

Empty expletives rejected, unified clause structure gained

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1. The aim of this paper

- argue against analyses that postulate the existence of empty expletives in German impersonal constructions and clauses as in (1)

(1) ...*dass* [_{IP}pro [_{VP}jemand einen Apfel gegessen] hat].
that pro someone an apple eaten has
“... that someone has eaten an apple.”

(German; adapted from Vikner 1995, p.189, (44a))

- argue for a unified clause structure for all Germanic languages (in this talk, I will restrict myself mainly to German and the Mainland Scandinavian (MSc) languages) that makes use of (remnant) vP-movement but differs tremendously from remnant vP-movement approaches to V2 as proposed e.g. by Müller 2004, Hróarsdóttir et al. 2006 and Wiklund et al. 2007
- show that the proposed clause structure can, as a by-product, account for several of the similarities of and differences between Object Shift and Scrambling

2. Setting the scene

- Clause structure:

C-system: (Force) (Top) (Foc) (Fin)

I-system: (Top) (Foc) (Ref) (Top) (Foc) T (Aux)

V-system: (Top) (Foc) v V

brackets indicating optionality

- traditional concept of movement, i.e. phrasal movement and head movement, which means that V2 is analysed as a two-step phenomenon

reason: the account of V2 as vP1, i.e. as movement of a remnant vP to SpecCP, encounters several problems as well (some of them will be mentioned in the course of the talk)

- to overcome one of the major problems wrt head movement, namely the fact that head movement does not extend the tree at the root, I propose that the Extension Condition be redefined (Mohr 2004, 2005); evaluation of the (N)EC is delayed till all of a head's features are checked

The New Extension Condition

A given category C is EC-compatible iff C is extended at the root once all F_C, formal features of C (including semantic features, such as Foc, Top and subject-of-predication) entering into checking operations, are checked.

→ therefore every single step of head (verb) movement has to immediately be followed by the creation of the specifier of the head that has been adjoined to

- However, if a head X is not realised by Move but by Merge the creation of SpecXP is not required. This difference becomes crucial when a head is realised by merger of an (inflectional) affix, followed by movement of the verb (stem) to bind the affix. This verb (stem) movement takes place for morphological reasons only and does not have an effect on the syntax, i.e. does not trigger the creation of a specifier.

- we have categorial features, formal features (e.g. phi, Case, Tense, probably EPP) and semantic features (e.g. Ref, Top, Foc, sop)

- checking is matching of features in an appropriate checking configuration, where checking configurations are

- head-head relation
- spec-head relation
- Spec-of-spec-head relation (“looking into Spec”)

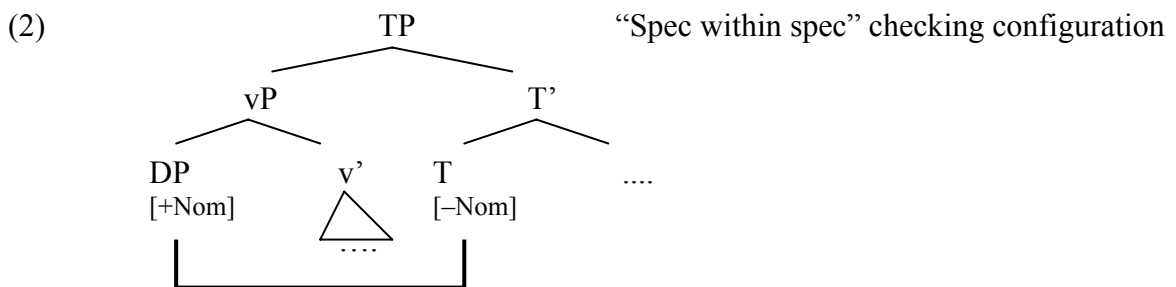
Checking in a Specifier-Head Relation

A maximal projection XP with the feature $[\pm\alpha]$ and head Y with the matching feature $[\pm\alpha]$ can enter into a checking relation iff

- (i) XP is the specifier of Y or
- (ii) XP is a specifier within the specifier of Y, unless the “inner” specifier is in an active checking relation with its immediate head

Active Checking Relation

A checking relation is active as long as neither of the two elements that entered into the checking relation has moved on to enter into another checking relation.¹



3. Germanic clause structure

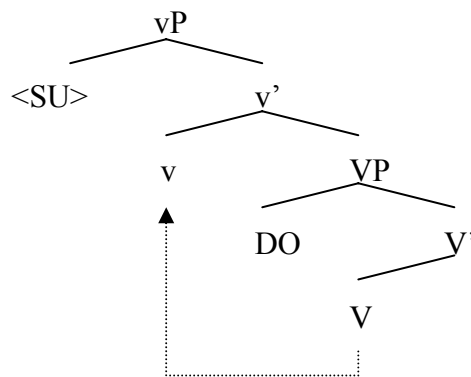
3.1. The lexical domain vP/VP

- contra Kayne (1994) and inspired by Haider (2000 “OV is more basic than VO”), Hale & Keyser (1993), Collins (1997) and Roberts (2000) I assume that the “complement” is merged in SpecVP and that the VO-order is the derived order – derived by movement of the verb to v.

¹ This rule only applies to spec-head relations because head-head relations cannot be resolved as excorporation is not allowed and as hence it is always the complex head that moves on.

(3)

(Roberts 2000, p. 96, (44))



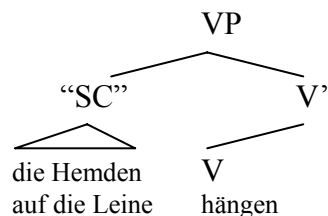
- unlike Hale & Keyser and Collins, I do not assume that PPs are merged in the complement position of V; instead I suggest that the object and the PP form a kind of Small Clause merged in SpecVP (remotely reminiscent of Hoekstra & Mulder 1990)

(4)

die Hemden auf die Leine hängen
 the shirts on the line hang
 “to hang the shirts on the line”

(German)

(5)



- this analysis is supported by the fact that the object DP and the PP can be fronted together in a V2 clause

(6)

[#] *Hemden im Geschirrspüler hat noch keiner gewaschen.*
 shirts in.the dishwasher has yet no-one washed
 “No one has ever washed shirts in the dishwasher.”

