

Hierarchical and Linear Constraints on Structure

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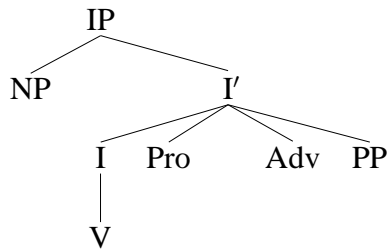
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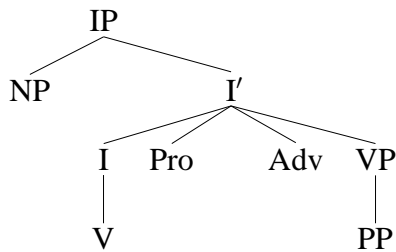
Part III

1 VP structure

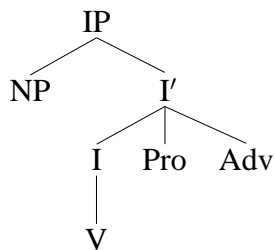
(1) a.



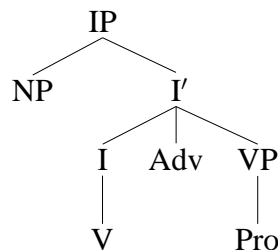
b.



(2) a.



b.



Canonical structure ~ Economical Structure

Alternative or partial ranking give variation.

2 Particle Structures

As observed in Vikner (1987), there is a systematic difference between Danish and Swedish with respect to three constructions: verb-particle, the ‘let’ causative, and transitive adjectives with ‘be’, as illustrated in (3)–(5) respectively, from Vikner (1987):

- (3) a. Peter kastade (bort) tappan (*bort). Swe.
Peter threw (away) the.carpet (*away)
- b. Peter smed (*ud) tæppet (ud). Dan.
Peter threw (*away) the.carpet (away)
- (4) a. Peter lät (dammsuga) tappan (*dammsuga). Swe.
Peter let (vacuum.clean) the.carpet (*vacuum.clean)
- b. Peter lod (*støvsuge) tæppet (støvsuge). Dan.
Peter let (*vacuum.clean) the.carpet (vacuum.clean)
- (5) a. Peter var (överlägsen) Martin (*överlägsen). Swe.
Peter was (superior) Martin (*superior)
‘Peter was superior to Martin.’
- b. Peter var (*overlegen) Martin (overlegen). Dan.
Peter threw (*superior) Martin (superior)
- (6) a. ..._{[VP} V X NP] Swedish, *Danish
- b. ..._{[VP} V NP X] Danish, *Swedish

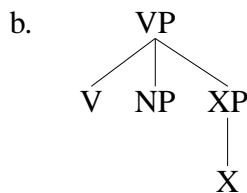
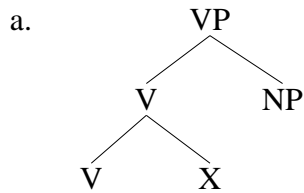
Toivonen (2001) argues that there is a ‘Particle Position’ in Swedish, where a non-projecting word is adjoined to V:

- (7) a. Sen började hon vicka loss foten.
then began she wiggle free the.foot
‘Then she began to wiggle the foot free.’
- b. Gamle farbror Adrian lät bygga den lilla villan.
old uncle Adrian let build the little villa
‘Old uncle Adrian had the little house built.’

- c. Fem av föräldrarna höll tal.
 five of the.parents held speech
 'Five of the parents made a speech.'

So the patterns in (3)–(5) above show that Swedish uses a structure like (8)a, while Danish uses (8)b (and Norwegian uses both, see Åfarli (1985)).

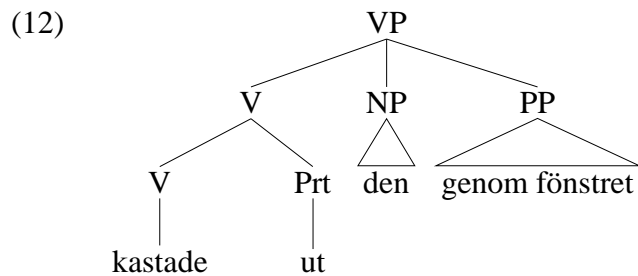
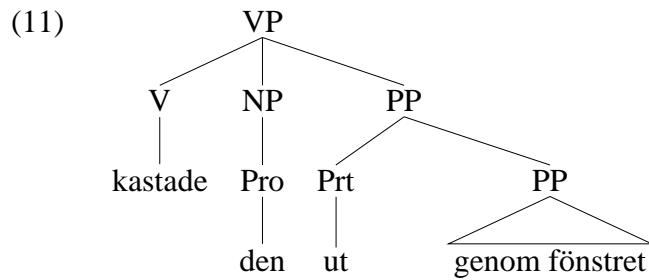
(8) Structures for Complex Predicates



- (9) a. The particle does not project (X only).
- b. The particle does project (X to XP).
- c. XP necessarily follows an object due to DO-L etc.

Note also the following examples from Swedish (Holmberg (1986)):

- (10) a. Vi kastade den ut genom fönstret.
 we threw it out through the.window
- b. *Vi kastade ut genom fönstret den.
 we threw out through the.window it
- c. Vi kastade ut den genom fönstret.
 we threw out it through the.window



3 Adverbials

Data from Hellan (2005) and Nilsen (2005).

- (13) a. Hvorfor sparket ikke Jon ballen? Nor.
 b. *Igår mødte ikke Peter ham

Linear interactions of constituents, may even require extra processing-based accounts on top.
 Data from Eide (2002):

- (14) a. Dermed kan medisinen ikke virke.
 Ambiguous: $\neg \diamond$ or $\diamond \neg$ Nor.
 b. Dermed kan ikke medisinen virke.
 Unambiguous: $\neg \diamond$

Eide argues against moving the subject over the adverb as both pre- and post-subject adverb positions can be filled:

- (15) a. Dermed kan ikke medisinen ikke virke.
 Unambiguous: $\neg \diamond \neg$

- b. Dermed kan medisinen ikke ikke virke.
Unambiguous: $\neg \diamond \neg$

What happened to $\neg \neg \diamond$? ('It is not that it is not possible that the medicine to work.')

From Engdahl et al. (2004):

- (16) a. Lisa brukar ju inte vanligtvis vara den som ställer upp och hjälper till,
'Lisa isn't usually a very helpful person,'
b. men i år ska Lisa faktiskt köpa institutionens julgran.
'but this year Lisa is in fact going to buy the department's Christmas tree.'
- (17) a. I år har vi en nyhet på graninköparfronten. Och vi tror att många kommer att bli förvånade,
'This year we have some news concerning the Christmas tree purchase. And we believe that many of you will be surprised,'
b. ... för i år ska faktiskt Lisa köpa institutionens gran.
'... because this year it will in fact be Lisa that's buying the department's Christmas tree.'

"In the condition shown in (16) where Lisa is introduced in the context and the buying of a Christmas tree is rhematic, the informants consistently placed the subject before the sentential adverb. But when the subject was rhematic, as in (17), most of the informants placed it after the sentential adverb."

From Andréasson (2004):

- (18) a. Därför ska några doktorander inte delta.
'That's why some of the students won't participate.'
b. Därför ska inte några doktorander delta.
'That's why none of the students will participate.'

4 Pronominal Placement

- (19) a. Hvorfor fortalte du meg det? Nor.
b. Hvorfor fortalte du det meg *(ikke)?

- (20) a. [Lagt — på bordet] har jeg dem aldri.
 b. [Gitt — — tilbake] har han henne den nok ikke.
 c. [[Gitt henne — gratis] har jeg den ikke.

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