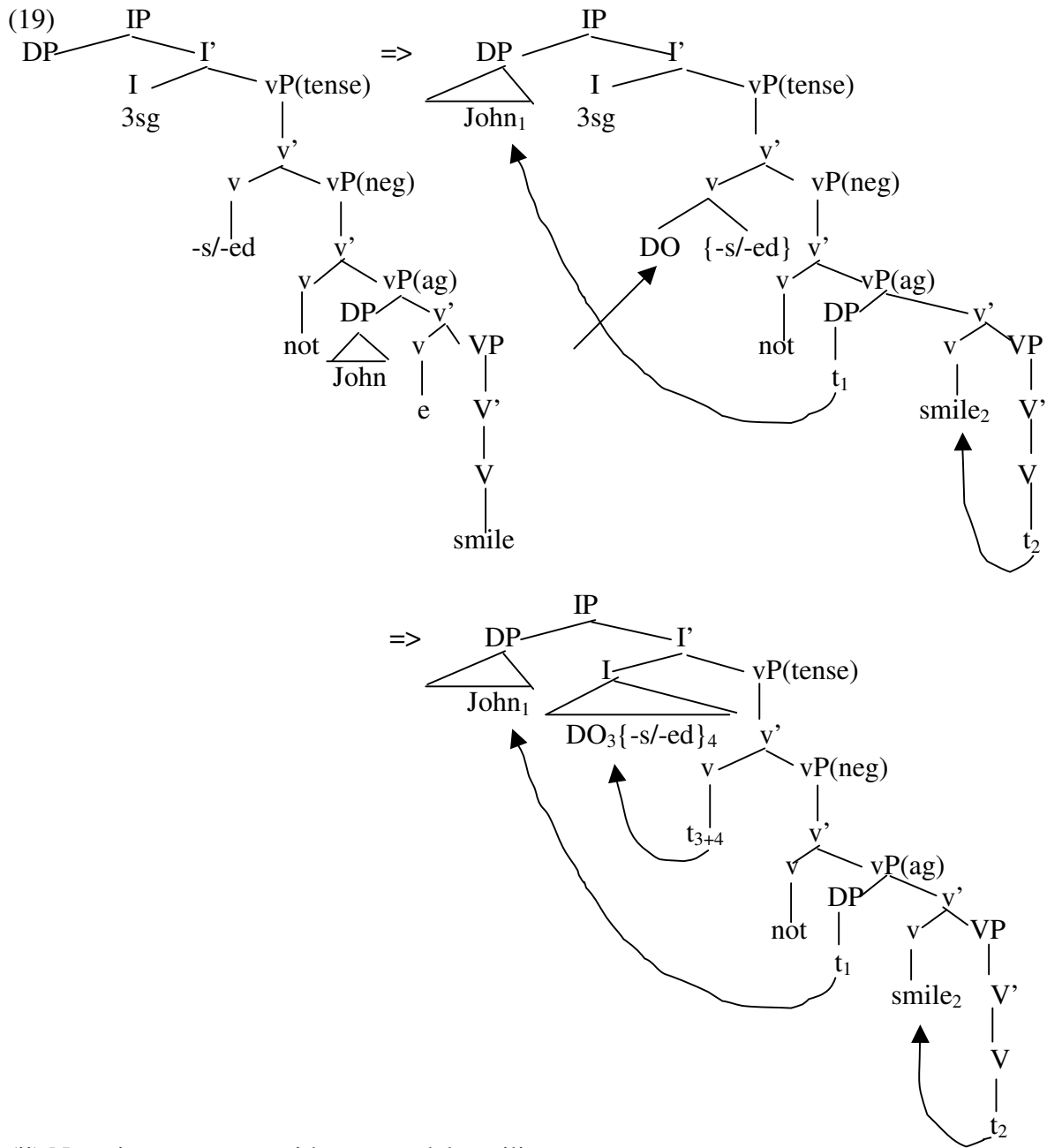
(i) Negative sentences with no auxiliary:

(17) The Head Movement Constraint (= HMC)

A head must move to the next head position.

(18a) \* John smiled not. = (18b) John  ~~-ed not smile.~~

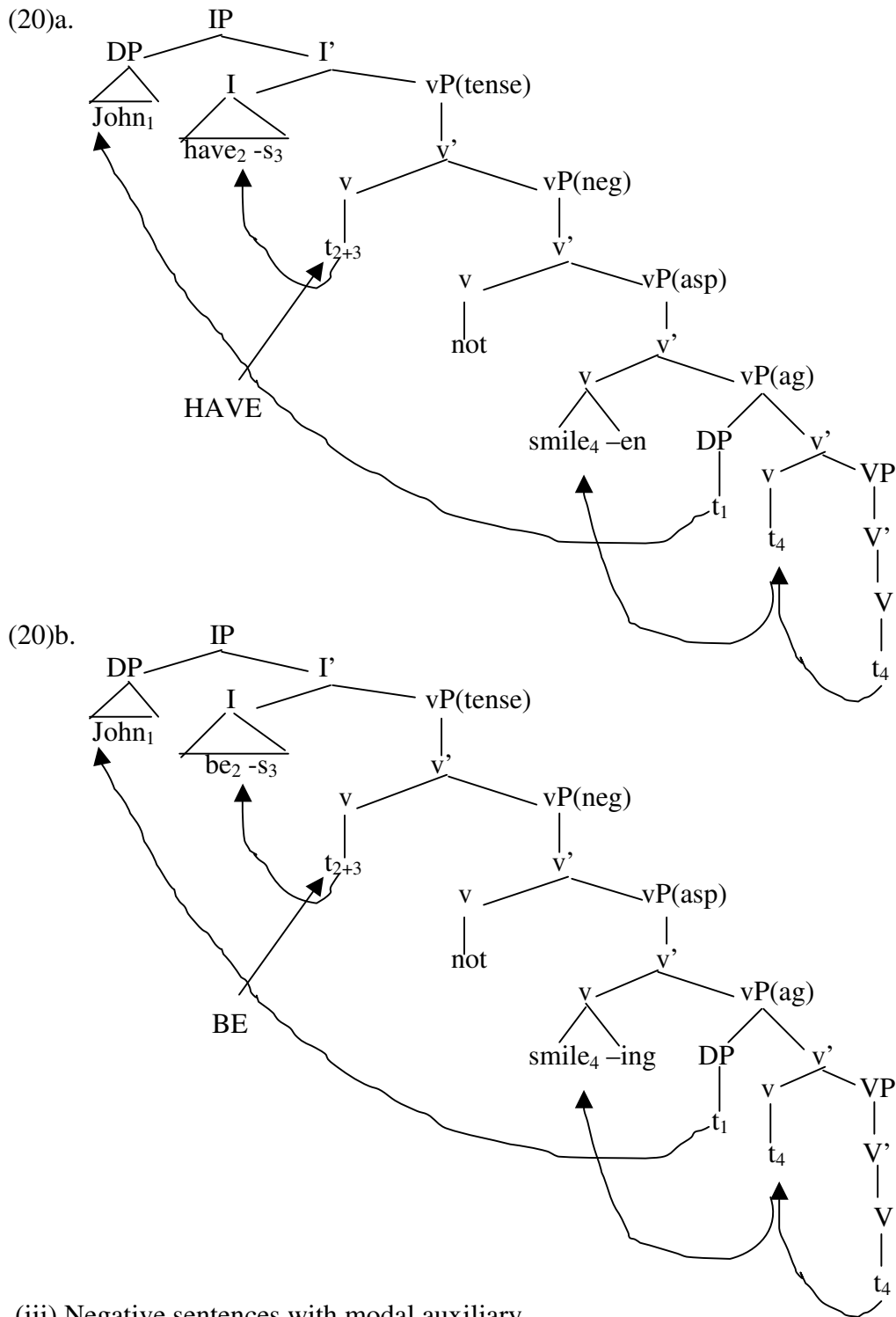
Since the main verb (V) is a head, and the tense-carrying v is also a head, we can conclude that the movement of the V from one head position to a higher one is impossible because the intervening negative particle *not* is also a head! It is carried by yet another kind of light verb: the negative v. Since the main V is unable to move up to get its inflection, a dummy auxiliary *do* has to be inserted into the tense-carrying v from outside. Then *do* moves into I, and the tense-carrying vP will be its sister. The negative vP will be below the tense-carrying vP.



(ii) Negative sentences with non-modal auxiliary

When the negative sentence has an auxiliary other than a modal, the non-modal auxiliary moves into I, and the tense-carrying vP will be its sister. The negative vP will be below the tense-carrying vP.

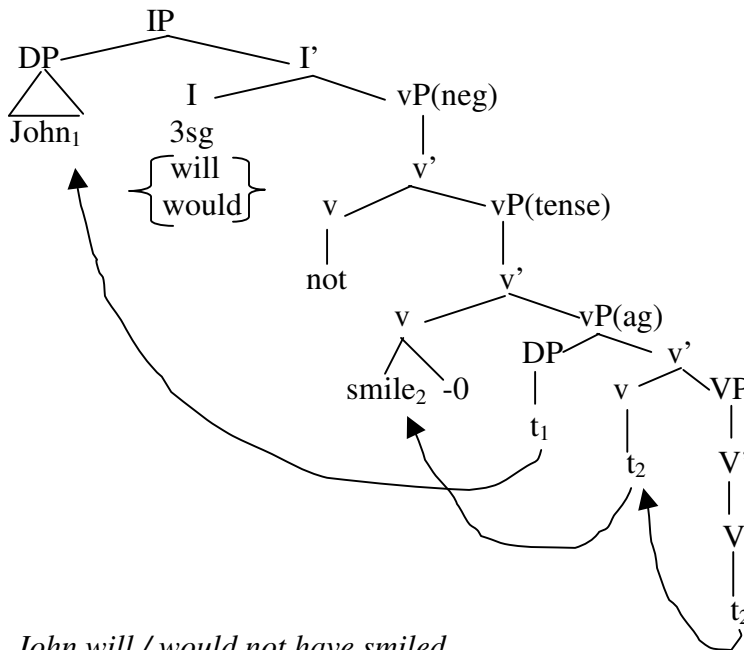
- (20)a. John has not smiled.
- b. John is not smiling.



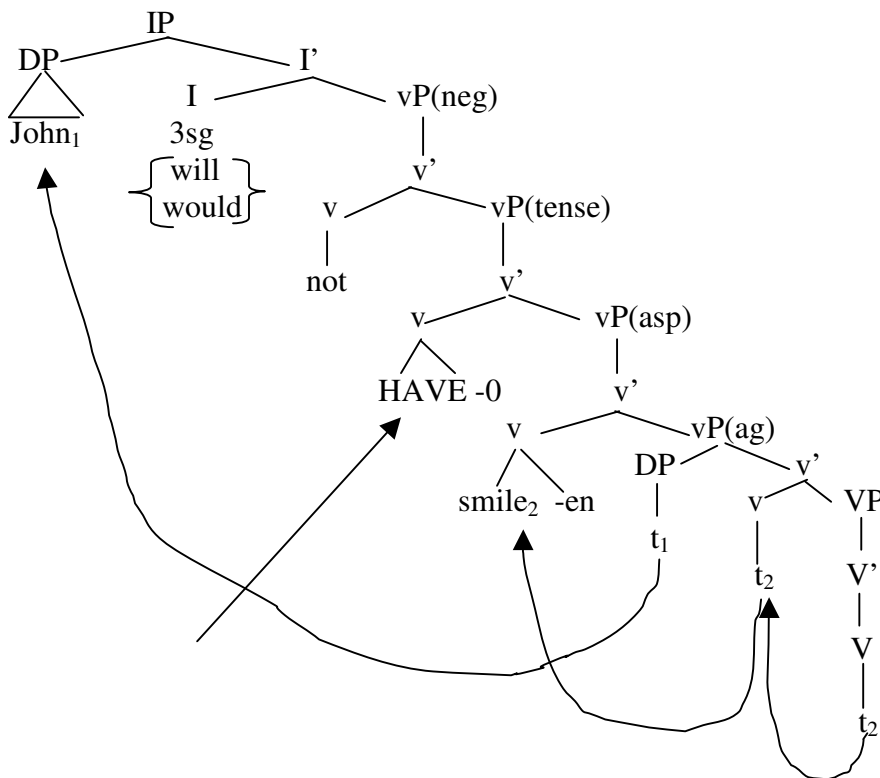
(iii) Negative sentences with modal auxiliary

When the negative sentence has a modal auxiliary, it will be in the I position and the negative vP will be its sister. The tense-carrying vP (with the null morpheme in its head) will come below the negative vP, i.e. the negative vP dominates the tense-carrying vP. (The negative light verb phrase “wants to be as high as it can be”.)

(21)a. *John will / would not smile.*



(21)b. *John will / would not have smiled.*



(22) Summary: Types of light verbs (= v-s) discussed so far: [a] empty v that inserts THERE, [b] causative *make* (e.g. *make* in *I made the vase break*), [c] empty v that accommodates in its Spec position the agent, the experiencer, or the goal (=beneficiary), [d] v that carries a tense-morpheme, [e] v that carries an aspectual morpheme, [f] v that carries the passive morpheme, [g] v that carries the negative particle.

**Non-finite IPs**

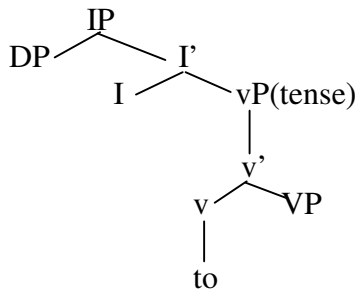
The general structure of FINITE IPs is shown in (4) of Unit 3.

But there are non-finite clauses, too:

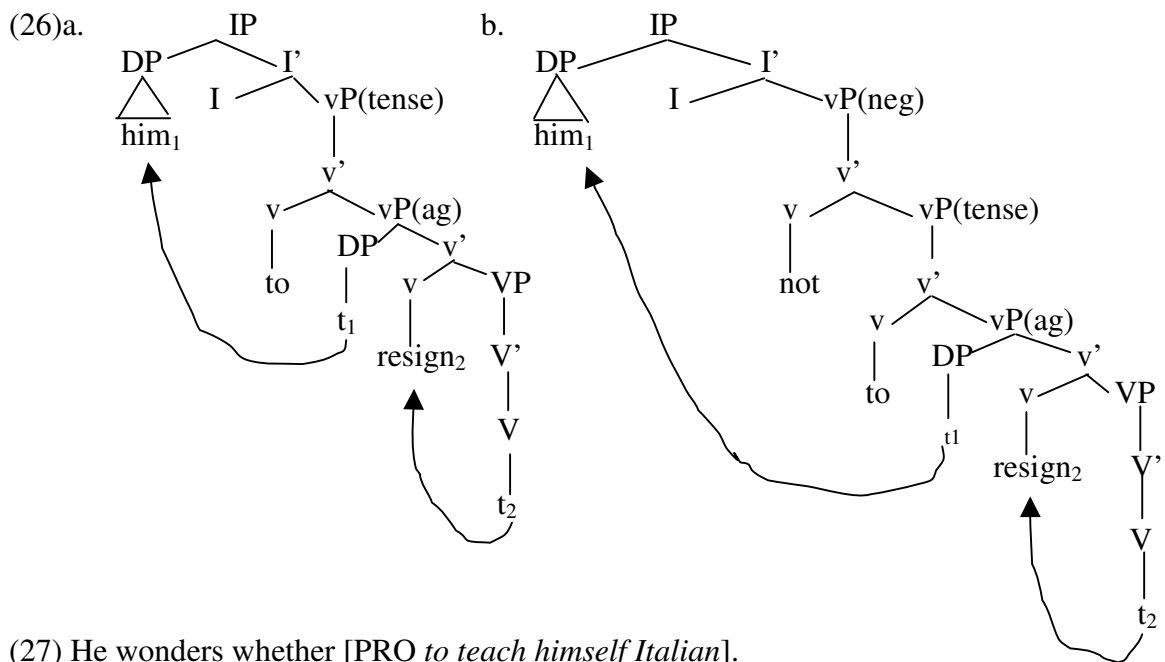
- (23)a. I'm anxious [for *John to resign*].      b. We heard [*him come*].  
 c. We don't want [*it raining*].              d. I had [*my car stolen*].

We shall concentrate on to-infinitive clauses. Their general structure is (24):

- (24)                      (25) For [<sub>IP</sub> *him quickly to have left*] was a relief.