(German)

- all clauses have a vP, more precisely in constructions that do not feature an external argument (e.g. passives and unaccusatives) it is only SpecvP that is absent. What is more, the presence or absence of SpecvP is only due to lexical requirements; it is not affected by movement of the verb to v in VO languages.²

3.2. The functional domain – Split-IP

- AuxP (which can be iterated), or more precisely Aux, is the position where auxiliaries are merged

- TP is the core projection of the functional domain and plays a central role in the clausal architecture proposed here

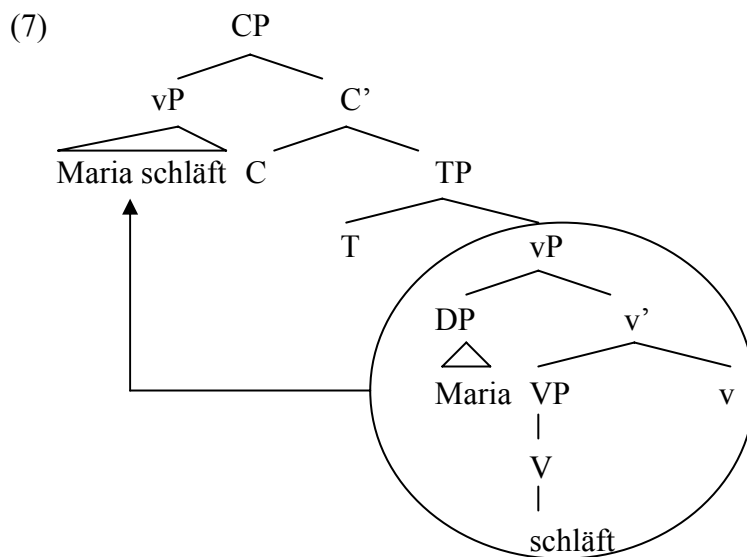
² The fact that Swedish has passive morphology (the so-called *s*-passive) which I take to be associated with little v – after all, vP has often been called VoiceP (Kratzer 1994) – shows that v has to be present in passives. Possibly (cf. Roberts 1987) it is not only the synthetic Swedish *s*-passive that checks passive morphology in little v but also the participle of analytic passives.

If passive morphology is in fact merged in v, then we have a case where a head is realised by merger and subsequent verb (stem) movement takes place only for morphological reasons and is not subject to the (New) Extension Condition.

- Formerly SpecTP (or rather SpecIP) was considered to be the canonical subject position and the EPP required that SpecTP be filled.

→ If SpecTP couldn't be filled by the subject either because there was no subject at all or because the subject stayed VP-internally (cf. (1) and Diesing (1992), who claimed that existential subjects stay in SpecVP while generic ones move to SpecIP), SpecTP had to be filled with an expletive.

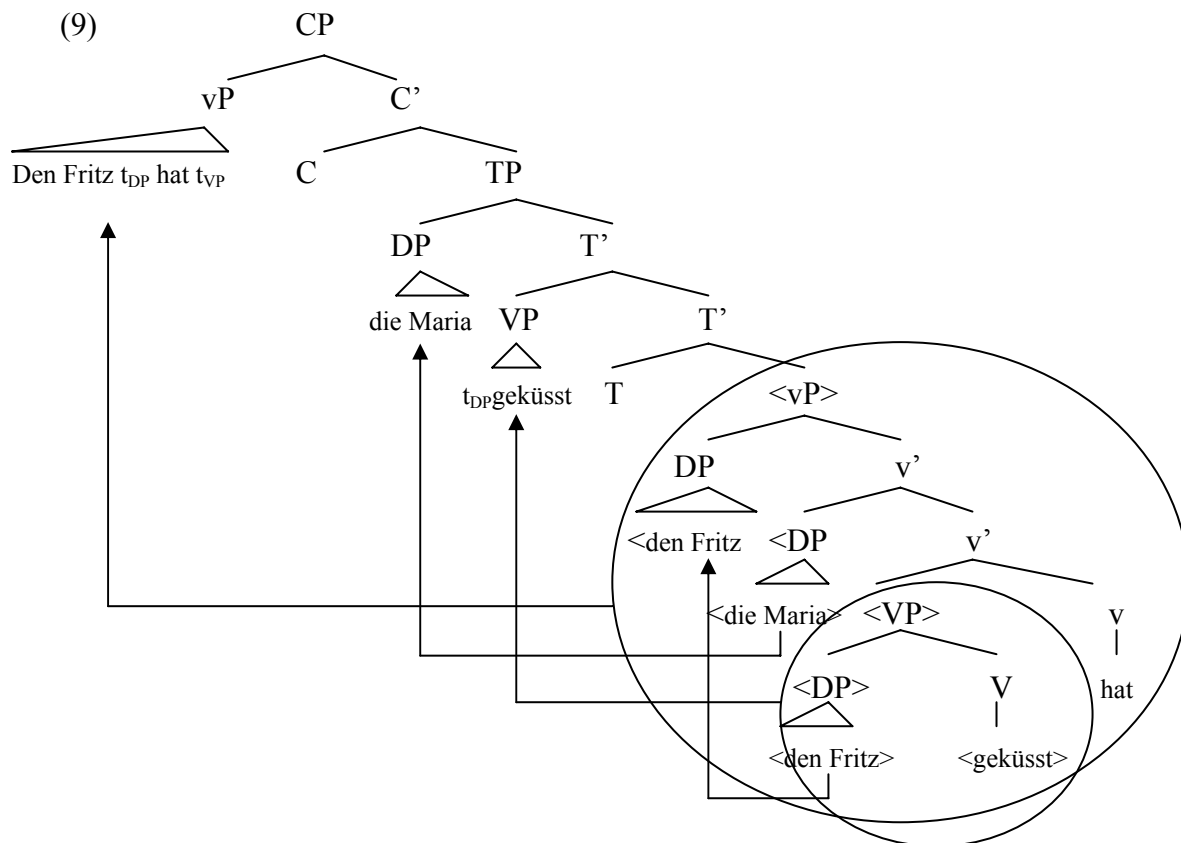
- Müller's (2004) analysis of V2 as vP1 takes the completely opposite view as his approach is almost featureless and he does not subscribe to the concept of the EPP. In his analysis various XPs can show up in SpecTP, namely the full VP (participle and object), a remnant VP (participle) or no XP at all (in clauses that feature an intransitive verb in a simple tense, e.g. *Maria schläft* "Mary is sleeping." (7)).



The subject, if it targets TP at all, can only ever show up in an outer SpecTP (8)/(9) and the finite verb never passes through any TP-related position as it moves directly from its base-position to SpecCP as part of the remnant vP.

(8) *Den Fritz hat die Maria geküsst.*
 the-ACC Fritz has the-NOM Maria kissed
 "Fritz, Maria has kissed."

