The Complementizer Phase
E. Phoevos Panagiotidis (ed.)

This book draws together nine original investigations by leading linguists and promising young scholars on the syntax of complementisers (e.g., that in She said that she would) and their phrases. The chapters are divided into two parts, each of which highlights aspects of the behaviour and function of complementisers. The first part looks at how and when subjects, or parts of subjects, can and cannot move outside their canonical position in a sentence. Each chapter examines and compares the relevance of a number of syntactic factors in languages such as English, Italian, Spanish, Greek, Brazilian Portuguese, and Bavarian. In the second part, the focus turns to the nature and function of complementisers themselves, with discussions drawing on evidence from Italian, Italian dialects, Hebrew, and Dutch.

The Structure and Interpretation of (Romance) Complementizers
M. Rita Manzini

The Romance che-type complementizer belongs to the same morpholexical series as wh-phrases. This chapter proposes that both as a wh-phrase and as a complementizer, che is nominal and argumental — therefore not a functional projection (C) of the sentence. This chapter argues that this proposal optimally accounts for fine variation across Romance.
This book considers the syntax of the left periphery of clauses in relation to the extra-sentential context. The prevailing point of view, in the literature in this field is that the external context does not intervene at all in the syntax of the sentence, and that the interaction between sentence and context takes place post-syntactically. This monograph challenges this view and proposes that reference to indexicality is syntactically encoded in the left-most position of the clause, where the speaker's temporal and spatial location is represented. To support this hypothesis, it analyses various kinds of temporal dependencies in embedded clauses, such as indicative versus subjunctive, and proposes a new analysis of the imperfect and the future-in-the-past. The book also compares languages such as Italian and English with languages which have different properties of temporal interpretation, such as Chinese. Finally, analysis of the literary style known as Free Indirect Discourse also supports the hypothesis, showing that it may have a wide range of consequences.

Semantic and discourse interpretation of the Japanese left periphery *
Mamoru Saito

in The Sound Patterns of Syntax

This paper examines the effects of Japanese scrambling on interpretation. The main claim is that scrambling is “phonological” as it requires only phonetic features to be interpreted at the landing site, but can nevertheless affect semantic and discourse interpretation because it can feed other movement operations and interact with general discourse principles.
In this chapter it is proposed that the position of the focus within the clause depends on the peripheral focus projection with which the relevant discourse-related feature is associated, either at the left periphery of the sentence or at the left periphery of the vP. The same analysis proves highly relevant in understanding the syntax of interrogative sentences, once established that the wh-element represents the focus constituent of a question. Evidence for this assumption comes from the parallel syntactic properties observed cross-linguistically between focus and wh-phrases. A detailed study of these two elements and their parallelism in Romance, particularly in Italian and Sicilian, offers the empirical ground for two major claims: (i) Informational Focus (IFoc) and Contrastive Focus (CFoc) represent two syntactically independent focus categories associated with two distinct peripheral projections; (ii) in the domain of wh-questions, non-D-linked and D-linked wh-phrases correspond to IFoc and CFoc, respectively.

Hungarian, a Ugric language of the Finno-Ugric branch of the Uralic language family, is one of a handful of non-Indo-European languages with a documented history spanning more than 800 years. This book focuses on the restructuring of Hungarian syntax from head-final to head-initial, which started in the Proto-Hungarian age, and has led to fundamental structural changes resulting in the evolution of functional left peripheries on various levels of syntactic structure by the 16th century. It is shown how the SOV Proto-Hungarian sentence, displaying a fusion of thematic and functional roles, developed a clause structure with a V-initial VP and preverbal operator positions. Noun phrase determination by possessive suffixes was supplanted by prenominal articles, floating quantifiers developed into determiners, and the postpositional phrase evolved a
head-initial pP-layer for particles, which soon found their way into the left periphery of the sentence. Non-finite complementation, and sporadic clause-final complementizers, gave way to a rich system of clause-initial complementizers. The mechanisms of change are those observed in Indo-European languages (reanalysis, grammaticalization, cyclicity), but the paths of change have often been different.

