The syntax of quirky verbal morphology

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My talk today

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

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

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

Defining quirkiness

Unexpected and/or semantically unmotivated morphology on verbs
Two main constructions:

Scandinavian Pseudo-coordination:
1) Peter sidder og læser en bog
   Peter sits and reads a book ‘Peter is reading a book’

West-Germanic IPP:
2) Ich habe es nicht gewollt /* wollen
   I have it not want.PAST.PART./ want.INF. ‘I haven’t wanted it’
3) Ich habe es nicht sehen wollen /* gewollt
   I have it not see.INF.want.INF./ want.PAST.PART.
   ‘I haven’t wanted to see it’
Pseudo-coordination (PC)

Positional pseudo-coordination

4) *Hvad sidder Peter og læser?*  
What sits Peter and reads

5) *Hvad griner Peter og skriver?*  
What laughs Peter and writes

‘What is Peter reading?’

Aspectual, progressive reading.

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

Directional pseudo-coordination:

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

Directional Pseudo-coordination: All telic verbs of motion

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary coordination</th>
<th>Pseudo-coordination</th>
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<td>Subject repetition possible</td>
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<td>Reversal of conjuncts possible</td>
<td>Reversal of conjuncts impossible</td>
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<td>No restrictions on possible verbs</td>
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<td>Linked by “og”</td>
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</table>
**Pseudo-coordination (PC):**

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

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

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

8) *Va a pigghia u pani*
   go.3SG to fetch.3SG the bread  ‘He’s going to fetch the bread’

9) *Va a pigghiari u pani*
   go.3SG to fetch.INF the bread

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**Infinitivus Pro Participio (IPP)**

**Perfect tense of an IPP-verb + verbal complement**

**Standard German: Substitute infinitive:**

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

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

11) *E håd larnd få:re*
    He has learn.SUP. drive.INF. ‘He has learned to drive’

12) *Mər hunn halfd drå:e*
    we have.him help.SUP. carry.INF. ‘we have helped him carry’
**Infinitivus Pro Participio (IPP)**

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

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ge</th>
<th>Be</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>Zü</th>
<th>Du</th>
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<td>causatives</td>
<td><em>let, make, do</em></td>
<td>+ = obligatory IPP</td>
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<td>modals</td>
<td><em>may, can, must, shall, need</em></td>
<td>- = no IPP</td>
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<td>perception verbs</td>
<td><em>hear, see, feel, ...</em></td>
<td>+/- = optional IPP</td>
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<td>benefactives</td>
<td><em>help, learn, teach</em></td>
<td>* = not applicable for independent reasons</td>
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<td>duratives</td>
<td><em>stay, remain, lie, sit, be, ...</em></td>
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<td>inchoatives</td>
<td><em>begin, continue, stop, ...</em></td>
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<td>raising verbs</td>
<td><em>seem, appear, ...</em></td>
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Context: When an “IPP-verb” with a verbal complement appears in the perfect tense.

Crosslinguistic variation: Size of class of “IPP-verbs”

**Morphological displacement**

**Standard German** (Vogel 2009: 318)

13) *Er behauptete das Buch schon letzte Woche gekauft (V³) haben (V¹) zu wollen (V²)*

He claimed the book already last week buy.PAST.PART. have.INF. to want.INF.

‘He claimed to have wanted to buy the book last week’

**Expected forms:**

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

Alternative to (V²) wollen → IPP
Miscellaneous quirkiness

Colloquial Danish: Finiteness copying in double modal verb constructions

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

vs. standard Danish

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

Afrikaans (Donaldson 1993: 240):

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

German: *Kommen* ‘to come’ + verbal complement:

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

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

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

19) Er kwam een politieauto *aanrijden*
    There came a police.car to.drive.INF.
Miscellaneous quirkiness + displacement

German: Displaced *an

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

21)  * Der Hase  hoppelt  an
     The hare  jumps  to

   an- either from ankommen ‘arrive’ or attached to [kommen [hoppeln ]]

The hypothesis

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

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

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

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


The verb: Revised variant of Ramchand’s semantic-syntactic decomposition approach (2008).
Structural deficiency – overcrowded functional domain

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

hat

wollen

lesen
Structural deficiency with Lex + Lex

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

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

Testing for T: Temporal (in)dependence of the verbal complement on the higher verb. Temporal adverbs. If realisation of $V_2$ follows automatically from $V_1$, it suggests the absence of T.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Two VPs for one FP

Peter sidder og læser
Peter sits and reads

FP
F'
F°
VP
V'
V°
vP
v'
v°
v

VP
V°
v°
v'

F = the entire functional domain of the clause

Verb-internal structure

Revised version of Ramchand’s (2008) first phase

The first phase is:
➢ Recursive
➢ Allows for 1+ verbs in one first phase
Overcrowded verbal domain

*Peter ließ seinen Wagen reparieren*
*Peter let his car repair.*

‘Peter had his car repaired’

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Structural conditions

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

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


*De elektronische ANS, Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst:*

http://www.let.ru.nl/ans/e-ans/