(German; Müller 2004, (15))



- I suggest that SpecTP is not necessarily required, that SpecTP can be occupied by phrases other than the subject DP, but that if the clause has a real subject it has to occupy SpecTP at some stage of the derivation – either alone (ie. the subject DP) or as part of a (remnant) vP. Furthermore I suggest that these options are closely correlated with the various options wrt to verb movement (see below) and checking requirements.

- Four options concerning V-movement³:

- **no V-movement** → the lexical verb stays in its base position V
- **short V-movement** → the lexical verb undergoes movement from V to v and stays there. Short V-movement takes place to specify an underspecified verb (similar to a root) as a verb by checking a categorial v-feature in v.
- **long V-movement** → the lexical verb moves (via v) to T and sometimes even further, e.g. in the case of a V2 clause
- **morphologically triggered V-movement** → the stem and the inflectional affix are merged separately in V and T respectively. The V-stem simply moves up to T to bind the stray affix. This kind of V-movement is movement for purely morphological reasons and does not have any syntactic consequences.

		German/Dutch/ Afrikaans/Yiddish	MSc	English
main clauses	synthetic tense	long V-mvt	long V-mvt	short V-mvt
	analytic tense	no V-mvt	short V-mvt	short V-mvt
embedded clauses	synthetic tense	long V-mvt	short V-mvt	short V-mvt
	analytic tense	no V-mvt	short V-mvt	short V-mvt

Table 1

³ Here, V-movement only refers to movement of the lexical verb.

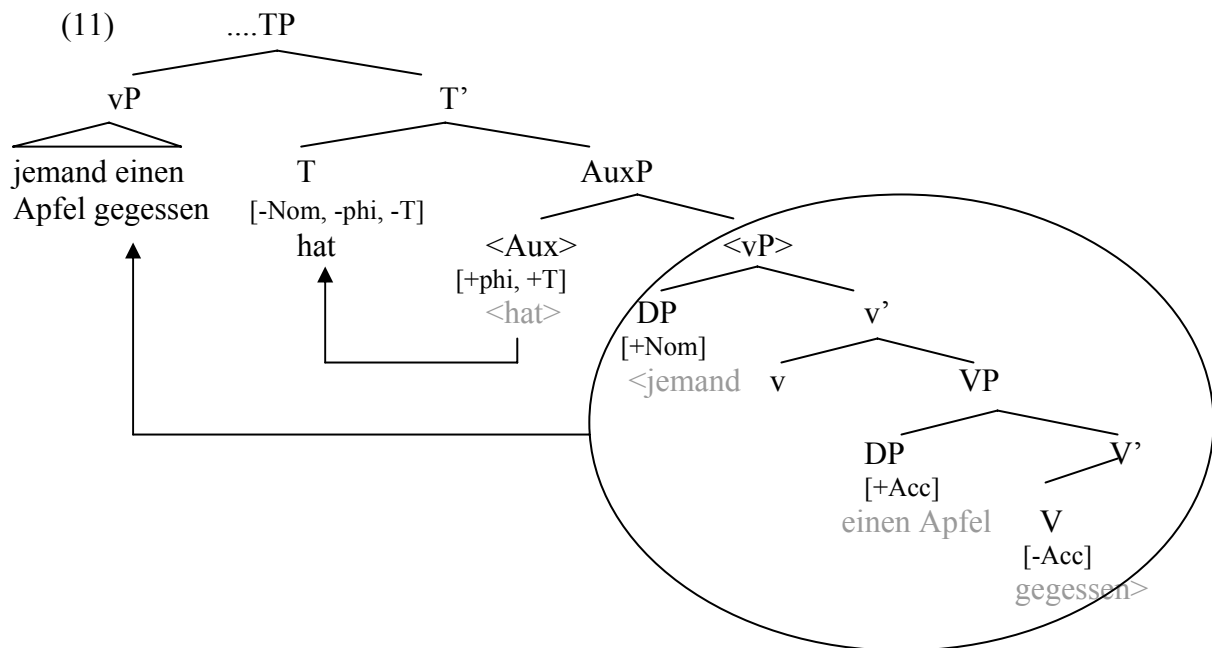
		Icelandic
main clauses	synthetic tense	long morphological V-mvt
	analytic tense	short morphological V-mvt
embedded clauses	synthetic tense	long morphological V-mvt
	analytic tense	short morphological V-mvt

Table 2

- Interaction of the various types of V-movement with checking requirements:

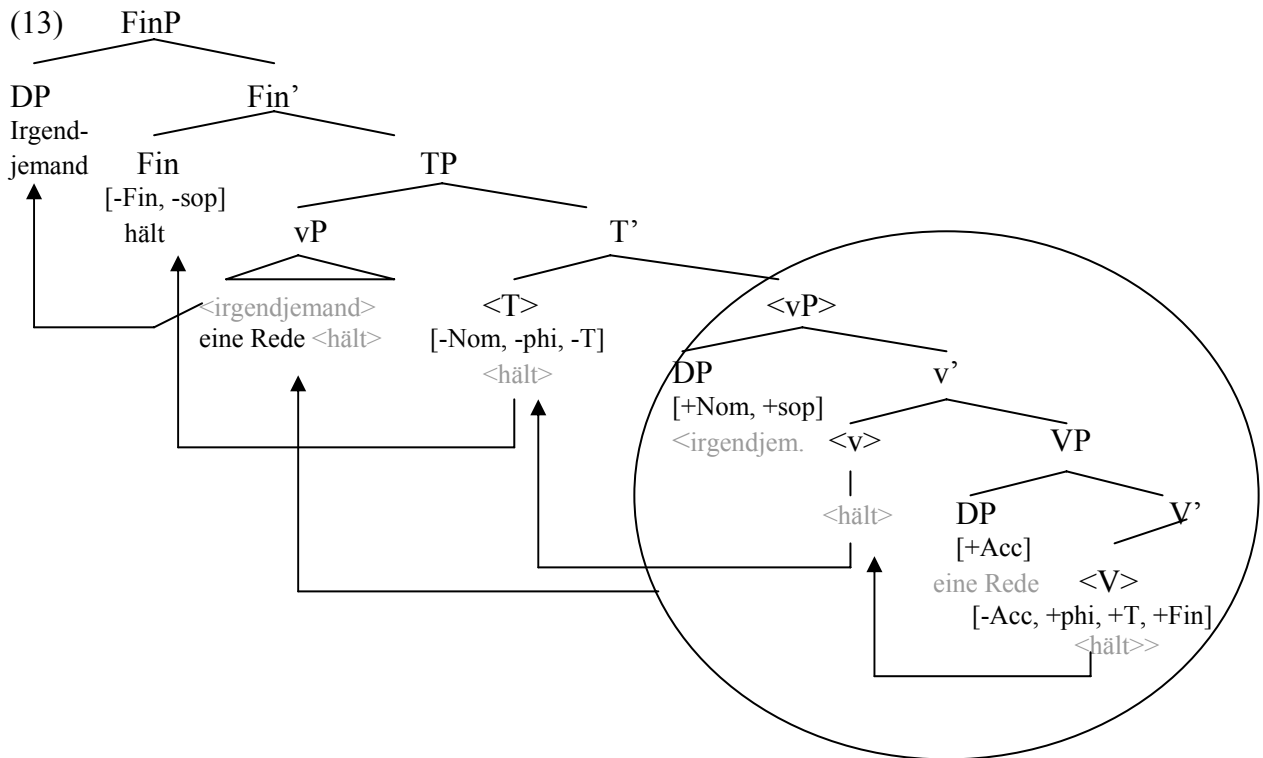
no V-movement at all or the lexical verb leaves the vP (= long V-movement), e.g. German and Dutch → no active checking relation between SpecvP and v/V → the complete/remnant vP can move to SpecTP⁴