The Cartography of Chinese Syntax
Wei-Tien Dylan Tsai (ed.)

This book takes Chinese to be an ideal testing ground for the cartographic approach due to its robust analyticity, where functional elements typically distribute over the entire span of a sentence in a discrete and orderly manner. By studying a variety of syntactic constructions in Chinese from a comparative angle, it becomes possible to map out a well-defined topography of relevant syntax-semantics correspondences with such notion as “the height of interpretation”. As a result, we are be able to open a window into the very nature of syntactic cartography, while addressing specific issues such as the distinction between the left periphery and the vP periphery, the syntactic encoding of the information/discourse structure, and the fine structure of prepositional and nominal projections. This book thus not only provides valuable information concerning the typological features of Chinese, but also contributes to our understanding of the inner workings of human language in general.

Background
Liliane Haegeman

This chapter provides some background to the book. It first briefly looks at the development of the generative conception of clause structure, with particular reference to the structure assigned to the so-called left periphery of the clause, that is, the area to the left of the canonical subject position. The second half of the chapter zooms in on the left...
periphery of the English clause and examines, among other things, to what extent it would be feasible to derive the lineup of the constituents in the English left periphery purely from principles governing information structure. One central theme in the discussion is the question of whether it is necessary to exclude what is referred to as a “lower topic” (i.e., a topic projection dominated by the focus projection) in English. It is shown that it is not necessary to exclude the lower topic projection as such from the English left periphery. Rather, in many cases, the ban on placing constituents in the lower topic position can be derived as a consequence of locality conditions on head movement.

Toward a Hierarchy of Clause Types
Nicola Munaro

in Mapping the Left Periphery: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, Volume 5

The aim of this chapter is to carry out a crosslinguistic comparison among some North-Eastern Italian dialects displaying subject clitic inversion; it is proposed that in the presence of a verbal form with enclisis of the pronominal subject the event is presented subjectively, that is, related to the speaker’s observational perspective. It is argued that each instance of clausal typing is triggered by the raising of the inflected verb to a different landing site inside the CP-layer; the attested crossdialectal variation provides evidence for the existence of a few functional projections encoding some aspects of the speaker’s relation to the propositional content expressed by the clause. Relying on previous work on the structural articulation of the left periphery, it is also argued that clausal typing can be achieved inside a conditional or concessive clause by verb raising to an appropriate head of the CP field, which in turn triggers raising of the clausal adjunct to the relevant specifier of the matrix left periphery in order to enter a local relation with a force node.
The empirical work on sentence structure over the last several years has been advanced by the so-called cartographic program, which aims to provide a map of the functional projections in clausal architecture; in the framework of this project, a highly articulated functional structure has been developed, where specialised positions appear to have the same respective order across languages. This volume is the fifth in the cartographic series. For the first time, a whole volume is devoted to the functional articulation of a single structural layer, the so called complementizer system, the highest part of sentence structure: its left edge 'looks outside' the sentence, constituting the interface with the linguistic or situational context; its right edge 'looks inside', and connects the CP layer with positions located in the lower IP layer. The papers collected here identify — on the basis of substantial empirical evidence — new atoms of functional structure, which encode specific features out of the range of interpretive aspects that are prototypically expressed in the left-periphery; at the same time, the by now richly articulated CP structure is submitted to further crosslinguistic checking, finding encouraging consistencies and confirmation. The research work witnessed by this volume has led to the identification of new, important restrictions in the relative sequence of elements appearing in the left periphery (like complementizers and clause typing morphemes, wh-items/phrases, focalized constituents, topics); on the other hand, it sheds new light on the ‘pragmatic side’ of the left periphery, that is, those aspects of the utterance that are tied to the speaker’s point of view and to his individual perception of the event with respect to contextual factors.