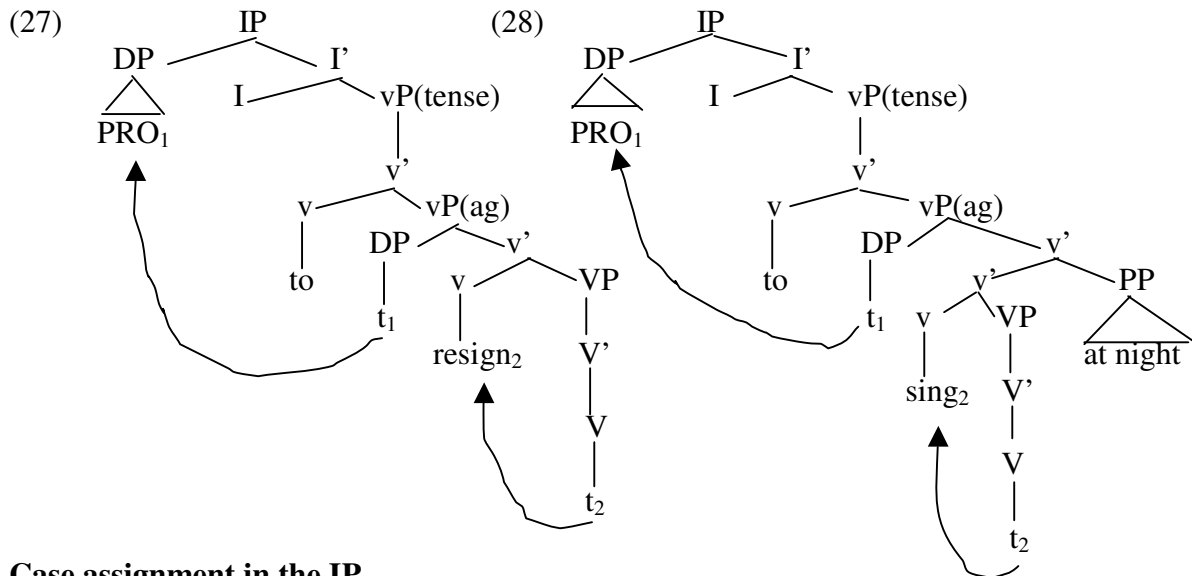


- (26)a. For [*him to resign*] was unjustified.      b. For [*him not to resign*] was strange.



- (27) He wonders whether [*PRO to teach himself Italian*].  
 N.B.: Here *he* controls (= is the antecedent of = determines the interpretation of) PRO.

- (28) [*PRO to sing at night*] is antisocial.  
 N.B.: Here PRO has no antecedent, its interpretation depends on the situation, or has general interpretation.



### Case assignment in the IP

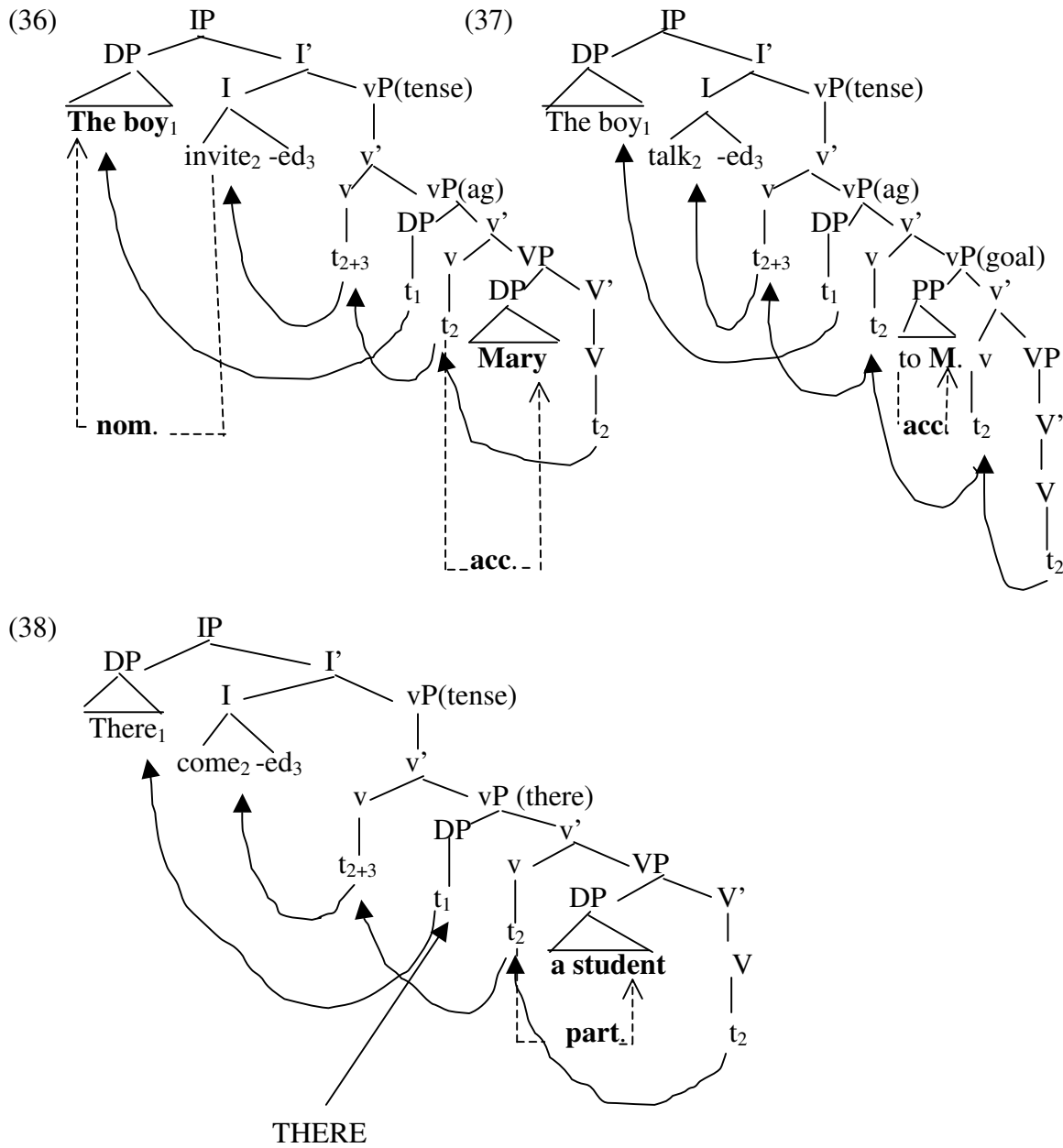
(i) “Case assignment under Agreement”: Since there is agreement between Specifier and Head, the DP in SpecIP receives Nominative Case from the finite I, cf. *the boy* in (36) or (37). The SpecIP is associated with a particular grammatical function (subject), so it is an **A-position** (argument position), and the movement of a DP into it is **A-movement**.

(ii) “Case assignment under Government”: A verb or preposition assigns Accusative Case to the DP that it governs, cf. *Mary* in (36) and (37). (Government = A head governs its sister, and its sister’s specifier, and the specifier of its sister’s specifier.) But a governing verb only has this power of assigning Accusative Case if it assigns a theta role to a subject (specifier). This is Burzio’s generalisation, see (15) on p18. If the verb doesn’t have a subject (specifier) to assign a theta role to, then it cannot assign accusative case to the DP that it governs, and that DP has to move to find a position where it receives case. The *there*-inserting light *v* is special because, though its specifier is not a true argument of the verb, and so it cannot assign accusative case, it is able to assign Partitive Case to an indefinite DP that it governs, cf. *a student* in (38).

(36) The boy invited Mary.

(37) The boy talked to Mary.

(38) There came a student.



(39) Case Filter:

\*[DP -case], where DP is overt

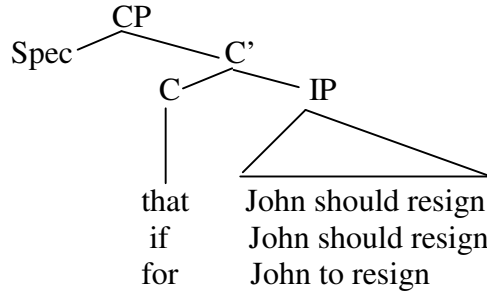
Case must be acquired by the time the S-structure is reached

- (40)a. \* [The girl to invite Jack] would be a good idea.
- = \*[She to invite Jack] would be a good idea.
- = \*[Her to invite Jack] would be a good idea.
- b. For the girl to invite Jack would be a good idea.
- c. [PRO to invite Jack] would be a good idea.

**Unit 4: Complementiser Phrases = CPs (Study BESE 243-269)**

**The structure of CPs**

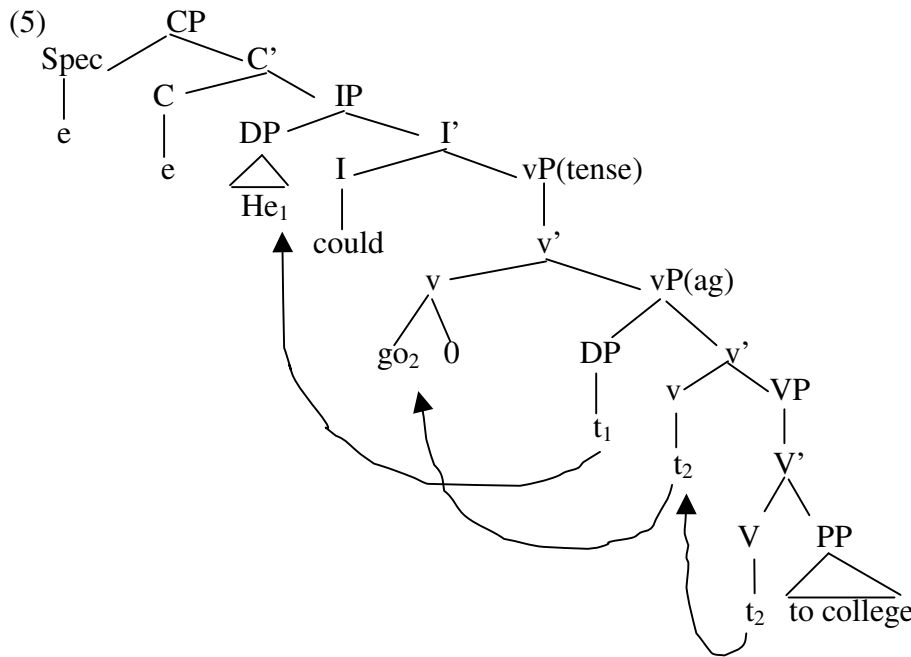
- (1)a. I think [*that John should resign*].
- b. I wonder [*if John should resign*].
- c. I'm anxious [*for John to resign*].



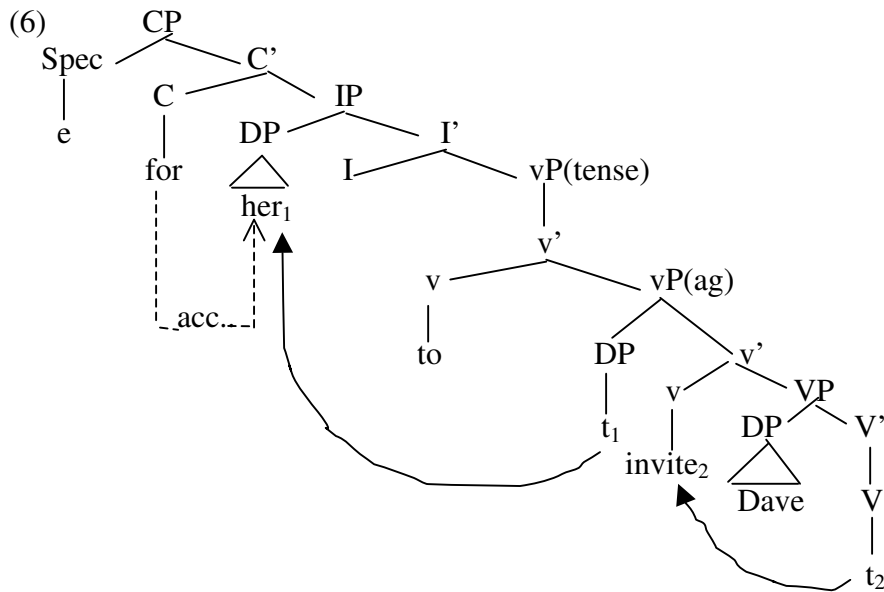
- (2) *that* [-WH, +FIN],     *if* [+WH, +FIN],     *for* [-WH, -FIN]
- N.B. *for* is a preposition-complementiser and so it assigns Accusative Case to the DP that it governs.

- (3)a. [<sub>CP</sub> Will<sub>1</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> he t<sub>1</sub> get a degree]]?     b. [<sub>CP</sub> What<sub>1</sub> will<sub>2</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> he t<sub>2</sub> get t<sub>1</sub>]]?

- (4) [He could go to college] but [<sub>CP</sub> will he get a degree]?
- (5) [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> He could go to college]].     (6) [<sub>CP</sub> For [<sub>IP</sub> her to invite Dave]] would be silly.





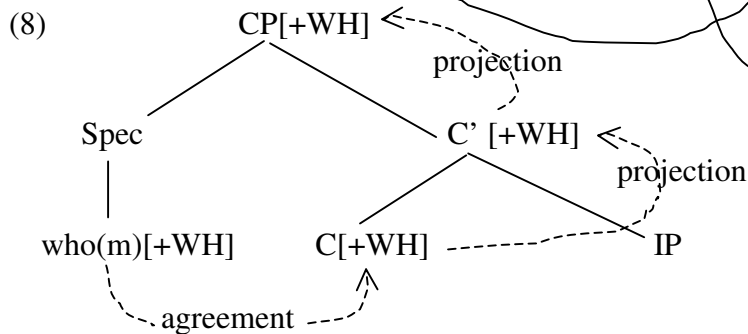
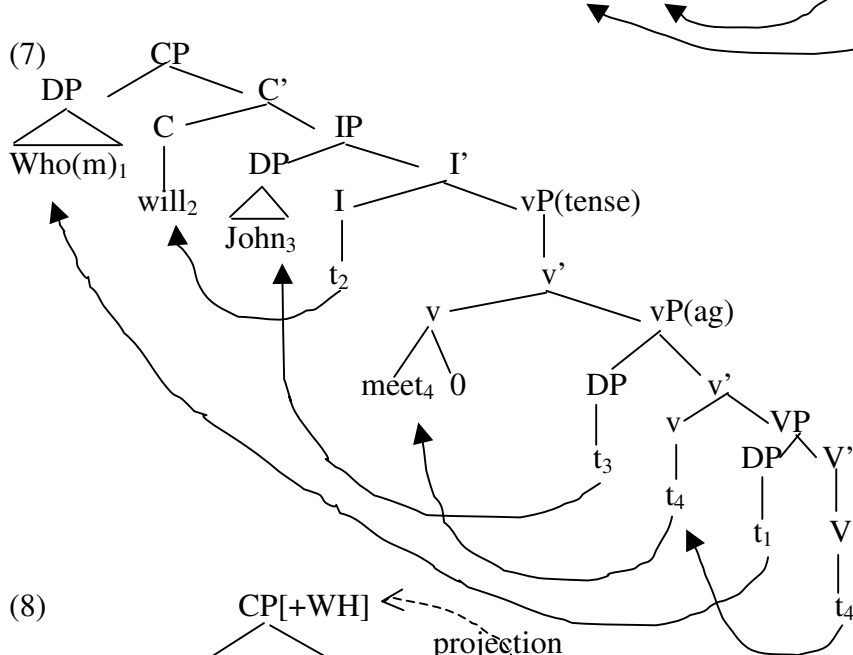


N.B. All the declarative main clause examples that we have seen so far are not simply IPs but CPs which contain those IPs, as shown in (5)!

**Interrogative sentences**

**(i) Main clause wh-interrogatives (= Direct wh-questions)**

(7) Who(m) will John meet? [CP [DP Who(m)]<sub>1</sub> will<sub>2</sub> [IP John t<sub>2</sub> meet t<sub>1</sub>]]?