- (10) ... dass jemand einen Apfel gegessen hat. (German)
 ... that someone an apple eaten has
 “... that someone has eaten an apple.”



- (12) Irgendjemand hält eine Rede. (German)
 someone holds a speech
 “Someone gives a speech.”

⁴ When an AuxP is present it is probably the AuxP that moves to SpecTP but in order not to complicate the description I stick to calling everything vP.



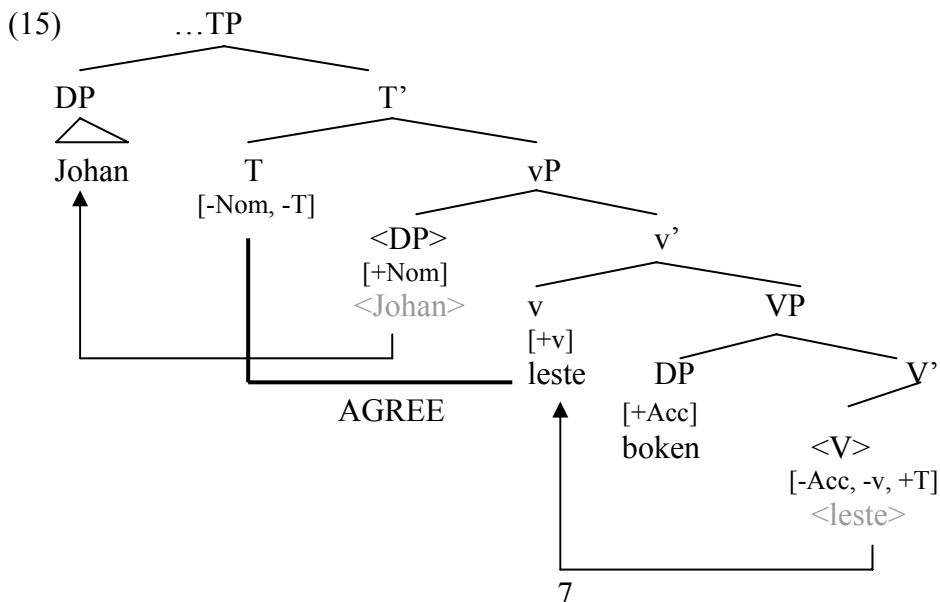
→ In German it is always the (remnant) vP that moves to SpecTP and SpecTP will always be occupied by the (remnant) vP.

→ We do not have to postulate the presence of an empty expletive in SpecTP in clauses like (10).

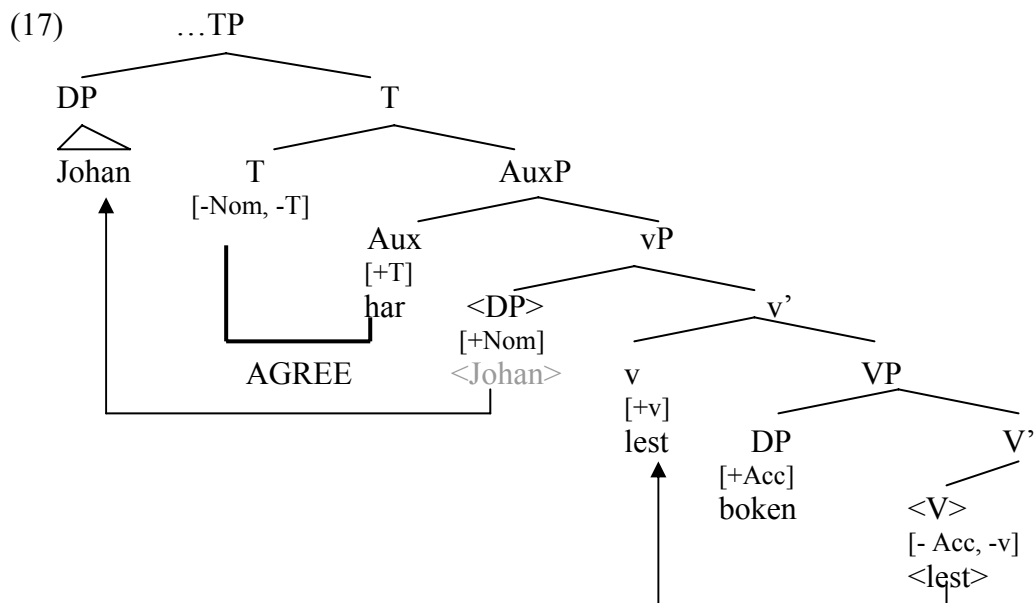
What is more, we can still maintain Diesing's analysis that existential subjects are vP-internal (at least in German) because according to my analysis the subject in (10) is both in SpecvP and in SpecTP.

short V-movement (English, MSc except main clauses with a simple tense) → an active checking relation between SpecvP and v which prevents a checking relation with some outside head → the subject DP alone has to move to SpecTP

(14) ... at Johan leste boken (Norwegian)
 ... that Johan read book-the
 "... that Johan read the book."



- (16) ... at Johan har lest boken. (Norwegian)
 ... that Johan has read book-the
 "... that Johan has read the book."