What’s a Wh-Word Got to Do with It?
Enoch O. Aboh and Roland Pfau

in Mapping the Left Periphery: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, Volume 5

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Item type: chapter

This chapter proposes a unified analysis for wh-questions and yes/no questions and shows that these are the expressions of an interrogative functional head (Inter) within the complementizer system. Building on Cheng’s (1991) clause typing hypothesis and a discussion of data from spoken and signed languages (e.g. Gungbe, Wari’, and Indian Sign Language), it is demonstrated that languages vary as to how they encode Inter, and whether this head attracts a constituent into its specifier or hosts a question operator (usually distinct from wh-phrases)
that first merges there. The discussion further shows that wh-phrases do not generally participate in clause-typing (even in so-called wh-movement languages such as French and English). Accordingly, wh-movement is not triggered by clause typing per se, but results from the structural make-up of the wh-phrase itself. This means that wh-phrases are not inherently interrogative, contrary to what is often assumed in the literature.

The Mixed OV/VO Syntax of Mòchono Main Clauses: On the Interaction between High and Low Left Periphery

Federica Cognola

in Theoretical Approaches to Disharmonic Word Order

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Item type: chapter

This chapter addresses the syntax of the direct object in the Tyrolean dialect Mòchono, a mixed OV/VO language, and provide a novel account for the coexistence of the two word orders. The traditional view (cf. inter alia Rowley 2003), which makes sense of Mòchono mixed syntax through the assumption that speakers have access to two grammars with different parameter settings due to contact, is challenged by showing that variation emanates from one single grammar and is ruled by information structure. In order to capture the connection between syntax and information structure, the chapter proposes an antisymmetric (Kayne 1994) and cartographic (Rizzi 1997, Cinque 1999) account. Here the core idea is that the linear word order of all sentences is the result of the interaction between the high left periphery and the low left periphery (Jayaseelan 2001, Belletti 2004), both assumed to be characterized by functional projections encoding discourse-related features and by having a V2 rule, relating to the finite verb and the past participle, respectively (Poletto 2006).

Introduction

Paola Benincà and Nicola Munaro

in Mapping the Left Periphery: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, Volume 5

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This introduction addresses the theme of grammatical description, mainly trying to clarify the notion of ‘redundancy’ in language; the discussion aims at justifying the fundamental assumptions of the cartographic program and in particular the large number of functional projections, whose hosts are assumed to lexicalize different basic features of language crosslinguistically.

On the Syntax of Topic and Focus in Chinese
Linda Badan and Francesca Del Gobbo

in Mapping the Left Periphery: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, Volume 5

This study is dedicated to an analysis of the left periphery of Mandarin Chinese, within the Cartographic Project. It is shown that in Mandarin Chinese there are three different types of Topics: Aboutness Topics, Hanging Topics and Left Dislocated ones. These are organized hierarchically and precede the only Focus projection that occurs above IP, the lian-Focus: Aboutness Topic # HT # LD # lian-Focus # IP. HT and LD can be stressed phonologically and act as Contrastive Topics. HT are always linked to a resumptive pronoun or an epithet, while LD are always linked to a gap. When the object or the subject is topicalized, the resumptive pronouns seem to occur freely because in these cases HT and LD cannot be distinguished. The authors establish that Chinese shows the same ordering restrictions found in Italian with respect to Topic and Focus, but Chinese does not allow bare focalization strategies in the left periphery.

Scrambling in vP
Cecilia Poletto

in Word Order in Old Italian

In this chapter I show that Old Italian is a regular VO language on the basis of the usual tests adopted in linguistic typology. OV constructions are then qualitatively and quantitatively presented and investigated. It is shown that any argument can be found on the left of the past participle.
as well as adverbial modifiers, but that this does not necessarily result in patterns in which the verb is in final position. The analysis provided is that OV is the result of leftward scrambling to Topic and Focus positions located at the vP edge. The pattern of past participle agreement with the object observed in Old Italian supports this analysis. The conclusion is that the alternation between VO and OV can be captured inside a single grammatical system by means of pragmatically driven movement to the low left periphery of the vP.