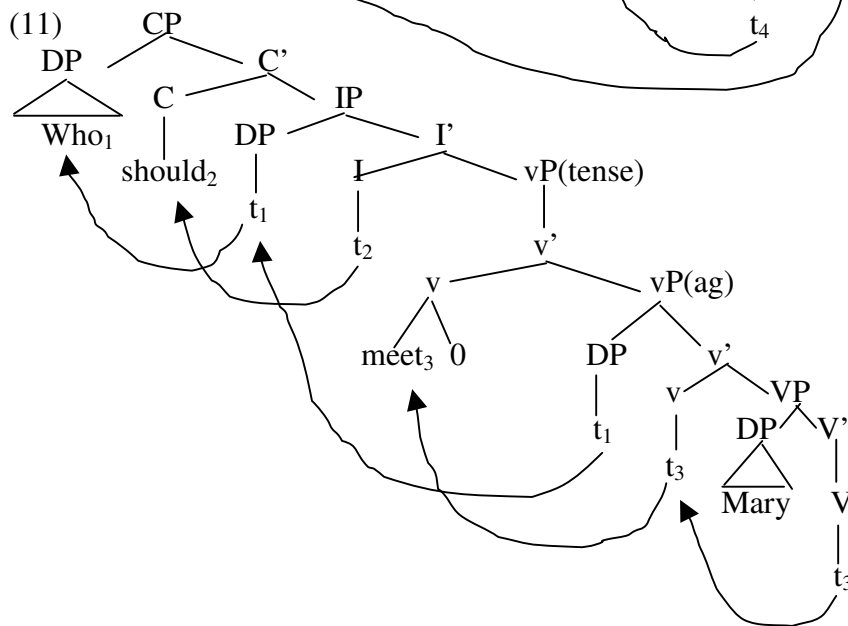
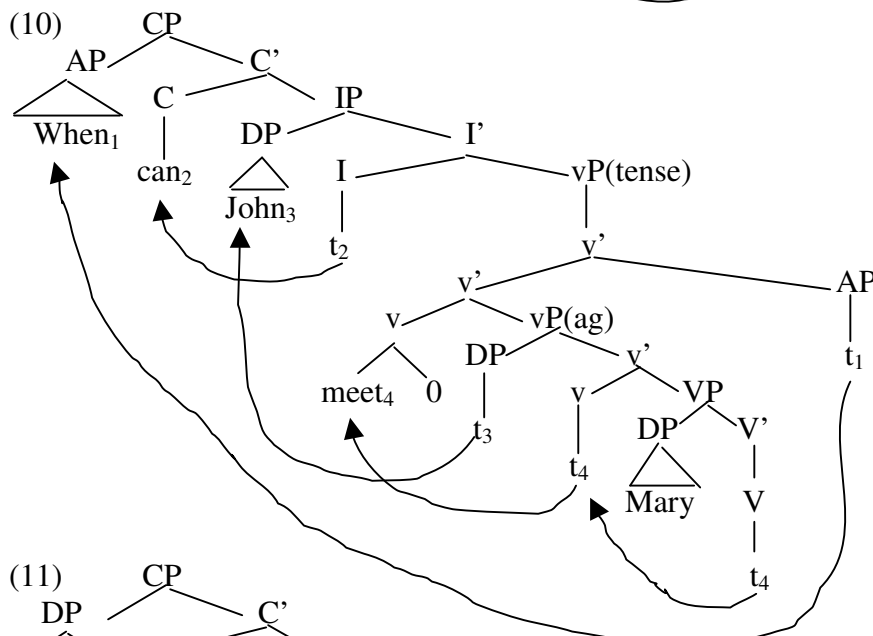


- N.B.: 1) The WH-phrase that has moved to [Spec CP] is an interrogative operator, which, through Specifier-Head agreement and a two-step projection from C to CP, makes the entire CP interrogative.  
 2) Movement of the auxiliary from I to C is called I-to-C movement or Subject Auxiliary Inversion (SAI).  
 3) The [Spec, CP] is not canonically associated with any particular grammatical function. Such a position is called **A-bar position**, and movements targeting an A-bar position are called **A-bar movements**. WH-movement is A-bar movement because the moving WH-element can function as object, subject, adverbial.

(9)A: John will meet President Bush.  
 B: John will meet who(m)? = echo WHQ

(10) When can John meet Mary? [CP [AP When]<sub>1</sub> can<sub>2</sub> [IP John t<sub>2</sub> meet Mary t<sub>1</sub>]]?

(11) Who should meet Mary? [CP [DP Who]<sub>1</sub> should<sub>2</sub> [IP t<sub>1</sub> t<sub>2</sub> meet Mary]]?



- (12)a. A: John can meet Mary next Sunday. B: John can meet Mary *'when?*  
 b. A: Noam Chomsky should meet Mary. B: *'Who* should meet Mary?

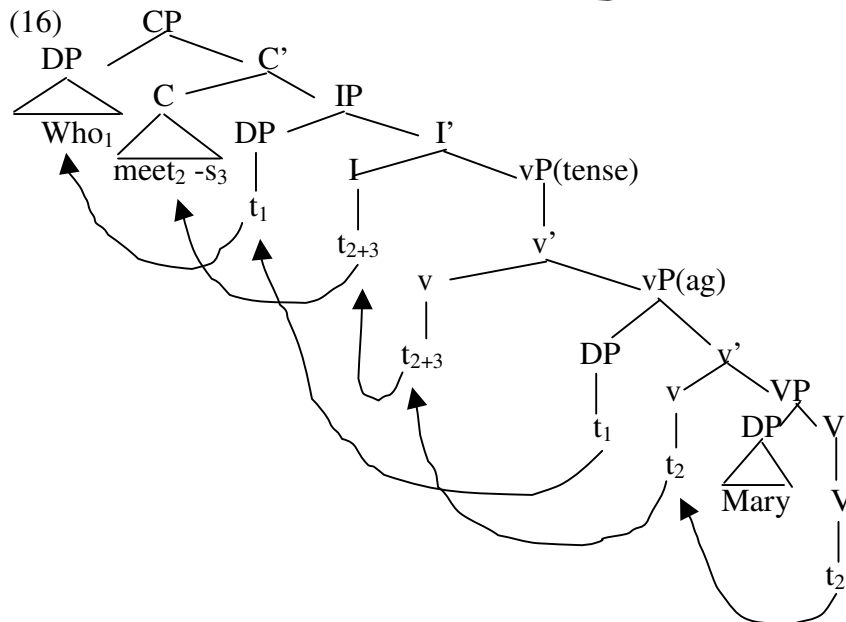
- (13)a. [CP [PP About what]<sub>1</sub> are<sub>2</sub> [IP you t<sub>2</sub> complaining [PP t<sub>1</sub>]]]? PIED PIPING  
 b. [CP [DP What]<sub>1</sub> are<sub>2</sub> [IP you t<sub>2</sub> complaining [PP about [DP t<sub>1</sub>]]]]? P-STRANDING

Problem: Why is (14a) ungrammatical and (14b) grammatical in Present-Day English?

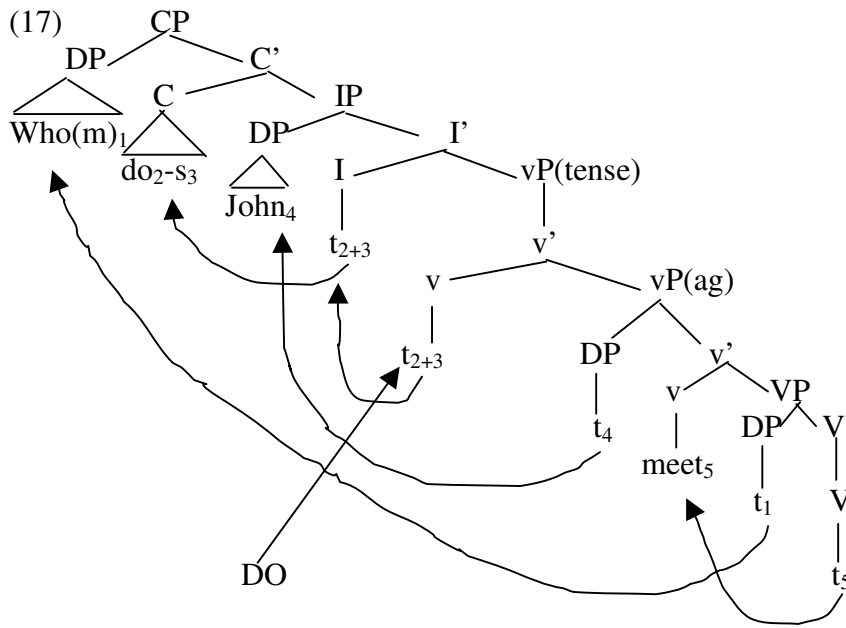
- (14)a. \* What want you? b. What do you want?

- (15) "Main Verb Follows Subject" Principle  
 Main verbs must follow their subjects.

- (16) Who meets Mary? [CP [DP Who]<sub>1</sub> meets<sub>2+3</sub> [IP t<sub>1</sub> t<sub>2+3</sub> Mary]]?



- (17) Who does John meet? [CP [DP Who(m)]<sub>1</sub> does<sub>2+3</sub> [IP John t<sub>2+3</sub> meet t<sub>1</sub>]]?



(18) Conditions for *do*-insertion in WHQs:

- a) Non-subject WH-phrase has moved to [Spec,CP].
- b) There is no auxiliary in the IP.

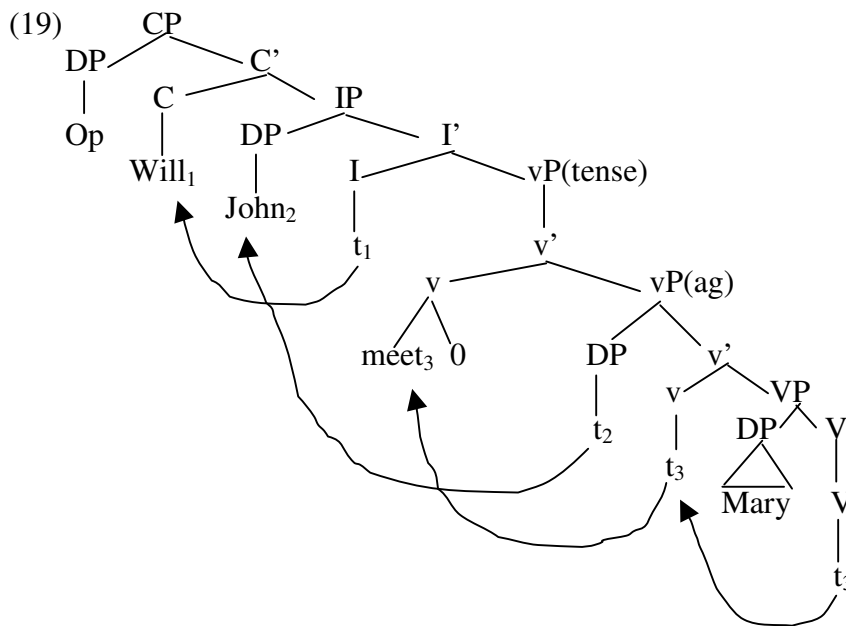
(ii) Main clause yes-no interrogatives (= Direct yes-no questions)

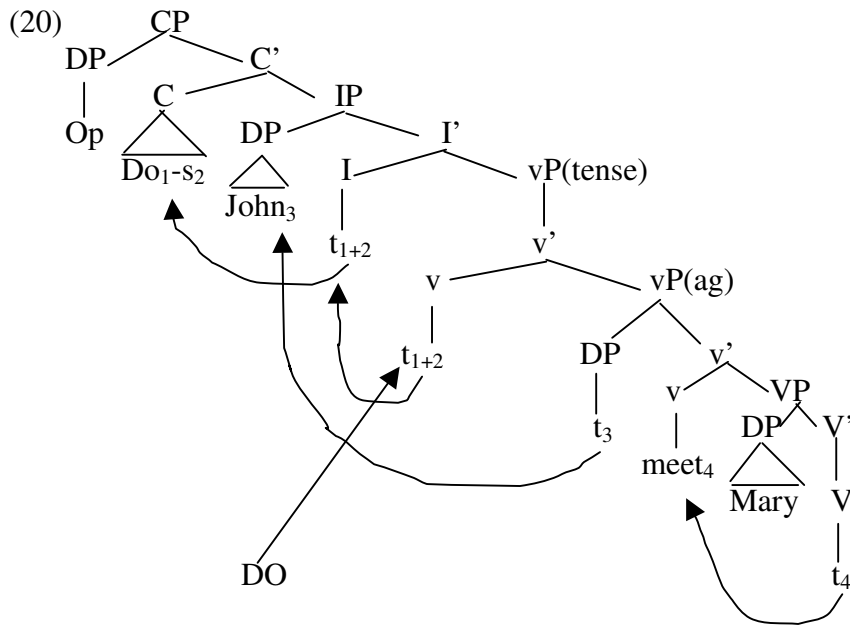
do not have an overt WH-phrase but the [Spec, CP] is occupied by the null version of the interrogative operator *whether*, abbreviated as Op.

(19) Will John meet Mary? [CP Op will<sub>1</sub> [IP John t<sub>1</sub> meet Mary]]?

(20)a. \*Meets John Mary?

b. Does John meet Mary? [CP Op Does<sub>1+2</sub> [IP John t<sub>1+2</sub> meet Mary]]?





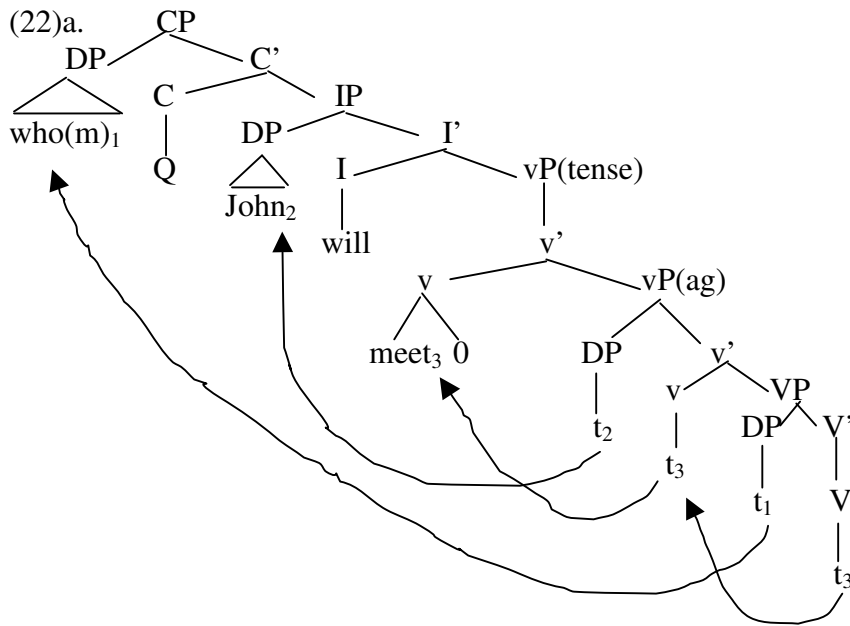
(21) Conditions for *do*-insertion in YNQs:

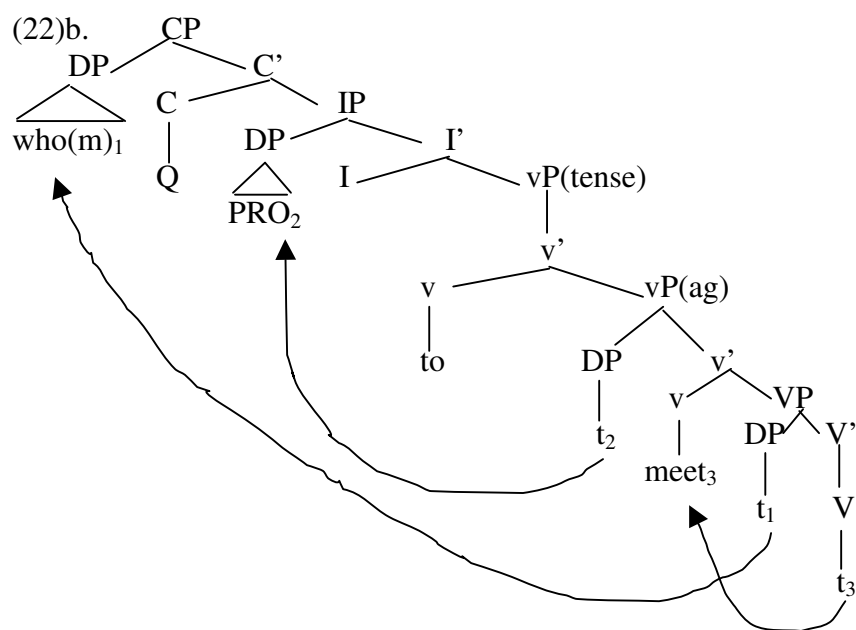
- a) Op in [Spec, CP]
- b) No auxiliary in IP.