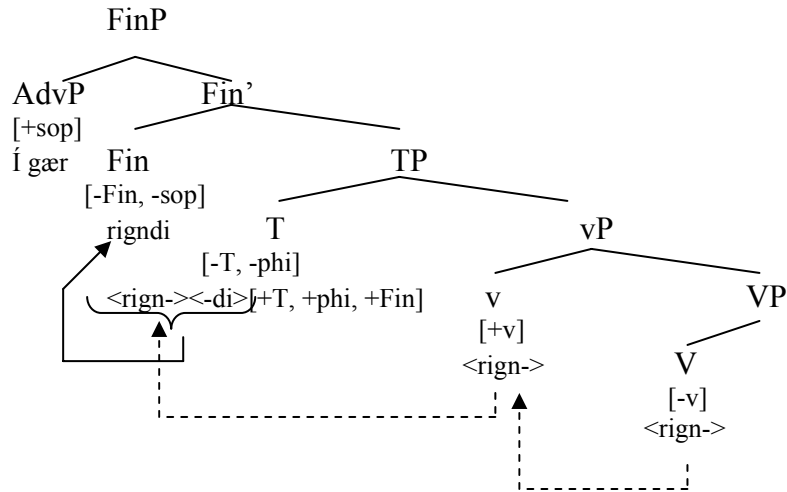
→ Since no movement to T occurs, SpecTP does not have to be created. Movement to SpecTP takes place to get the Nominative Case feature checked.

Note: MSc main clauses with a simple tense have long V-movement due to the V2 requirement. It is, however, not clear whether in these clauses we get remnant vP-movement (which would be possible here) or DP-movement (as in all other clauses). In sentences that do not feature a negation, one cannot show whether it is really the remnant vP that moves to SpecTP in MSc, but if there is an element that marks the left edge of vP (→ cf. Object Shift) one can see that it is at least not always the remnant vP. If the remnant vP contains a non-pronominal object it must not move to SpecTP (Holmberg & Platzack 1995, p. 144). In this case, the subject DP moves on its own. However, if Holmberg (1999) is right, the remnant vP moves to SpecTP after all, with the only difference that most object DPs have to move out of vP to some focus position before remnant vP movement takes place.

Icelandic: T is realised and gets all its features (except Nominative Case if present) checked by merger of the verbal inflection → **morphologically triggered V(-stem)-movement** → SpecTP does not have to be realised and it will only be realised if there is a subject that needs to check Nominative Case.

- (18) *Í gær rigndi (*það).* (Icelandic)
 yesterday rained (it)
 "Yesterday it rained."

(19)



→ no need to postulate an empty expletive in SpecTP as T is realised by Merge and V-movement to T is morphological V-movement

		German/Dutch	MSc	English
main clauses	synthetic tense	long V-mvt → remnant vP-mvt	long V-mvt → remnant vP-mvt or DP-mvt	short V-mvt → DP-mvt
	analytic tense	no V-mvt → vP-mvt	short V-mvt → DP-mvt	short V-mvt → DP-mvt
embedded clauses	synthetic tense	long V-mvt → remnant vP-mvt	short V-mvt → DP-mvt	short V-mvt → DP-mvt
	analytic tense	no V-mvt → vP-mvt	short V-mvt → DP-mvt	short V-mvt → DP-mvt

Table 3

		Icelandic
main clauses	synthetic tense	long morphological V-mvt → remnant vP-mvt but just to check Nominative (otherwise no SpecTP)
	analytic tense	short morphological V-mvt → DP-mvt but just to check Nominative (otherwise no SpecTP)
embedded clauses	synthetic tense	long morphological V-mvt → remnant vP-mvt but just to check Nominative (otherwise no SpecTP)
	analytic tense	short morphological V-mvt → DP-mvt but just to check Nominative (otherwise no SpecTP)

Table 4

- Following Kiss (1996) I assume that there are two subject positions in the Split-IP:
 - SpecTP (a lower position) hosting existential, indefinite, quantified and non-specific subjects
 - SpecRefP (a higher position) hosting generic, definite and specific (and only marginally indefinite and quantified) subjects

(20) a. *Diesen Satz haben schon immer alle Studenten gehasst.* (German)
 this sentence have already always all students hated
 “This sentence, all students have always hated.”

- b. **Diesen Satz haben schon immer die Studenten gehasst.*
 this sentence have already always the students hated
- c. ?*Diesen Satz haben alle Studenten schon immer gehasst.*
 this sentence have all students already always hated
- d. *Diesen Satz haben die Studenten schon immer gehasst.*
 this sentence have the students already always hated

→ all subjects have to move to SpecTP (be it alone or as part of the vP) and specific subjects have to move on to SpecRefP

→ SpecTP, if present, is a subject position (vs Müller 2004) and one can still call it the canonical subject position

• there are TopPs and FocPs both above and below RefP and these positions are involved in Scrambling

• **Object Shift (21) and Scrambling (22)**

- (21) a. *Jón keypti bókina ekki.* (Icelandic; H&P 1995, (6.9b)
 Jón bought the-book not
 “Jón didn’t buy the book.”
- b. *Johan känner henne inte.* (Swedish; H&P 1995, (6.2a)
 Johan knows her not
 “Johan doesn’t know her.”

- (22) *Gewiß hat dieses Buch niemand gelesen.* (German)
 certainly has this book no-one read
 “Certainly, no-one has read this book.”

Object Shift (OS):

- a phenomenon found in the Scandinavian languages (and in older stages of English)
- usually analysed as leftward movement of the object out of vP (negation marks the left edge of vP) if and only if the lexical verb has moved out of vP as well (Holmberg’s Generalisation).
 → (i) OS only ever occurs with synthetic tenses and (ii) in the MSc languages it only ever occurs in main clauses (with a synthetic tense)
- in the MSc languages only pronominal objects can object shift;
 Icelandic also allows for OS of full DPs which, however, must not be indefinite or quantified (Holmberg & Platzack 1995, p. 144/147)
- previous analyses and their evaluation (following Holmberg & Platzack 1995): OS cannot be a PF-operation because it can be shown to apply prior to topicalisation, an operation which takes place before LF (and PF)⁵;
 OS cannot be movement to AgrOP as MSc probably does not have Agr projections at all due to its poor inflectional morphology;
 despite some properties in favour of an analysis of OS in terms of cliticisation (the object pronoun has to be unstressed, morphologically simple and adjacent to I), OS cannot be cliticisation because the object cannot move independently of the verb (unlike Romance clitics), does not move to C together with the verb and most importantly, because in Icelandic we get OS of full DPs.

⁵ For an alternative view see Holmberg (1999) where he argues that OS takes place in “Stylistic Syntax”, a component of grammar that has properties of both syntax and PF.

- OS = A-movement or A'-movement?

Against A-movement:

- OS crosses the external argument without inducing a violation of Relativised Minimality
- the shifted object cannot bind an anaphor

For A-movement:

- OS is clause-bounded
- it does not license parasitic gaps
- it is insensitive to cross-over
- it seems to land in a Case position
- the shifted object is not topicalised or focussed
- it does not have operator-like properties

Scrambling:

- is found to different extents in German and Dutch
- is movement of an XP (not restricted to object DPs!) to some position in the *Mittelfeld* of a clause
- does not seem to target a particular position in the *Mittelfeld*
- is not dependent on verb movement
- seems to have exactly the opposite properties to OS except for the fact that it is clause-bounded as well (at least in the Germanic languages)
 - does not target a Case position
 - licenses parasitic gaps
 - can bind an anaphor
 - → tends to be analysed as A'-movement.⁶

my analysis of OS and Scrambling:

- the first step of the operation is the same for both OS and Scrambling, namely movement of the (remnant) vP to SpecTP

(more precisely, wrt OS this is the only step, OS **is** (remnant) vP-movement to SpecTP; Scrambling, on the other hand is a two-step operation)

→ (remnant) vP movement is only possible if we have long V-movement or no V-movement at all because otherwise checking of Nominative Case by means of looking into Spec is blocked.

As the Scandinavian languages alternate between long and short V-movement,⁷ OS can only ever occur in the clauses where the lexical verb undergoes long V-movement, i.e. in all clauses with a synthetic tense in Icelandic and in main clauses with a synthetic tense in the MSc languages.⁸

→ accounts for the observation that OS does not lead to a violation of Relativised Minimality: if the object moves with the remnant vP it does not cross the subject at all

→ suggests that OS is A-movement; the deviating properties can be due to the fact that it is not a DP that moves to SpecTP but a more complex structure

⁶ Scrambling has been argued to display both A- and A'-properties (for an overview see Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1997, Hinterhölzl 2000), among the arguments for Scrambling as A-movement is that Scrambling allegedly does not lead to a weak cross-over effect. The A'-properties of Scrambling can easily be accounted for if Scrambling is indeed topicalisation and focalisation, respectively, because Rizzi (1997) identifies SpecTopP and SpecFocP as A'-positions.

⁷ In Icelandic, this alternation is manifested in the distinction between clauses with a simple tense and clauses with a compound tense whereas in the MSc languages, it is manifested in the distinction between main clauses with a simple tense and main clauses with an analytic tense plus embedded clauses in general.

⁸ This account of OS also shows that the finite verb moves to Fin in Icelandic embedded clauses, i.e. that Icelandic has generalised V2. If the verb stayed in T in embedded clauses we should get the word order Comp-Subj-Obj-V_{fin}-Neg there, contrary to fact.

Problem: explain why in Icelandic indefinite or quantified object DPs must not object shift and especially why in the MSc languages only pronominal objects can undergo OS.⁹

- Movement of the (remnant) vP is only the first step of the complex operation that makes up Scrambling
 - German and Dutch have (remnant) vP movement throughout, following no V-movement or long V-movement → it is not surprising that Scrambling does not depend on V-movement and that it is not sensitive to the type of clause we have
- The second step of Scrambling is that the XP that undergoes Scrambling moves on to the specifier of one of the various TopPs or FocPs in the functional domain
 - does not target a fixed position
 - displays properties of A'-movement
 - conflicting data with respect to weak cross-over effects can be accounted for since Rizzi (1997) distinguishes between quantificational A'-relations (instantiated by focalisation, which gives rise to a weak cross-over effect) and non-quantificational A'-relations (instantiated by topicalisation, which does not lead to weak cross-over effects)
 - Scrambling means that the scrambled XP is either topicalised or focussed, i.e. Scrambling changes the interpretation of a clause → explanation of why Scrambling is optional whereas OS has to take place whenever the structural conditions for OS are met
 - the observation that Scrambling can license parasitic gaps and anaphors while OS cannot can be explained in terms of c-command → the object shifted object in a way stays in its base position (within the moved remnant vP), thus it cannot c-command anything outside VP;
 - a scrambled XP, on the other hand, occupies the specifier of a semantic functional projection and therefore c-commands everything lower down in the tree

Problem: Why can the object shifted object DP not move on to the specifier of a TopP or a FocP, in other words why can Scandinavian objects not scramble? If Holmberg (1999) is right and object shifted objects are necessarily non-focussed it is clear why they cannot target FocP but this property does not exclude SpecTopP as a possible landing site.

3.3. The Split-CP

- a minimally split CP à la Rizzi (1997): ForceP – TopP – FocP – FinP
- “traditional” analysis of V2 as a two-step operation, i.e. verb movement to C followed by XP-movement to SpecCP

[short digression:

The remnant movement analysis runs into several problems, e.g. wrt to adverb-initial V2 clauses. Müller (2004) has to assume that all adverbs can be merged in an outerSpecvP, even those that Cinque (1999) has shown to occur fairly high in the clausal architecture.