(iii) Embedded interrogatives (= Indirect questions)

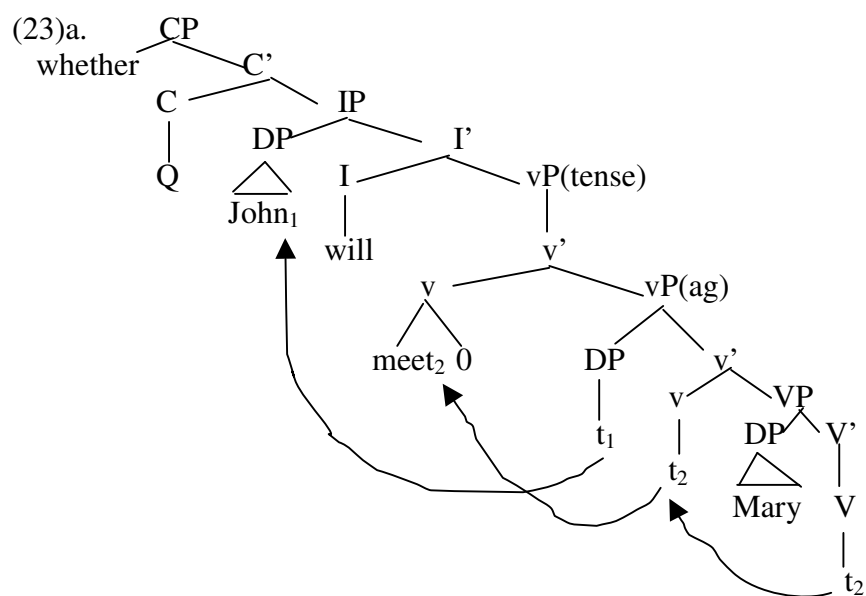
(22)a. I wonder [<sub>CP</sub> who(m)<sub>1</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> John will meet t<sub>1</sub>]]

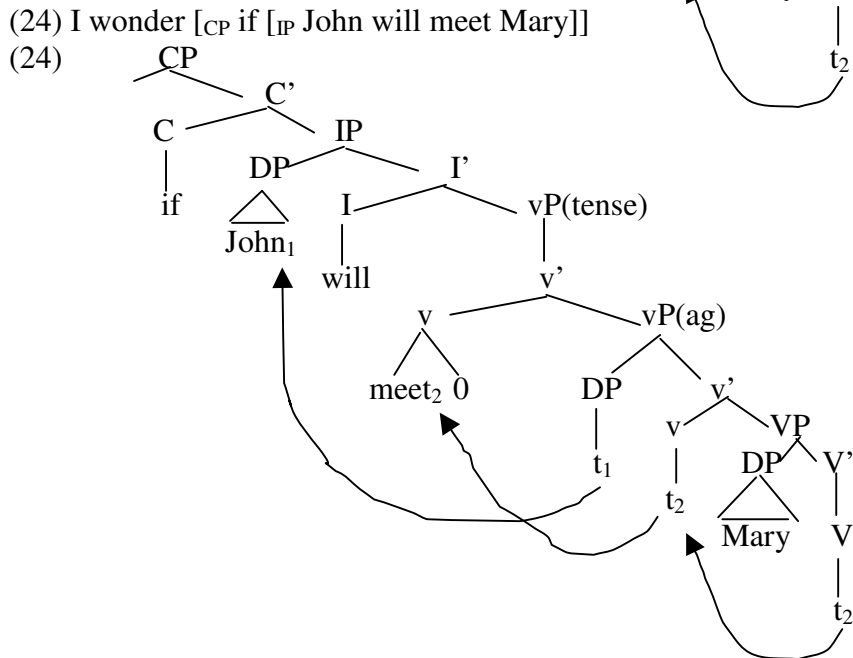
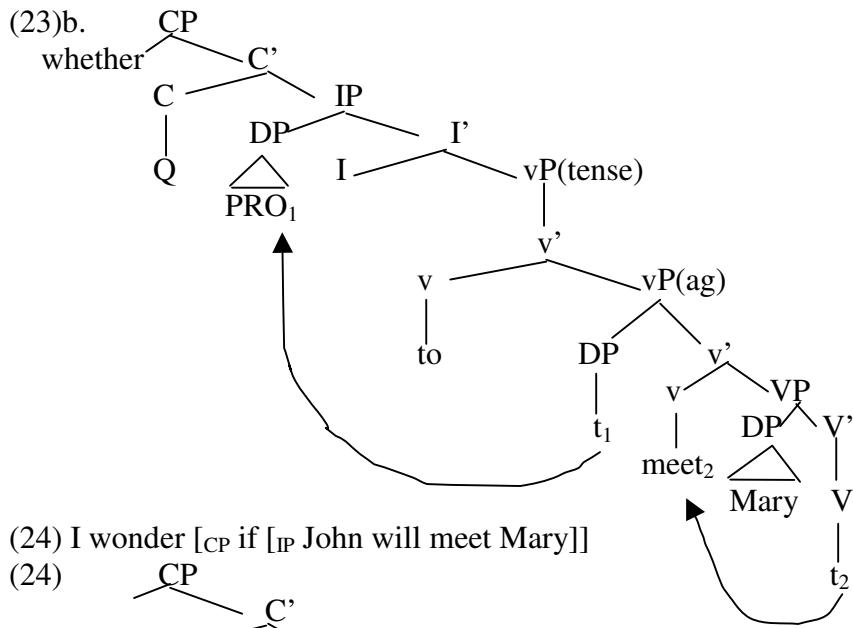
b. I wonder [<sub>CP</sub> who(m)<sub>1</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> PRO to meet t<sub>1</sub>]]





- (23)a. I wonder [CP whether [IP John will meet Mary]]  
 b. I wonder [CP whether [IP PRO to meet Mary]]





An embedded interrogative has either an overt WH-phrase in [Spec, CP], as in the examples of (22-23), or an overt complementiser in C, as in the example of (24), but it cannot have both.

(25) The Doubly Filled COMP Filter:

No CP can have both an overt Specifier and an overt complementiser generated in C.

N.B. The name of this restriction has remained with us from an earlier period of generative grammar in which it was thought that the complementiser position (= abbreviated as COMP in those days) could be filled by an incoming WH-phrase, and it had to be declared that the WH-phrase and the complementiser could not both be present in the COMP position.

Relative Clauses

(26)a. Restrictive (= Defining) Relative Clause:

I saw [DP the man [CP *who lives next door*]].

b. Non-Restrictive (= Non-Defining) R.C.:

I saw [DP the King, [CP *who was in a filthy mood*]].

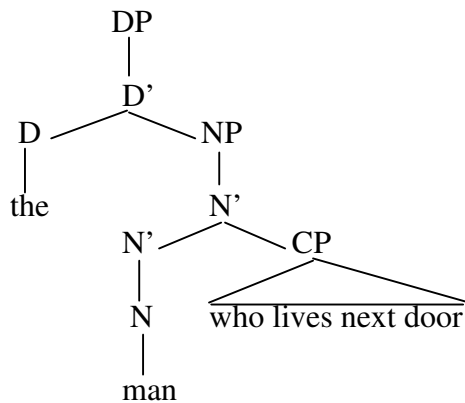
c. Free (= Headless = Nominal) R.C.:

I'll bring you [DP [CP *what you want*]]

(i) Restrictive Relative Clauses

(27) = (26a) [DP the man [CP *who lives next door*]] = 'azt az embert, aki ...'

(27)



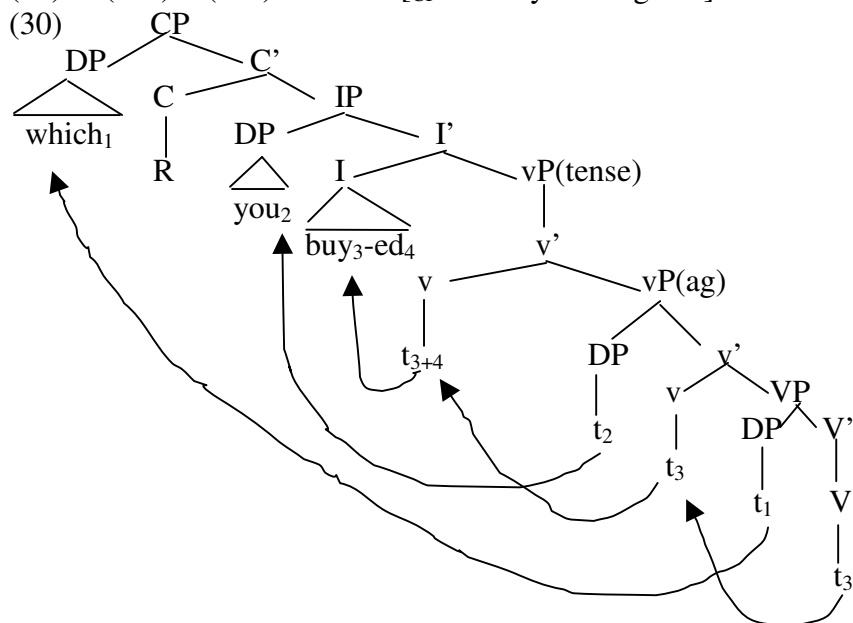
- (28)a. the book [CP *which you bought --*] finite, *wh*-relative
- b. the book [CP *that you bought --*] finite, *that*-relative
- c. the book [CP *you bought --*] finite, *zero*-relative
- d. the book [CP *for you to buy --*] non-finite
- e. the book [CP *PRO to buy --*] non-finite, *zero*-relative

(29) Finite, *wh*-relatives (with *wh*-relative pronouns)

- a. [DP the book [CP *which you bought --*]]
- b. [DP someone [CP *who(m) I met --*]]
- c. [DP the day [CP *when we arrived --*]]
- d. [DP the place [CP *where we stayed --*]]
- e. [DP the reason [CP *why I came --*]]

(30) = (28a) = (29a) the book [CP *which you bought --*]

(30)



Overt *wh*-movement



- N.B. 1) Just like in questions, the wh-element in the specifier of the CP is an operator. However, while in questions the wh-element moves to enable the CP to be interpreted as a question, in relative clauses the wh-element moves to enable the CP to be interpreted as a modifier of the preceding N-bar.  
 2) In Relative Clauses, too, the [Spec, CP] position is an **A-bar position**, and the moving WH-relative realizes an **A-bar movement**.  
 3) We assume that in wh-relative clauses of the restrictive kind, an abstract R fills the C-position, to prevent anything to move into it from a lower position. This is my invention, BESE does not provide tree diagrams for, and does not discuss the exact details of, such relative clauses. (LV)

(31) Finite, *that*-relatives (with complementiser *that*)

- a. [DP the book [CP *that* you bought --]]      d. [DP the place [CP *that* we stayed --]]  
 b. [DP someone [CP *that* I met --]]            e. [DP the reason [CP *that* I came --]]  
 c. [DP the day [CP *that* we arrived --]]

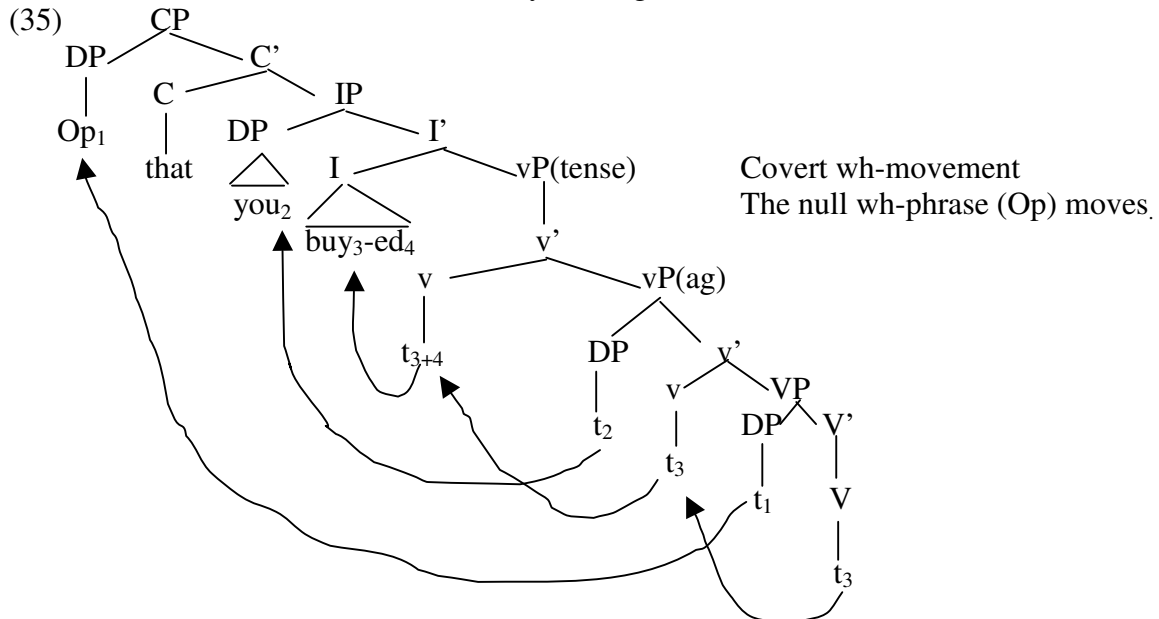
Traditionally, *that* was treated as a wh-element (like *which*, *who*, etc.), which moves to [Spec CP]. However, certain facts force us to think that the word *that* here is a complementiser.

- (32)a. the house [which<sub>1</sub> I live in t<sub>1</sub>]      preposition stranding  
 b. the house [in which<sub>1</sub> I live t<sub>1</sub>]      pied piping

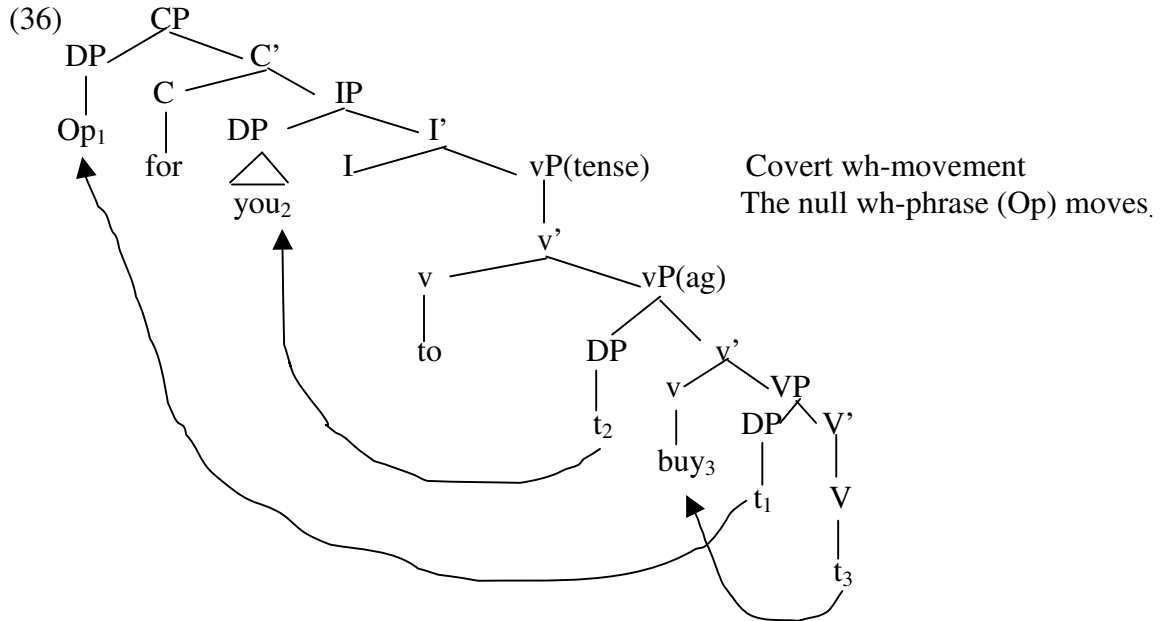
- (33)a. the house [that<sub>1</sub> I live in t<sub>1</sub>]  
 b. \*the house [in that<sub>1</sub> I live t<sub>1</sub>]

- (34) a. The book [*for* you to buy] is "Ocean Sea" by Baricco.  
 b. The man [*for* you to see] is Mr. Johnson.  
 c. The time [*for* you to go] is July.  
 d. The place [*for* you to stay] is the university guest house.