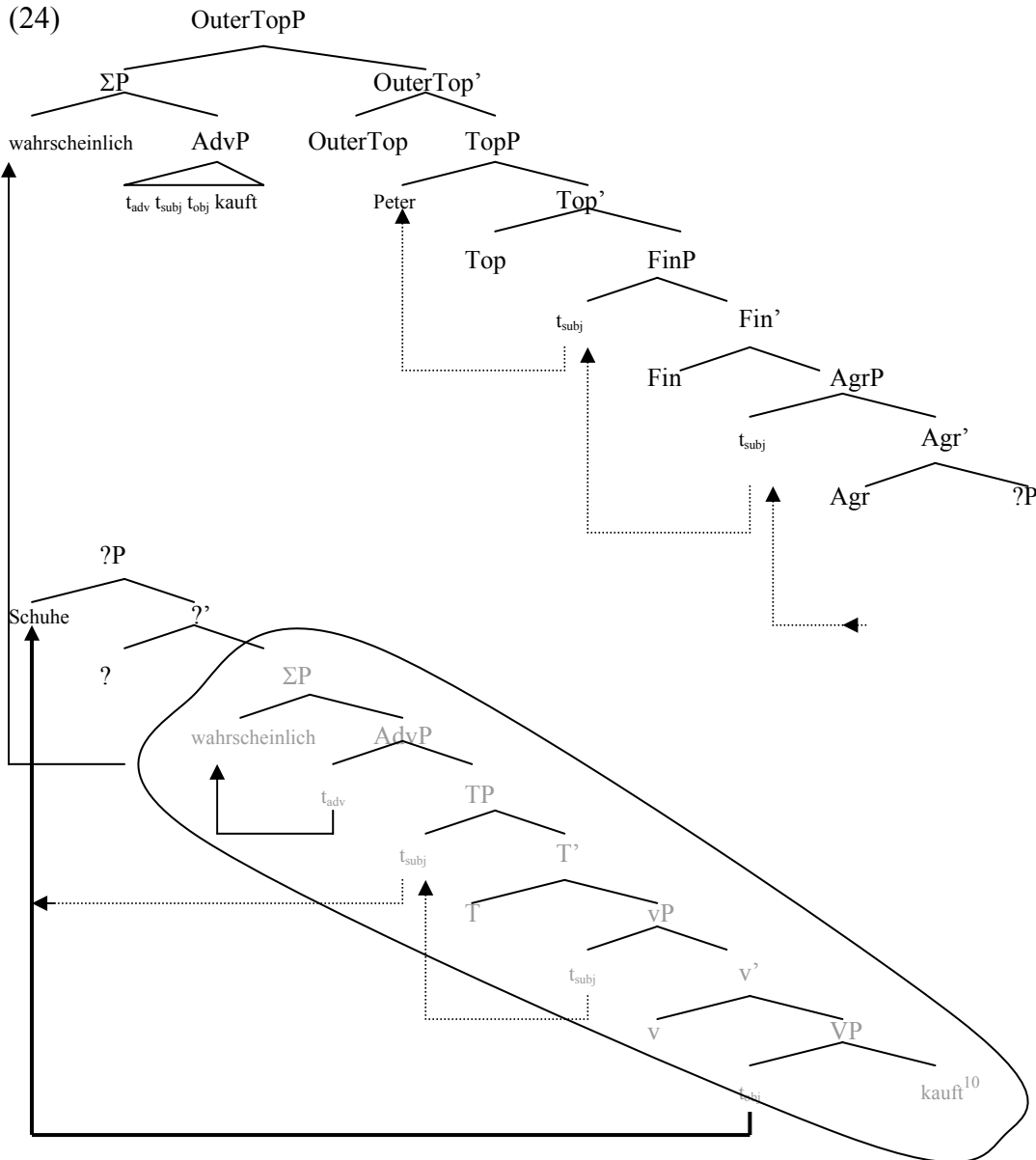
To overcome this problem Hróarsdóttir et al. (2006) and Wiklund et al. (2007) suggest that in object-initial and adverb-initial V2 clauses the XP that is to undergo fronting as part of a remnant phrase moves to the specifier of a Σ P, which is always merged immediately above the element that is to be topicalised, but this analysis creates even more problems than it solves.

⁹ Holmberg (1999) proposes that the objects that cannot undergo OS move to a focus position (which could be the FocP right above vP) before movement of the remnant vP takes place.

(23) *Wahrscheinlich kauft Peter die roten Schuhe.* (German)
 probably buys Peter the red shoes
 "Probably Peter buys the red shoes."

In the derivation of (23) the object DP has to be extracted from vP countercyclically (after movement of the adverb to ΣP) and move to some phrase ?P above ΣP because otherwise it would still be moved with the ΣP.

In addition, the subject must skip the specifier position of this ?P on its way up to SpecTopP, thus probably violating Locality constraints such as Relativised Minimality or the Minimal Link Condition.



end of digression]

- I suggest that all V2 clauses involve movement to the Split-CP but that different kinds of XP target different specifiers within the Split-CP, thus arriving at a kind of compromise

¹⁰ For the sake of simplicity I use a head-final structure for German here (like Müller 2004) although I usually adopt the universal base hypothesis.

between the symmetric (among them den Besten 1983, Holmberg & Platzack 1995, Vikner 1995, Schwartz & Vikner 1996, Frey 2000, Roberts & Roussou 2002, Roberts 2005) and the asymmetric approaches to V2 (e.g. Travis 1984, Zwart 1997)

- finer-grained distinction than just subject-initial vs non-subject-initial V2 clauses:

	neutral	special discourse function
subject DPs	✓	✓
dative objects in passives	✓	✓
experiencer DPs of impersonal psych-verbs	✓	✓
temporal and locative adverb-(ial)s that create a setting	✓	✓
other object DPs	X	✓
other adverb(ial)s	X	✓
PPs	X	✓
(remnant) VPs	X	✓

Table 5: Sentence-initial XPs and discourse function

- the following XPs pattern with subjects, i.e. can show up in sentence-initial position with neutral stress and interpretation and in out-of-the-blue contexts (but can be focussed or topicalised as well)

- (25) a. *Alle Studenten lieben Syntax.* (German)
 all students love syntax.
- b. *Einer alten Frau wurde die Handtasche gestohlen.*
 [an old woman]-DAT was the handbag stolen
 roughly: “Someone stole the handbag of an old lady.”
- c. *Mir war gestern fürchterlich heiß.*
 me-DAT was yesterday terribly hot
 “I felt terribly hot yesterday.”
- d. *Morgen kommt der Weihnachtsmann.*
 tomorrow comes the Santa Claus
 “Santa Claus is coming tomorrow.”
- (26) *Der Weihnachtsmann kommt morgen.*
 the Santa Claus comes tomorrow
 “Santa Claus is coming tomorrow.”

- all other object DPs, PPs, adverbials and VPs, on the other hand, can only appear in sentence-initial position if they are topicalised, link up with the preceding sentence or receive (contrastive) focus

- (27) a. *Diesen Minister hat die Presse schon lange kritisiert.*
 this-ACC minister has the media already long criticised
 “The media has criticised this minister for a long time.”
- b. **Einen Minister hat die Presse schon lange kritisiert.*
 a-ACC minister has the media already long criticised
 intended reading: “The media has criticised a minister for a long time.”

- c. *EINEN Minister hat die Presse schon lange kritisiert (aber nicht alle).*
a-ACC minister has the media already long criticised (but not all)
“The media has criticised one minister for a long time (but not all).”
- d. *Einen MINISTER hat die Presse schon lange kritisiert (aber nicht den Kanzler).*
a-ACC minister has the media already long criticised (but not the chancellor)
“The media has criticised a MINISTER for a long time (but not the chancellor).”
- (28) a. *Peter liebt Maria.*
Peter loves Maria.
b. *PETER liebt Maria.*
c. *Den Peter liebt Maria.*
the-ACC Peter loves Maria.
“Maria loves Peter.”
- (29) a. *Dem Peter hat Maria ihre Liebe gestanden.*
the-ACC Peter has Maria her love confessed
“To Peter, Maria confessed her love.”
b. *??Peter hat Maria ihre Liebe gestanden.*
Peter has Maria her love confessed
- (30) *Er hat geholfen, die Regime im Osten zu beseitigen, aber vom Westen ließ er sich nie vereinnahmen.*
He has helped the regimes in-the East to get-rid-of but by.the West let he himself never take-in
“He helped to get rid of the regimes in the East but he would never let himself be used by the West.”
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 4 April 2005)
- (31) *Zurücktreten wird der Minister deswegen wohl nicht.*
resign will the minister because-of-that probably not
“The minister probably won’t resign because of that.”