(35) = (28b) = (31a) the book [CP *that* you bought --]



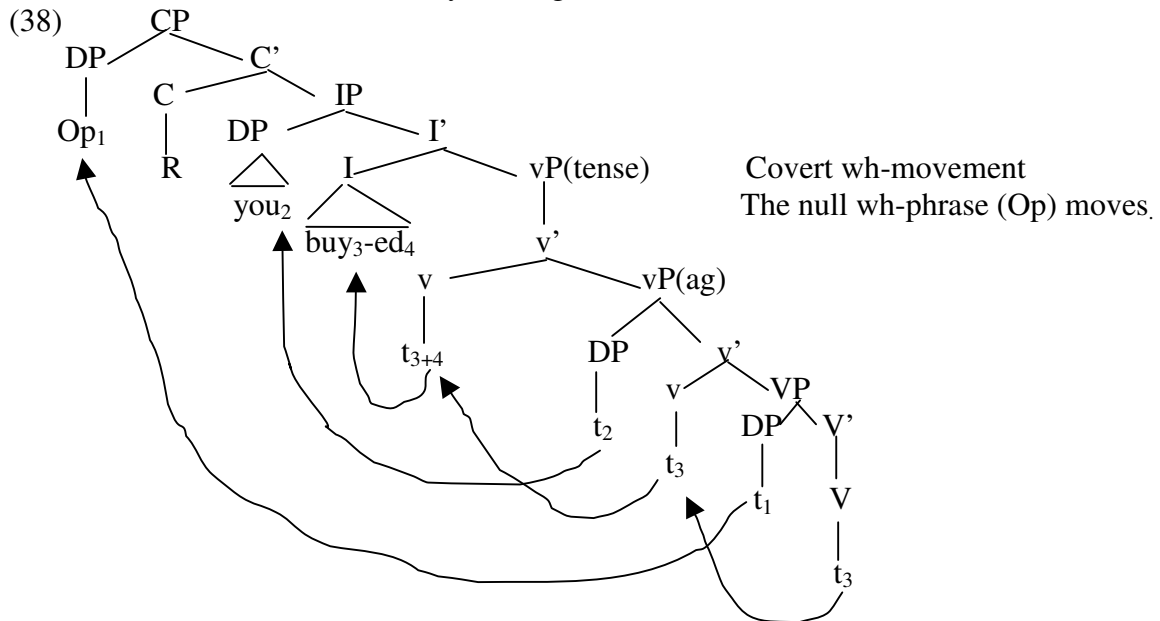
(36)=(28c) = (34a) the book [CP for you to buy --]



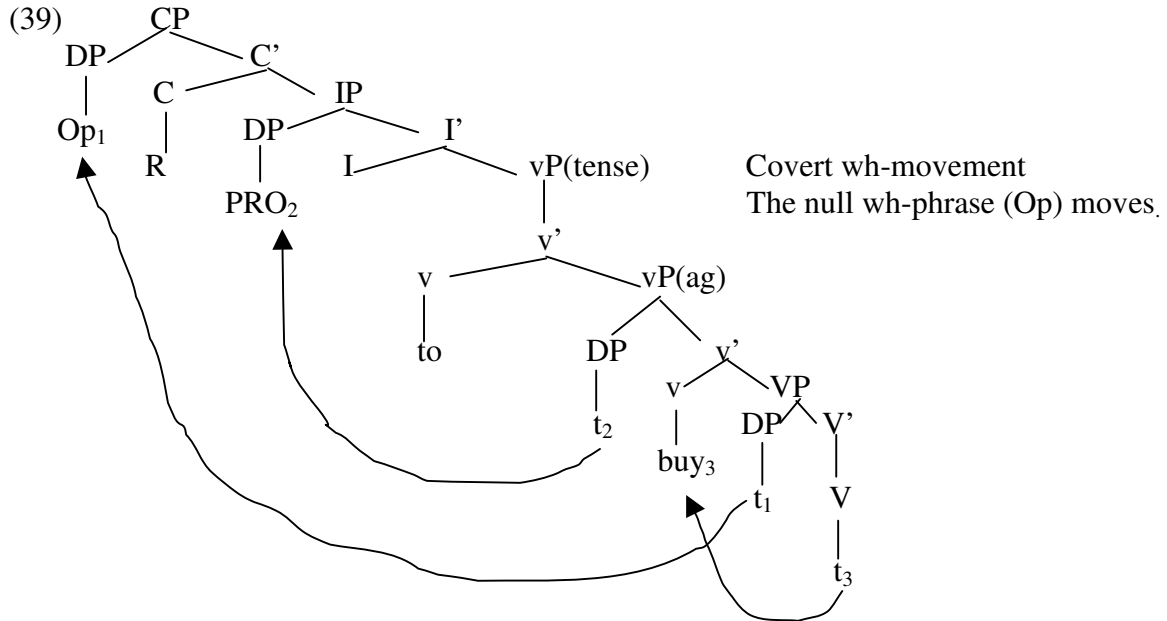
(37) Finite, zero-relatives (with no overt complementiser)

- a. [DP the book [CP you bought --]]
- b. [DP someone [CP I met --]]
- c. [DP the day [CP we arrived --]]
- d. [DP the place [CP we stayed --]]
- e. [DP the reason [CP I came --]]

(38) = (28d) = (37a) the book [CP you bought --]



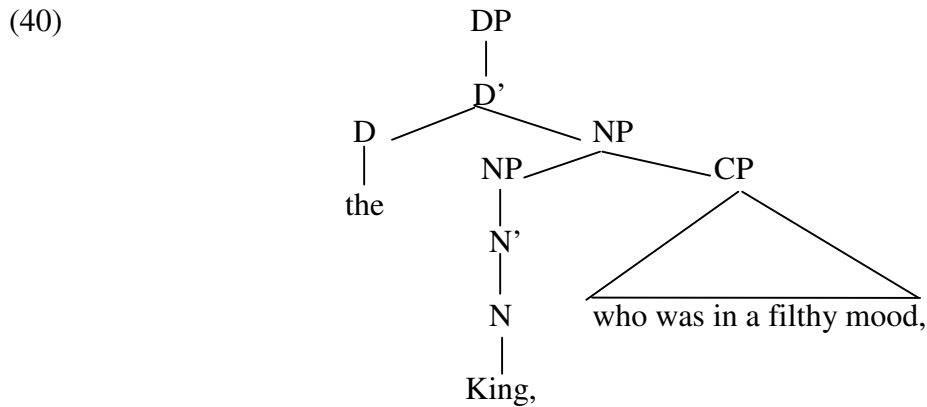
(39) = (28e) = the book [CP PRO to buy --]



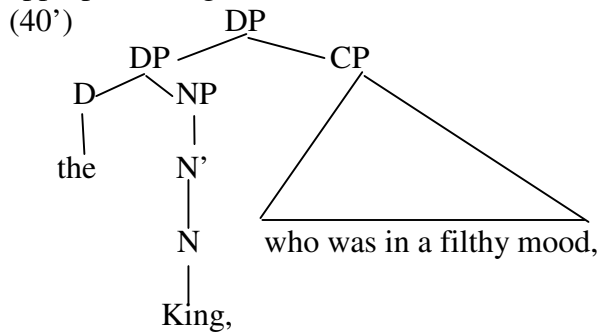
(ii) Non-Restrictive Relative Clauses

(40) = (26b) the King, [CP who was in a filthy mood], ... 'a király, aki ...'

BESE (p265) suggests diagrams like (40) for DPs containing Non-Restrictive Relative Clauses:



However, considering the prosody of such DPs (there is a pause before the clause), a more appropriate diagram would be (40'):



**Unit 5: Non-Finite Clauses (Study: BESE 281-298)**

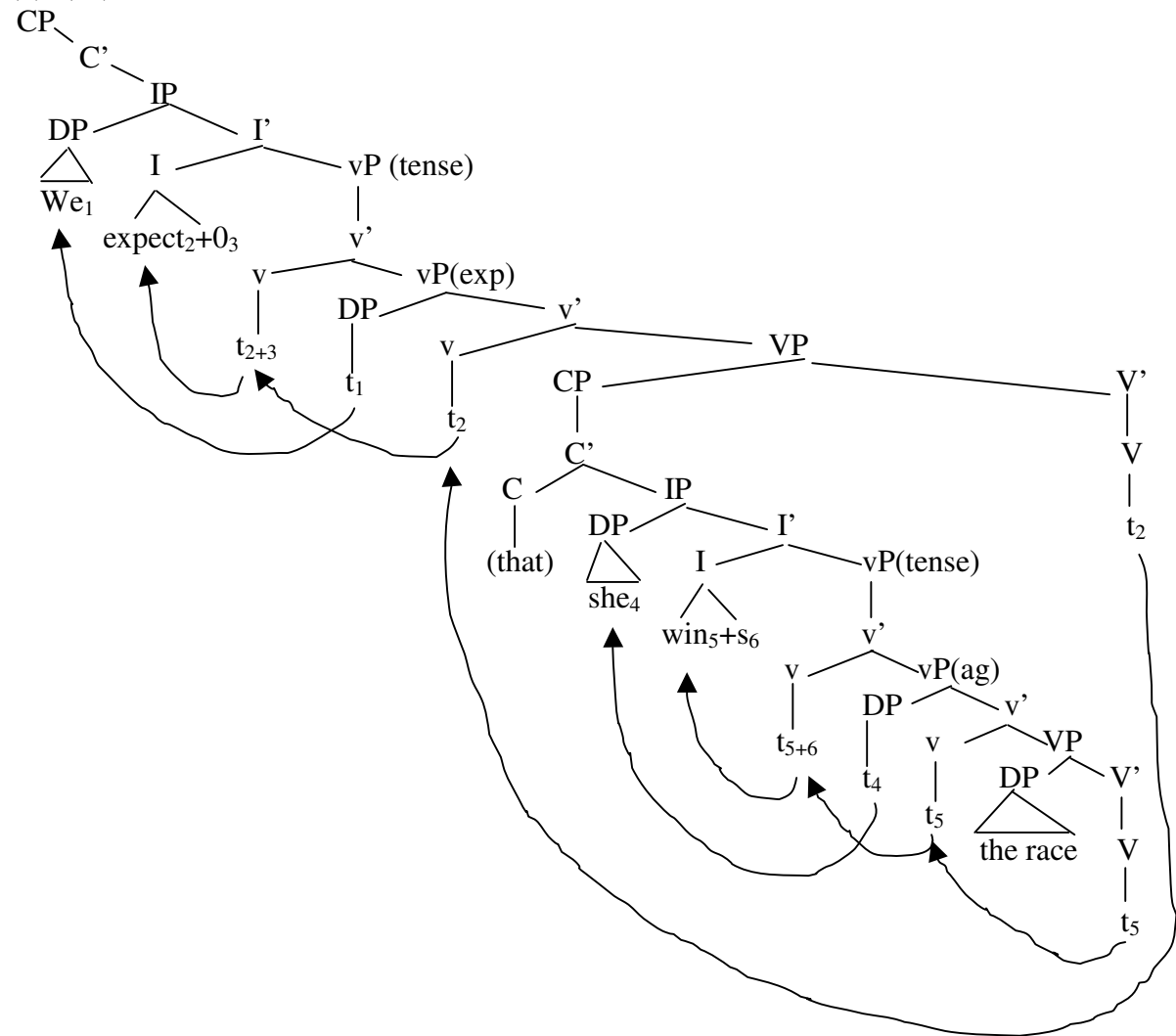
**Exceptional Clauses**

Compare:

- (1)a. We expect [CP (that) [IP she wins the race.]]
- b. \* We expect [CP (that) [IP her wins the race.]]
- (2)a. We expect [IP her to win the race].
- b. \* We expect [IP she to win the race].

N.B.: In the diagrams of this unit we ignore the suggestion (BESE p. 9) that the subclause should be removed from [Spec, VP] and right-adjoined to VP.

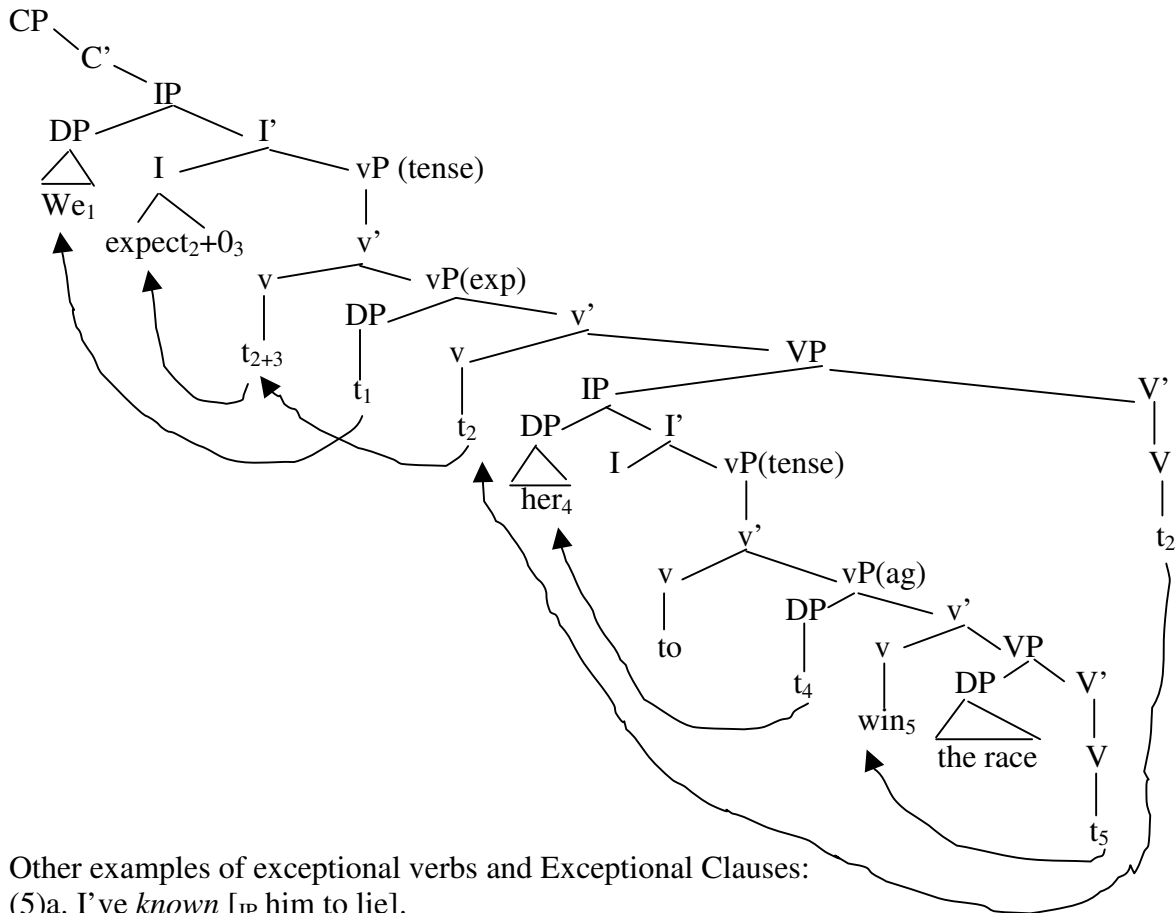
(3)=(1a)



Whereas the subclause in (1a) is a CP, the one in (2a) is only an IP! Since clauses are normally CPs, the subclause in (1a) can be called an Ordinary Clause, whereas the one in (2a) is called an **Exceptional Clause**. An Exceptional Clause is a to-infinitive clause which cannot have the complementiser *for*, and so doesn't have a CP layer over it (= it's a "naked IP"! ). The verbs (like *expect*) that can take Exceptional Clauses are known as **exceptional verbs**. The process of assigning accusative case to the subject of an exceptional clause is

called **Exceptional Case Marking (ECM)**. ECM is carried out by the light verb before the subclause.

(4)=(2a)



Other examples of exceptional verbs and Exceptional Clauses:

- (5)a. I've *known* [<sub>IP</sub> him to lie].
- b. They *reported* [<sub>IP</sub> the patient to be in great pain].
- c. I *consider* [<sub>IP</sub> my students to be conscientious].
- d. We *believe* [<sub>IP</sub> him to be clever].

Exceptional Clauses cannot have a complementiser:

- (6)a. \*I've *known* [<sub>CP</sub> for him to lie].
- b. \*They *reported* [<sub>CP</sub> for the patient to be in great pain].
- c. \*I *consider* [<sub>CP</sub> for my students to be conscientious].
- d. \*We *believe* [<sub>CP</sub> for him to be clever].
- e. \*We *expect* [<sub>CP</sub> for her to win the race].

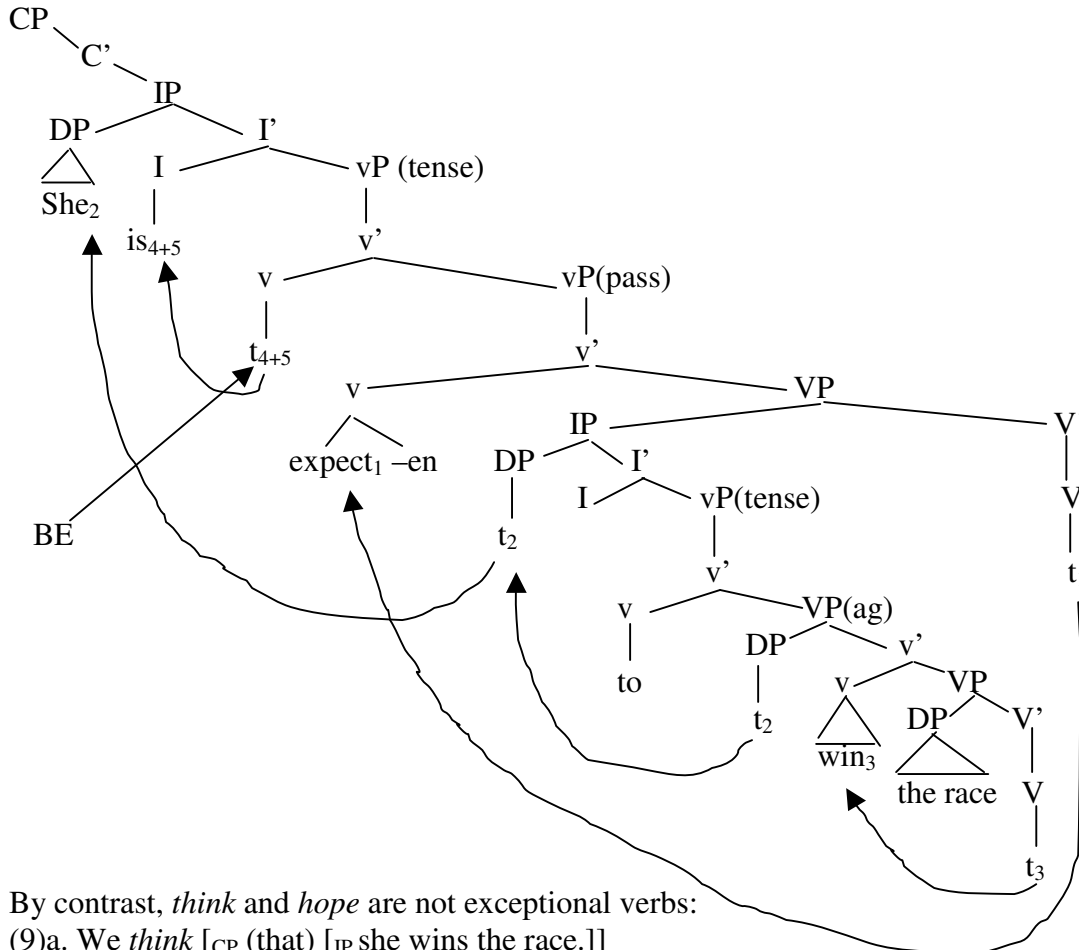
The subjects of Exceptional Clauses can undergo passivisation:

- (7)a. He has been *known* [<sub>IP</sub> --- to lie].
- b. [The patient] is *reported* [<sub>IP</sub> --- to be in great pain].
- c. [My students] are *considered* [<sub>IP</sub> --- to be conscientious].

d. He is *believed* [<sub>IP</sub> --- to be clever].

e. She is expected [<sub>IP</sub> --- to win the race].

(8)=(7e)



By contrast, *think* and *hope* are not exceptional verbs:

(9)a. We *think* [<sub>CP</sub> (that) [<sub>IP</sub> she wins the race.]]

b. \*We think [<sub>IP</sub> her to win the race.]

(10)a. We *hope* [<sub>CP</sub> (that) [<sub>IP</sub> she wins the race.]]

b. \*We hope [<sub>IP</sub> her to win the race.]

At first sight, the verb *want* looks like an exceptional verb, but it is not. The clause following *want* is a CP, not an IP!

(11) We want [<sub>CP</sub> her to win the race].

The verb *want* cannot passivise:

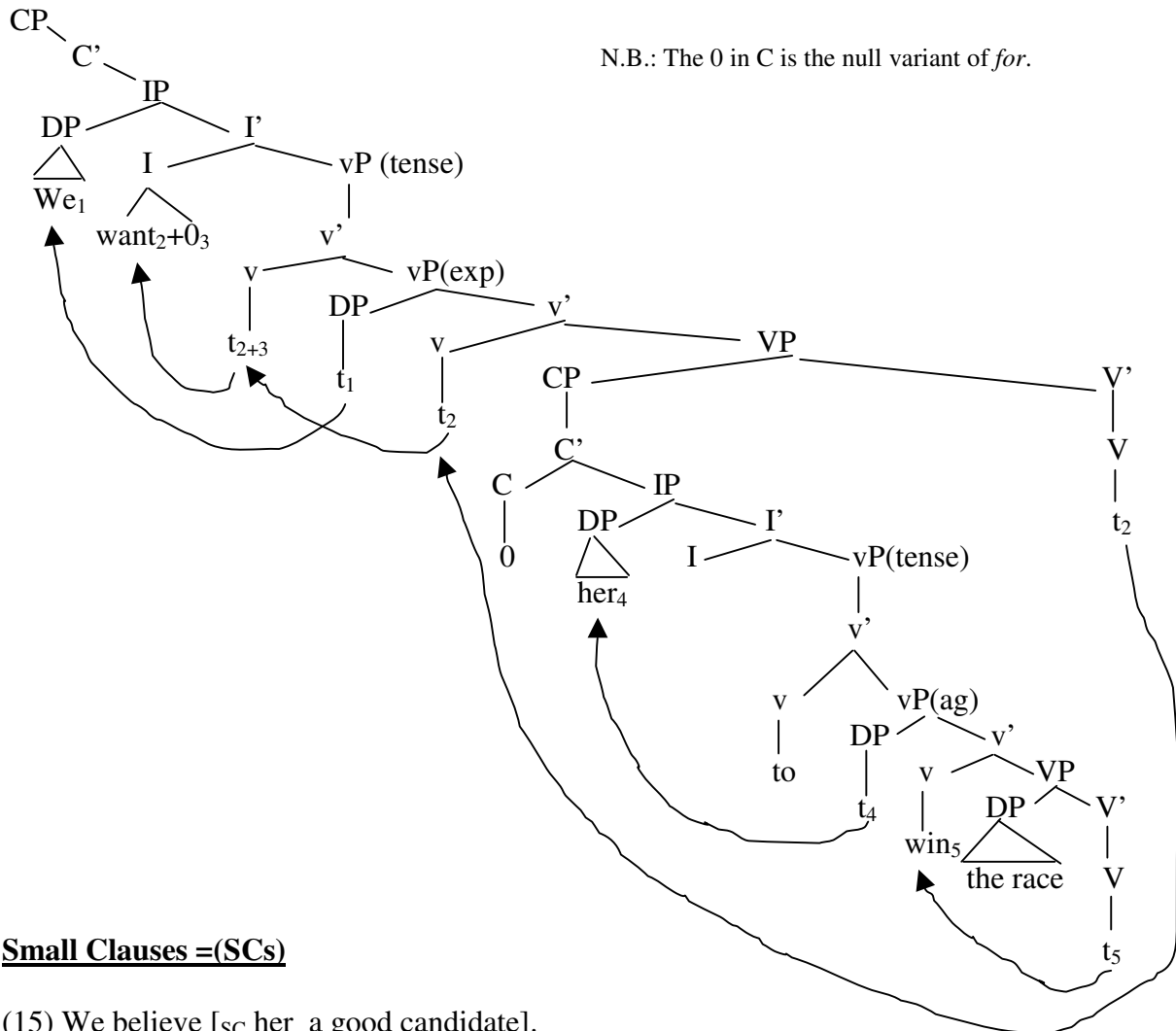
(12) \*She is wanted [<sub>CP</sub> --- to win the race].

The complementiser *for* appears when the clause is separated from the verb:

(13) I want more than anything [<sub>CP</sub> for her to win the race].

Conclusion: when the clause is adjacent to the verb *want*, its complementiser position is occupied by the null variant of the complementiser *for*.

(14)=(11)

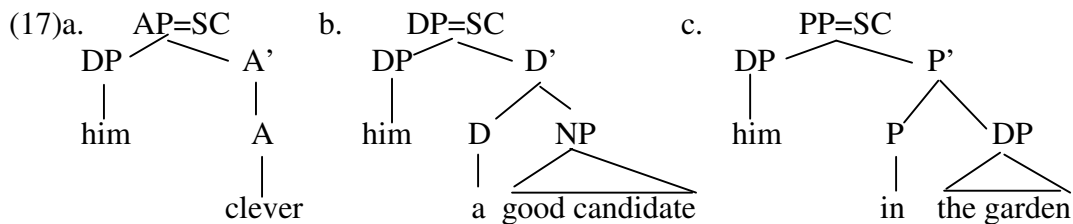


**Small Clauses =(SCs)**

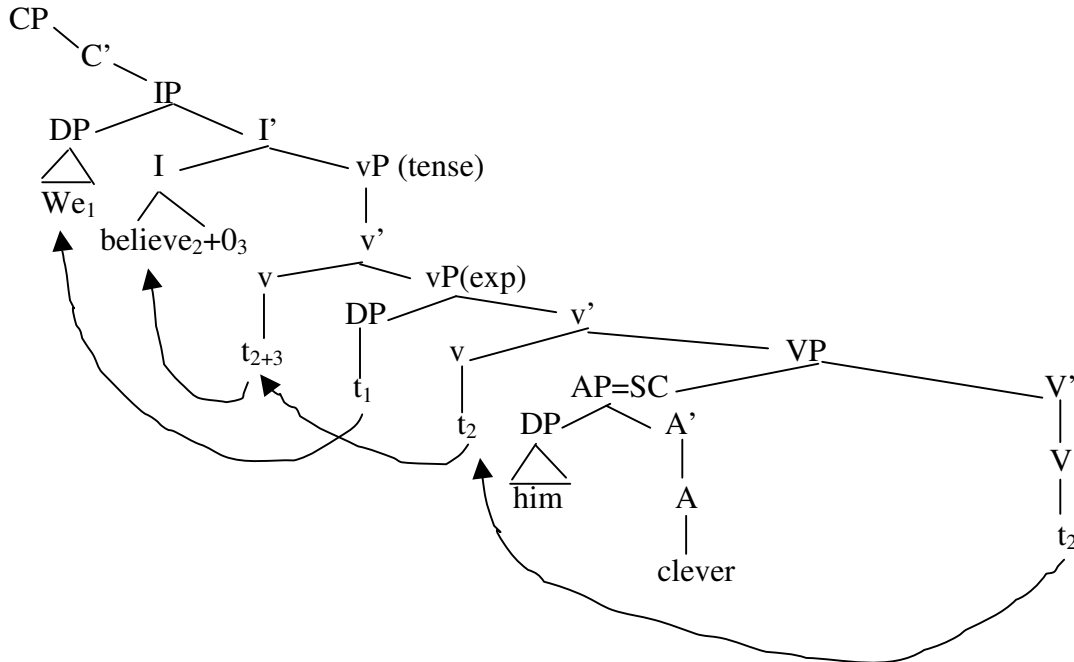
(15) We believe [<sub>SC</sub> her a good candidate].

Their analysis is still a disputed question. According to the model we adopt, a Small Clause is an XP, consisting of a DP subject (in Spec XP), and its X' sister.

- (16)a. We believe [<sub>AP=SC</sub> him [<sub>A'</sub> clever]].
- b. We consider [<sub>DP=SC</sub> him [<sub>D'</sub> a good candidate]].
- c. We require [<sub>PP=SC</sub> him [<sub>P'</sub> in the garden]].

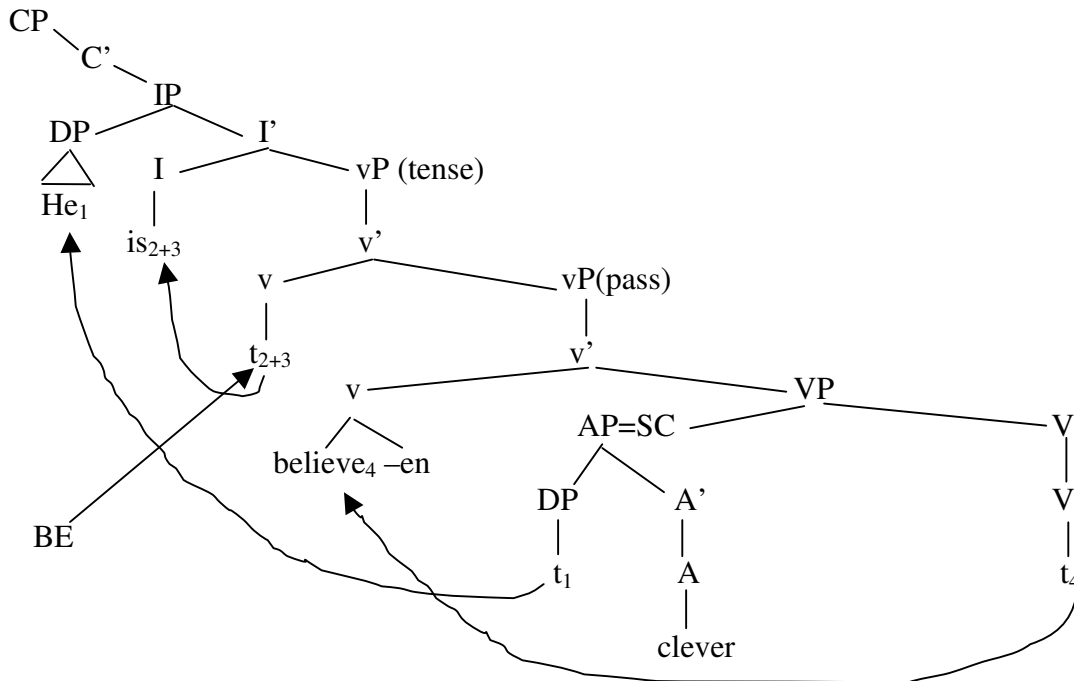


(18)=(16a)



The subject of a SC can be passivised just like the subject of an Exceptional Clause. The passive counterpart of (18) is (19): He is believed [[AP=SC → clever]

(19)



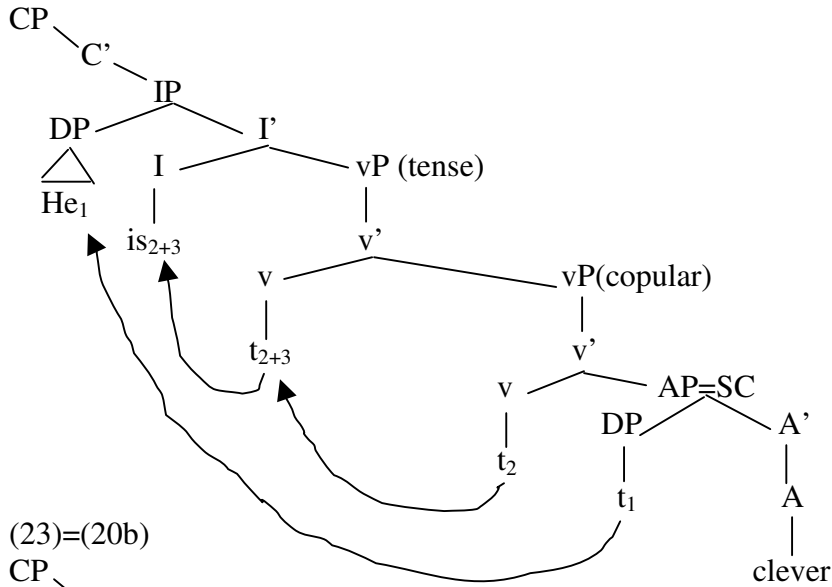
**Copular sentences**, with a copular light verb *be*, are related to Small Clauses:

- (20)a. He<sub>1</sub> is [AP=SC t<sub>1</sub> clever].
- b. He<sub>1</sub> is [DP=SC t<sub>1</sub> a good candidate].
- c. He<sub>1</sub> is [PP=SC t<sub>1</sub> in the garden].