• differences between the various sentence-initial XPs can be explained if we assume a Split-CP

→ XPs with neutral stress and interpretation end up in SpecFinP, while all other XPs target SpecFocP or SpecTopP

• this distinction is determined by **economy and locality**:

→ V-movement to Fin requires the creation of SpecFinP → accounts for the V2 requirement

• *least costly: realisation of SpecFinP by Merge* → possible if the numeration still contains an expletive *es*¹¹ or an adverb that creates a setting once the derivation has reached FinP

¹¹ Expletive *es* can be found in presentational sentences (i) and impersonal passives (ii), cf. my next talk.

- (i) *Es hat soeben der Kanzler die Bühne betreten.*
Expl has just the chancellor the platform entered
“In this moment, the chancellor has mounted the platform.”
- (ii) *Es wird getanzt.*
EXPL is danced
“People are dancing.”

(→ This is why (25d) with the adverb *morgen* “tomorrow” merged in SpecFinP is much more natural than the subject-initial version (26) *Der Weihnachtsmann kommt morgen*, which requires movement of the subject DP because the adverb has been merged at an earlier stage of the derivation.)

• *realisation of SpecFinP by Move*

→ if all material is used up by the time the derivation reaches FinP, the default case is to move the XP closest to Fin^o to SpecFinP. This XP is usually the subject. In the case of impersonal psych-verb constructions there is no subject and therefore the structurally highest or only argument of the verb, namely the experiencer DP, moves to SpecFinP.

→ contextually neutral movement of the dative DP of a passive to SpecFinP requires an extra assumption: either the dative DP is the highest argument in the vP/VP as the syntactic subject is underlyingly a direct object and the hierarchy of the arguments has to be preserved in the Split-IP as well (cf. Fanselow 2002).¹² Then the experiencer DP would be closest to FinP and therefore the natural candidate for movement to SpecFinP.

Or, if definite subject DPs occupy a fairly high position in the I-system (a position that is structurally higher than the dative DP), the dative DP in sentences like (32) must be associated with a feature that allows it to move across the definite subject to SpecFinP without violating any locality constraints – a subject-of-predication (sop) feature on the XP and on Fin.

- (32) *Einem Kind wurde das Fahrrad gestohlen.*
 a-DAT child was the bike stolen
 roughly: “Someone stole the bike of a child.”

→ explains why SpecFinP behaves in many respects like a subject position but nevertheless displays properties different from SpecTP

• the element in SpecFinP is not necessarily the syntactic subject but the semantic subject of the predication

• SpecFinP is not restricted to Nominative subject DPs because SpecFinP is not a Case position

→ not only subject DPs but also experiencer DPs of psych-verbs, dative objects of passives, and certain adverbs make good subjects of predication and can thus occupy SpecFinP^{13,14}

¹² Fanselow (2002), among others, bases his assumption on the observation that in the embedded version of (32), too, it is the order dative object > subject (ia) and not the subject-initial order (ib) that receives a neutral reading. See also fn. 14.

- (i) a. ... *dass einem Kind das Fahrrad gestohlen wurde.*
 ... that a-DAT child the bike stolen was
 “... that someone stole the bike of a child.”
 b. ... *dass das Fahrrad einem Kind gestohlen wurde.*
 ... that the bike a-DAT child stolen was
 “... that someone stole the bike of a CHILD.”

¹³ If an adverb is merged in SpecFinP, it will check the sop-feature although it will set the frame of the predication rather than constitute the subject of predication.

¹⁴ I assume that in declarative main clauses of V2 languages the sop-feature is located in Fin^o while in non-V2 languages it is located in some head of the I-system. However, it remains to be determined where the sop-feature sits in embedded clauses in V2 languages. It cannot be in Fin^o as this is the position where the complementiser is merged (at least in German).

If, in embedded clauses, the sop-feature is located in some position at the edge of the I-system we can also account for Fanselow’s observation that the dative experiencer precedes the nominative subject in embedded clauses as well (cf. fn. 12). For then the sop-feature makes sure that the dative object moves across the definite subject to the edge of the I-system in embedded clauses.

- prediction if it is the closest XP that moves to SpecFinP:
if we have an object that has scrambled over an indefinite subject, this subject can only show up in sentence-initial position if it is topicalised or focussed because it is not the element closest to SpecFinP

→ (33) confirms this prediction because the subject *ein Kind* “a child” has to be focussed¹⁵

- (33) (Context:
Irgendjemand hat giftige Köder ausgelegt und schon mehrere Hunde und Katzen sind daran eingegangen.
Someone has laid out poisoned bait and several dogs and cats have died.)
Ein KIND hat einen solchen Köder glücklicherweise noch nicht gegessen.
a child has a such bait fortunately yet not eaten
“Fortunately, no child has eaten such a bait yet.”

- this association with a topic or focus feature is the default case wrt objects, more complex adverbials, PPs, and VPs because these XPs are usually not closest to the C-system

- all XPs have to move through SpecFinP before targeting SpecTopP or SpecFocP of the C-system, cf. Rizzi’s (2006) suggestion that subjects are specified for [+aboutness] and topics for [+aboutness] and [+D-linking]. [+aboutness] easily translates into my subject-of-predication feature and thus the feature specification of topics explains why topics move through SpecFinP to SpecTopP¹⁶

→ SpecFinP constitutes a sort of bottleneck

- (34) *Diesen Satz, den mag ich einfach nicht.*
this-ACC sentence, that-ACC like I simply not
“This sentence, I simply don’t like (it).”

→ explains why we do not get V3 structures and why we nevertheless have a Split-CP

¹⁵ This argumentation relies on Frey’s (2000) assumption that the sentence adverb *glücklicherweise* “fortunately” marks the right edge of the (upper) topic area of the I-system.

¹⁶ One might object that focussed XPs, contrary to topicalised XPs, are associated with new information and should therefore not be able to check the sop-feature. Butler (2004), however, points out that “the stress marking found on external focused elements [= focussed elements in the left periphery — SM] corresponds not to the new information reading of post-verbal subjects, but rather to a contrastive reading”.

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