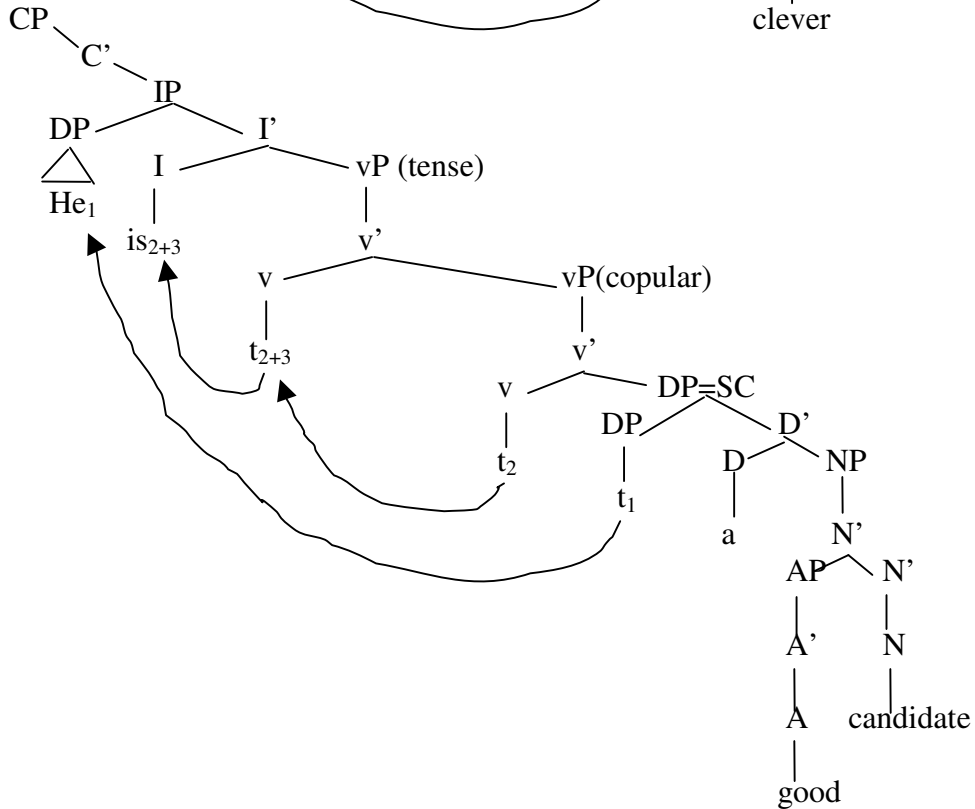


When the SC=PP, and the subject is an indefinite DP, a *there*-construction variant is also possible: (21)a. A cup is on the saucer. b. There is a cup on the saucer.

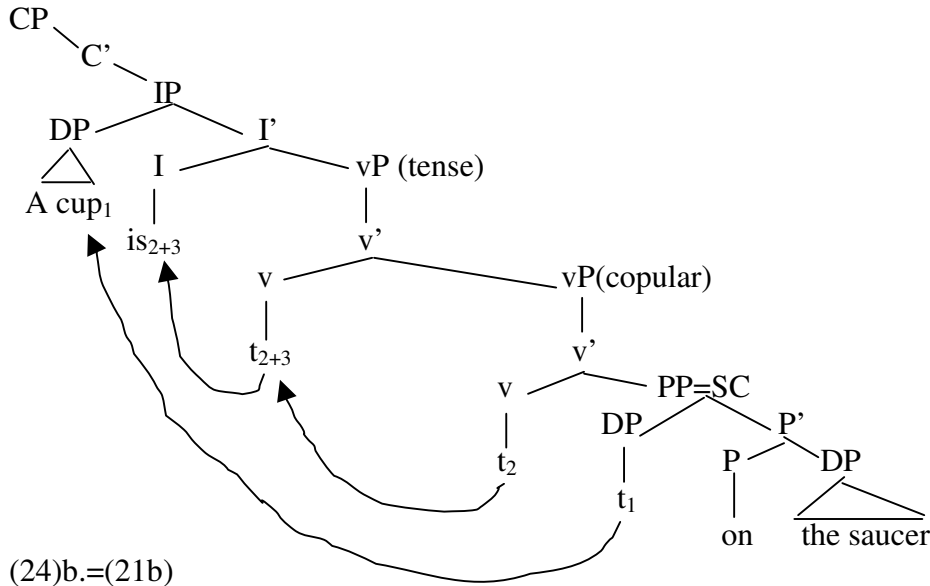
(22)=(20a)



(23)=(20b)

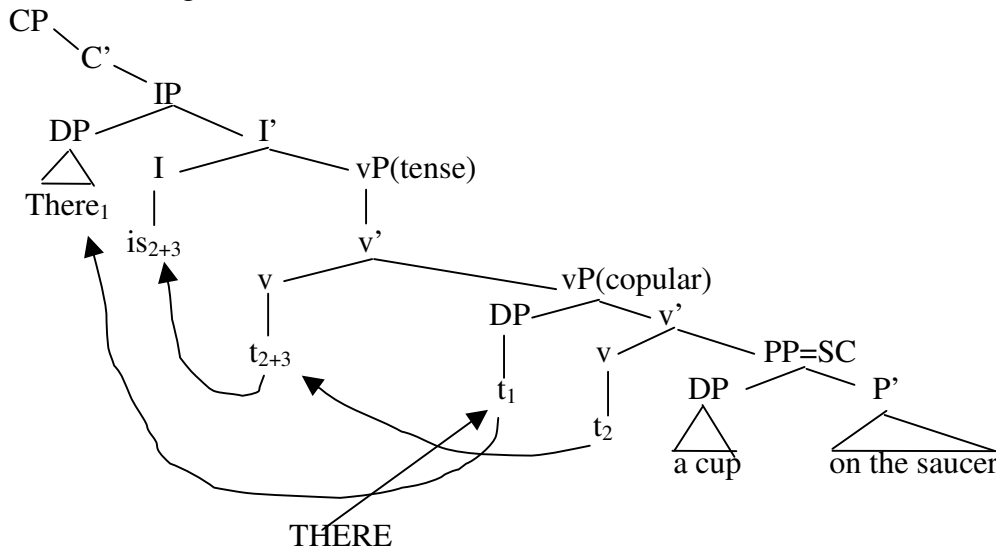


(24)a.=(21a)



(24)b.=(21b)

We assume that *there* is inserted in the specifier of the copular vP and needs no separate *there*-inserting vP to accommodate it.

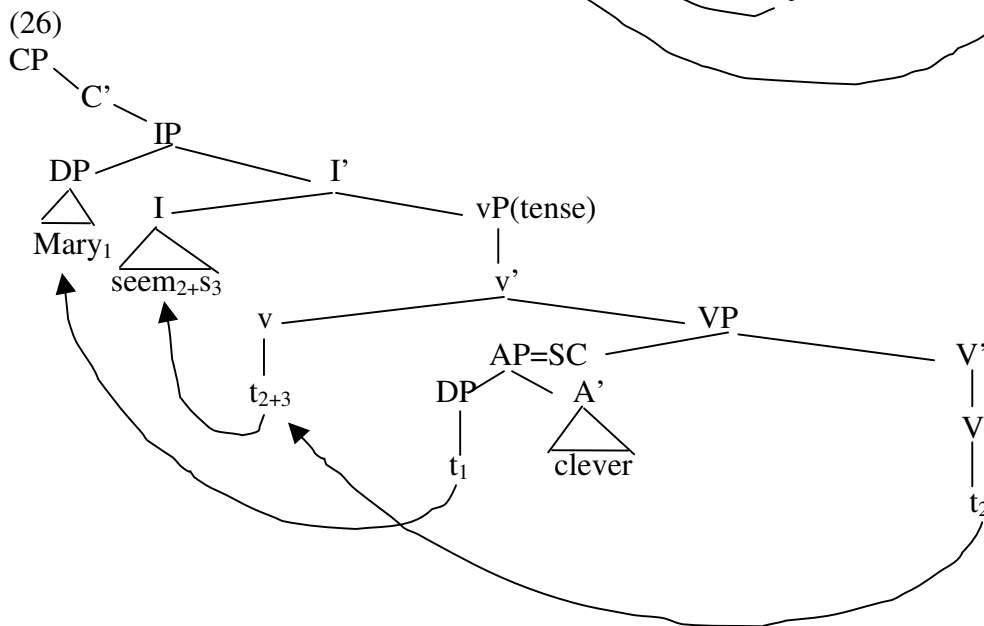
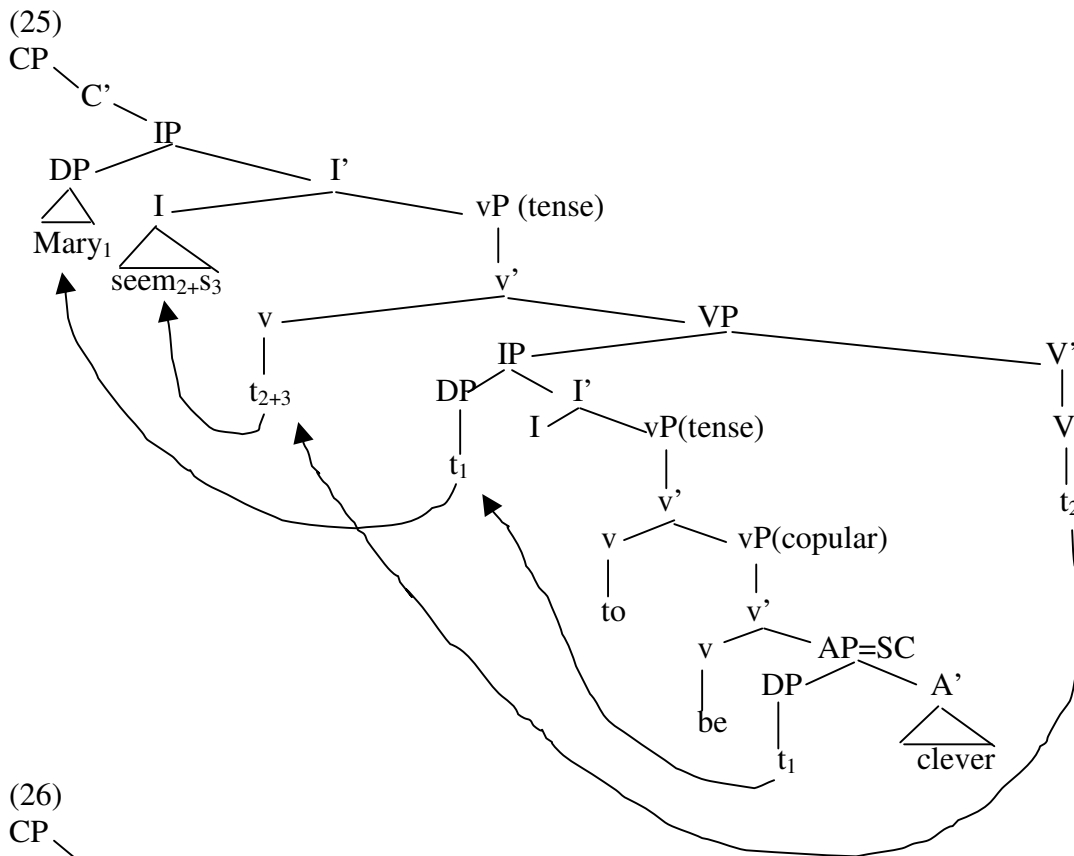


**Subject Raising**

A raising verb “raises” the subject DP out of a lower clause (which must be an Exceptional Clause or a Small Clause) and moves it into the subject position (= specifier position) of a higher clause. For instance, *seem* is a raising verb.

(25) Mary seems [IP -- to be clever].

(26) Mary seems [SC -- clever].



The verbs *seem*, *appear*, *turn out* are raising verbs, the adjectives *(un)likely*, *certain*, etc. are raising adjectives.

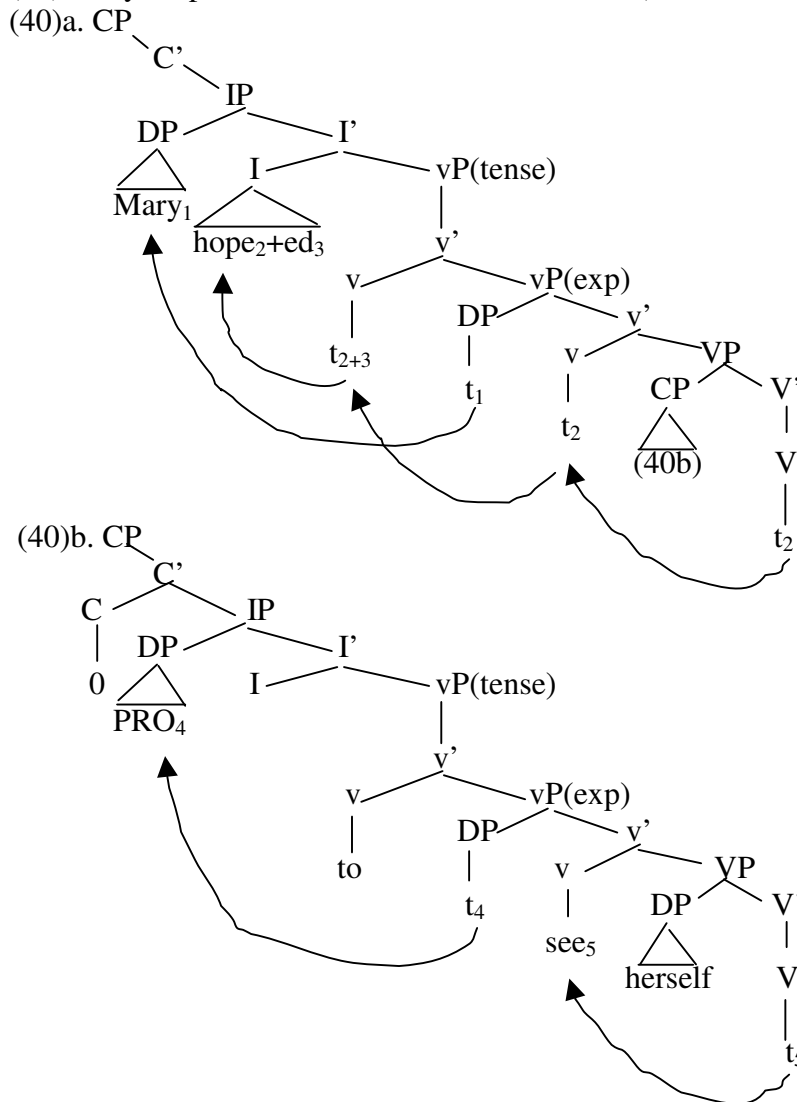
**Sentences with PRO subjects**

Subordinate clauses of the non-finite kind can have an unpronounced pronoun subject: PRO.

- (39)a. We attempted [PRO to work the machine].
- b. They tried [PRO turning the wheel].
- c. I painted the ceiling [PRO balanced on a chair].

In most cases PRO has an antecedent, whose person, number, gender features PRO inherits. The antecedent **controls** PRO.

(40) Mary<sub>a</sub> hoped [CP PRO<sub>a</sub> to see herself<sub>a</sub>]. (where a = 3sgfem)

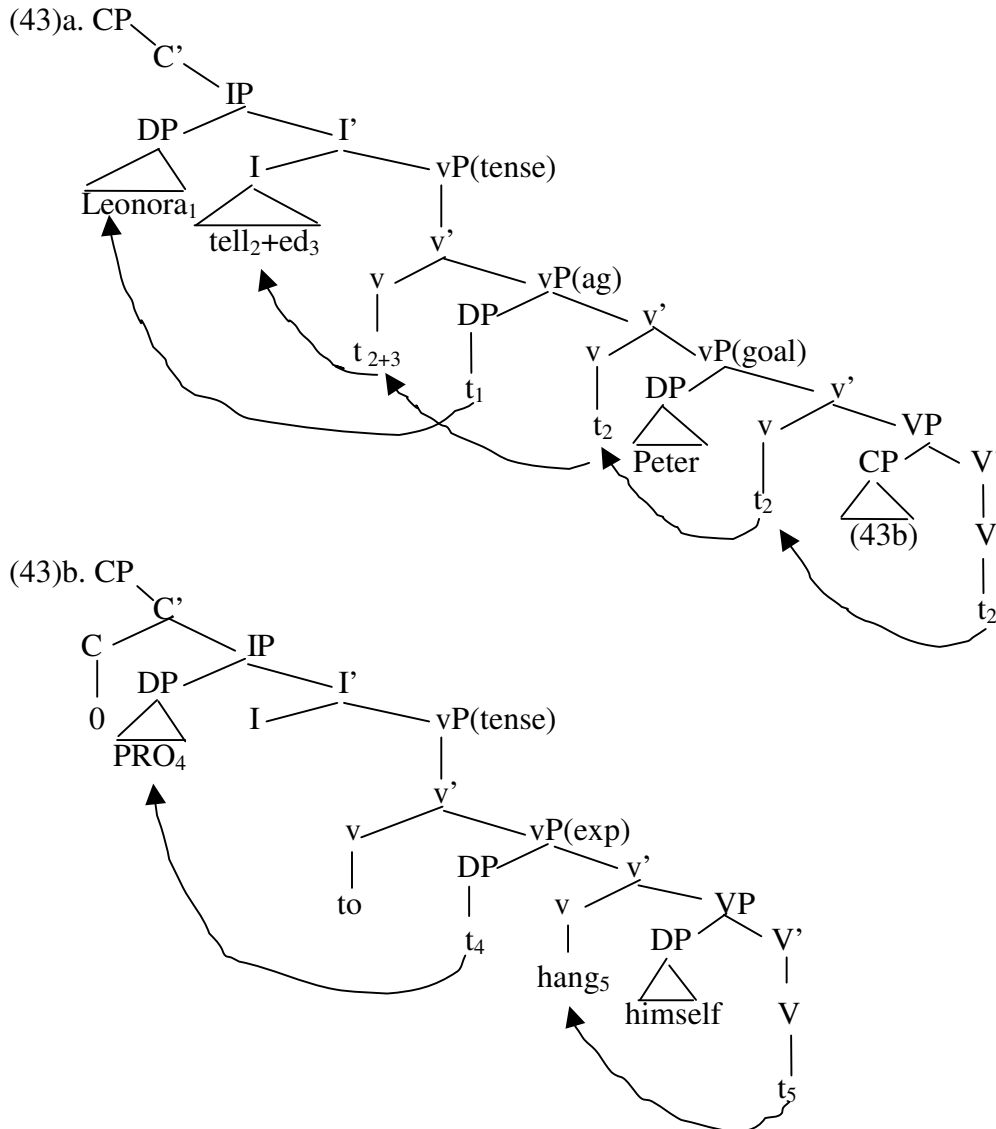


The verbs *hope*, *want*, *promise*, etc. are **subject-control verbs**.

- (41) Peter<sub>a</sub> wants [CP PRO<sub>a</sub> to be a sailor].
- (42) Peter<sub>a</sub> promised [CP PRO<sub>a</sub> to write a letter every week].

But in (43) we have an object-control verb:

(43) Leonora told Peter<sub>a</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> PRO<sub>a</sub> to hang himself]. (where a = 3sgmasc)

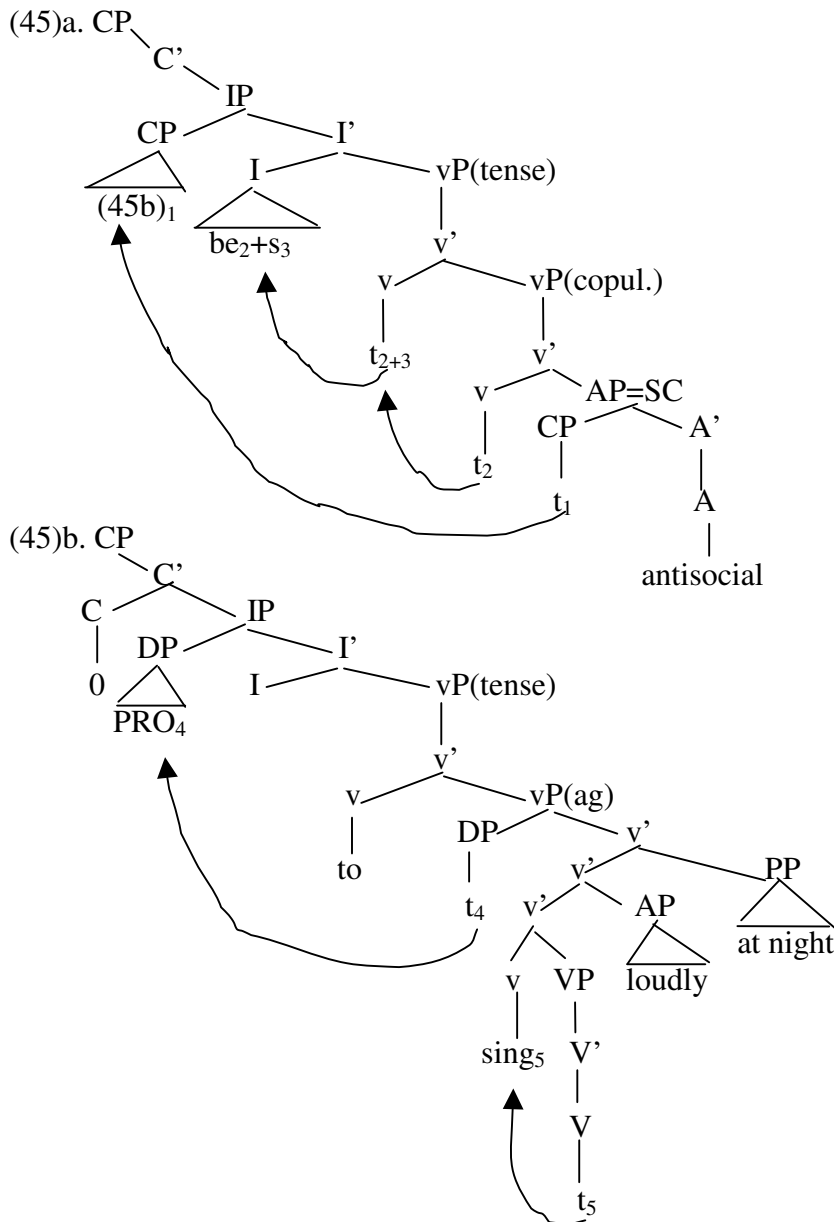


The verbs *tell*, *ask*, *persuade*, etc. are **object-control verbs**.

In some cases, e.g. when the subclause functions as subject, it can have a PRO **without an antecedent**, and then PRO gets **arbitrary reference** (interpretable by general knowledge or by knowing the situation). For instance:

(44) [<sub>CP</sub> PRO To be] or [<sub>CP</sub> PRO not to be], that is the question.

(45) [<sub>CP</sub> PRO<sub>a</sub> To sing loudly at night] is antisocial. (where a = anybody, us, you )



**EXERCISES to BESE Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8**

**BESE 210-212: Ch 5**

**2. Determine the subcategory of the verbs in the following sentences. Justify your choice with the help of different distributional tests. Finally, give their syntactic structure as well.**

- |  |                                    |
|--|------------------------------------|
| a. A face appeared behind the window.    | b. Susan sang.                     |
| c. Michael moved my map from the middle. | d. The bomb blew up.               |
| e. Larry laughed.                        | f. Kevin killed Karen.             |
| g. Ben brought a bulldog for Betty.      | h. Norah knows Nick.               |
| i. The boat sank.                        | j. The letter lay on the table.    |
| k. The window opened.                    | l. A train arrived at the station. |
| m. Walt watered the flowers.             | n. Dick died.                      |
|  | o. Gary gave Greg a gift.          |

**5. Determine whether the following sentences contain a phrasal verb with the help of appropriate tests:**

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| a. Lawrence lived in Liverpool.              | b. My neighbour takes after my uncle.        |
| c. We must make up the list.                 | d. He ran up the hill.                       |
| e. We have done up the buttons on our coats. | f. He came out of his office.                |
| g. Suddenly she broke into tears.            | h. The prisoner did in his mate.             |
| i. Guards broke up the fight.                | j. The workers pulled down the old building. |

**7. Group the subjects in the sentences below according to whether they are associated with the agent, theme or experiencer theta role:**

- |                              |                                       |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| a. The man laughed heartily. | b. The bell rang.                     |
| c. Peter loves Mary.         | d. She lay in his arms.               |
| e. They found the bag empty. | f. The bag was empty.                 |
| g. It feels cold today.      | h. Peter heard some noise downstairs. |
| i. Peter cooked dinner.      | j. Dinner was cooking.                |

**BESE 240-241: Ch 6**

**8. Consider the examples below. How do the DPs acquire case?**

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| a. John met Mary in the park.              | b. For me to survive this week will be difficult. |
| c. Everybody goes to see the painting.     | d. John persuaded Bill to go to see the doctor.   |
| e. Mary gave a book to John for Christmas. |   |

**11. Give the X-bar structure of the following sentences and explain how the DPs receive thematic roles and Case.**

- |                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| a. John's message arrived.            | b. David made the ball roll to the wall.                       |
| c. David rolled the ball to the wall. | d. John sank Jim's boat.                                       |
| e. Jim's boat sank.                   | f. Jim's boat was sunk.  |
| g. Bill caught a bird.                | h. The bird was caught.  |
| i. Sam coughed.                       | j. John sent a message to Mary.                                |
| k. Mary was sent a message.           | l. Jim took his shoes off.                                     |
| m. Jim took off his shoes.            | n. John thinks that Jim knows that Mary gave his book to Jane. |

**BESE 278-280: Ch 7**

**12. What is the case of the DPs in the following sentences? Determine the Case assigner, too. 0**

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| a. It is time for me to close the door.                        | b. Jane appears to have stolen the keys. |
| c. The professor expects me to write an essay for her.         |  |
| d. Jack has not been to America since January.                 |  |
| e. For Kim to understand this exercise is extremely difficult. |  |
| f. I expect Peter to visit his family.                         | g. The thief seems to be arrested.       |

**13. What kind of movements can be identified in the following sentences? Identify the traces in the S-structures and give the D-structures of the sentences as well.**

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| a. The letter was sent to the government last night. | c. Can you lend me your umbrella?                            |
| e. Has John ever been caught in the act?             | f. A proposal has been handed in for the educational reform. |

**15. What type of movement is going on in the following sentences? Give their tree diagram as well.**

- a. Who lives in London?    b. Sam seems to sleep.    c. Who appears to adore Anne?  
 d. Where does John live?    e. Who(m) does John like?    f. John likes whom?  
 g. Will you meet Mary?

**19. Consider the contrast between sentences (a) and (b) in the following pairs. How do you account for the difference in grammaticality?**

- a.i. \*Up the letter John tore.    ii. The letter, John tore up.  
 b.i. \*Whose did you meet mother?    ii. Whose mother did you meet?  
 c.i. \*Friends were financially supported of the President.  
     ii. Friends of the President were financially supported.  
 d.i. \*The fact surprised everybody that he had resigned.  
     ii. The fact that he had resigned surprised everybody.

**20. Given passivisation, subject-auxiliary inversion, topicalisation, extraposition and preposing, which movement types can be spotted in the sentences below? Classify them according to whether they qualify as substitution or adjunction.**

- a. It surprised everyone that they left early.  
 b. What is the meaning and purpose of life?  
 c. Is there any more coffee?  
 e. In the afternoon, they went fishing.  
 f. Captain Link was examined by the vet.  
 g. A man appeared in the doorway with flowers in his hand.  
 i. Mary is said to be beautiful.  
 j. Yesterday, they paid their electricity bill.

### **BESE 278-280: Ch 8**

**21. Determine whether the following verbs have got finite or non-finite clausal complements.**

- a. Bobby believes Betsy to be beautiful.    b. Terry tried to travel to Toronto.  
 c. Thomas thinks that Ron runs too fast.    d. Hetty hopes for Hugh to hug her.  
 e. Alan asked if Sam could stay longer.    f. Sam answered that he had to leave.  
 Now consider the following data. What conclusion can you draw concerning the types of clausal complements?  
 g. Bobby believes that Betsy is beautiful.    h. Hetty hopes that Hugh will hug her.

**22. In the following sentences, give the possible referents of the pronouns.**

- a. John said that he would never kiss Jenny.  
 b. George believes that Jonathan hates himself.  
 c. While Mary and Fanny were sleeping, Jack and Bob were making dinner for them.  
 d. While Mary and Fanny were sleeping, Jack and Bob were making dinner for themselves.  
 e. Sarah told to Edith that she would never be able to live alone.  
 f. When Harry and Rita wake up too late, he always gets angry.  
 g. Mrs Green agreed that her neighbour could give her his keys while he would be away.



**24. Decide where we have a PRO subject in the following structures and whether the sentences instantiate subject control, object control or arbitrary control.**

- a. Jack wondered whether to trust Bill.
- b. The electrician promised the owner of the flat to do a good job.
- c. The teacher told the student to register for the course next semester.
- d. It is important to keep your word.
- e. I am glad to be back home.
- f. To err is human.
- g. Mary tried to feed the elephants.
- h. The teacher plans to write another study on causatives.

### **OTHER**

**25. Draw tree-diagrams for the following VPs or vPs. (Ignore the verbal inflections.)**

- |                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| a. The Picts lived in Scotland.       | b. The ship sank.                          |
| c. The enemy sank the ship.           | d. There spread a disease.                 |
| e. John sawed the wood.               | f. Harry saw the butterfly.                |
| g. Mary upset the waiter.             | h. John died a tragic death.               |
| i. Mary danced.                       | j. John stored the potatoes in the cellar. |
| k. John sent a letter to Mary.        | l. John sent Mary a letter.                |
| m. He turned off the light.           | n. He turned the light off.                |
| o. We demand that you tell the truth. |  |

**26. Establish the D-structure trees for these VPs or vPs. (Ignore the verbal inflections.)**

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| a. Peter broke the window.                   | b. Peter posted the letter.                          |
| c. Harry heard the news.                     | d. Fred frightened Mary.                             |
| e. John smiled.                              | f. John died.  |
| g. John put the book on the shelf.           | h. John gave a present to Mary.                      |
| i. John gave Mary a present.                 | j. The cat put the hat on.                           |
| k. The cat put on the hat.                   | l. I persuaded him that the Moon was made of cheese. |
| m. We demand of you that you tell the truth. |  |

**27. Identify the theta roles of the DPs and the types of lexical verbs in Exercise 2 above.**

**28. Draw tree diagrams for the following IPs.**

- |                             |                                   |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a. John laughed.            | b. John may laugh.                |
| c. John is laughing.        | d. John has laughed.              |
| e. John had been laughing.  | f. John might be laughing.        |
| g. John could have laughed. | h. John would have been laughing. |

**29. Draw tree diagrams for the following IPs.**

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| a. The die is cast.                              | b. This house was built by my friends.  |
| c. This house was built by my friends last year. | d. This proposal may have been debated. |
| e. My bag has been stolen.                       | f. John was invited.                    |

**30. Draw tree diagrams for the following IPs.**

- |                                |                           |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| a. John does not like spinach. | b. John didn't know that. |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|

- c. John was not invited.                      d. John has not been invited.  
e. John must not dance.

**32. Label the arguments in the sentences below, using the labels agent, theme, patient, experiencer, beneficiary/goal, source, location.**

- a. Peter loves Mary.                              b. Peter knows Mary well.  
c. The door opened.                              d. The purse was stolen.  
e. Mary wrote a letter to John the following day. f. John received a letter from Mary.  
g. Mary cut the cake with a knife.              h. There arrived some visitors.  
j. Mary was cooking dinner when they entered. k. Peter has broken his leg.  
l. Peter has broken a vase.                      m. It surprised everyone that the visitors arrived.  
n. They wondered what to do.                      o. Mary is beautiful.  
p. John is in Paris.                              q. That the purse was stolen shocked everyone.

**33. Draw tree-diagrams for the following CPs:**

- a. We know that you like linguistics.    b. We wonder if you like linguistics.  
c. For her to resign (was unjustified).

**34. Draw tree-diagrams for the following CPs. Comment on c, i-j, e-h?**

- Section i: a. Who lives in London?              b. Who does John like?  
            c. John likes WHO?                      i. What are you laughing at?  
            j. At what are you laughing?  
Section ii: d. Will you meet Mary in Paris?    k. Could you pass me the salt?  
            l. Have you met Dr Woodson?  
Section iii: e. (I wonder) if she can speak Spanish. f. (I wonder) whether she can speak Spanish. g. (He told me) where to go. h. (He told me) where I should go.  
            i. (I wonder) whether to go to the party.

**35. Draw tree-diagrams for the following DPs:**

- a. the man who(m) you should see    b. the man that you should see  
c. the man you should see                      d. the man for you to see    e. the man to see

**36. Draw tree-diagrams for the following DPs:**

- a. the letter which they have written    b. the letter that they have written  
c. the letter they have written              d. the letter for them to write    e. the letter to write

**37. Why is sentence a ungrammatical? Why are b and c grammatical?**

- a. \*The girl to invite Louise would be a good idea.    b. For the girl to invite Louise would be a good idea. c. To invite Louise would be a good idea.

**38. Draw trees for these sentences:**

- a. Peter asks Mary if he should wear a tie.  
b. Peter asks Mary whether he should wear a tie.  
c. Peter asks Mary whether to wear a tie.  
d. Peter asks Mary what he should wear.  
e. Peter asks Mary what to wear.