Adverbial Clauses, Main Clause Phenomena, and the Composition of the Left Periphery

Liliane Haegeman

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Item type: book

This book uses the cartographic theory to examine the left periphery of the English clause and compare it to the left-peripheral structures of other languages. The book argues that the dissimilar surface characteristics of these languages (primarily English and Romance, but also Gungbe, Hungarian, Hebrew, Dutch, and others) can be explained by universal constraints, and that the same structures apply across the languages. The book focuses on main clause transformations—movement operations that can only take place in main clauses.

Doubling-que embedded constructions in Old Portuguese

Ilza Ribeiro and Maria A. Torres Morais

in Parameter Theory and Linguistic Change

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Item type: chapter

In this chapter, we discuss embedded constructions in Old Portuguese, in which two complementizers are phonologically realized, comparing them to similar constructions in Brazilian Portuguese and European Portuguese. Following Rizzi’s (1997) cartographic approach, with the refinements proposed by Benincà (2004) and Benincà and Poletto (2004), we assume that the left periphery of the clause expresses a typology of positions, defined by a system of functional heads and their projections. We also adopt Roberts’s (2004) idea that the V2 phenomenon results from the requirement that Fin must have a phonological realization. V-movement to Fin is operative in Old Portuguese. Doubling -que and Fin-
to-force also satisfy the V2 requirement. Brazilian Portuguese is not a V2 language. When split-CP is active, Fin is realized by merge of que/Ø complementizer, never by V-to-Fin. We conclude that the phenomenon of doubling -que has always existed in the history of Portuguese, but that it underwent diachronic changes.

The Interaction of Focus, Givenness, and Prosody
Vieri Samek-Lodovici

This book provides an in-depth investigation of contrastive focalization in Italian, showing that its syntactic expression is systematically affected by the syntactic expression of discourse-givenness. The proposed analysis disentangles the properties genuinely associated with contrastive focalization from those determined by the most productive operations affecting discourse given phrases at the right periphery, namely right dislocation and marginalization. On this basis, it shows that in the default case contrastive focalization occurs in situ and that instances of left-peripheral focalization only arise when focus obligatorily evacuates a larger right-dislocating phrase, giving rise to a distribution of leftward-moved foci that generalizes well beyond the cases examined in Rizzi (1997) and most literature since. In its final chapter, the book examines the syntax–prosody interface, showing how focalization in situ and other key properties follow from the prosodic constraints governing stress placement, thus reinterpreting and extending Zubizarreta’s (1998) analysis of p-movement and the role of prosody in shaping syntax. Overall, this book offers an evidence-backed radical departure from current views of focalization based on a fixed focus projection at the left periphery of the clause. It also provides the most comprehensive study of Italian marginalization and right dislocation available to date.

On the Fine Structure of the Left Periphery
Candice Chi-Hang Cheung

in The Cartography of Chinese Syntax: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, Volume 11
Wh-fronting constructions in Cantonese have counterparts in Mandarin that have been analyzed as either a type of Topic structure or Focus construction. One goal of this chapter is to argue that wh-fronting constructions in Cantonese are best analyzed as a type of Identificational Focus construction. The second goal of this chapter is to explore the fine structure of the left periphery in Cantonese and its implications for two prominent lines of research on the distribution of Topics and Foci. Specifically, the findings lend empirical support to one line of research that analyzes Topic and Focus as fields, contra the other line of research that analyzes Topics as a set of recursive projections occurring above and below a single Focus projection. The investigation further reveals that the inventory of Topics and Foci available in individual languages and their hierarchical order are the result of the interplay between language-specific and universal principles.

Scrambling in the DP phase
Cecilia Poletto

in Word Order in Old Italian

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In this chapter I extend the analysis of OV orders presented in the previous chapter to the internal structure of the DP phase. It is shown that Old Italian admits movement of internal PPs and (modified) adjectives to the left periphery internal to the DP. There are three distinct types of movement: (a) movement to the highest Specifier inside the DP, which alternates with the definite article; (b) movement to a Topic position in the left periphery of usually postnominal adjectives; and (c) movement to the IP-like space of the DP of genitive PPs, which are then structurally licensed without an overt preposition. In addition, I propose that the Old Italian DP adopts parallel requirements for the CP, vP, and DP phase in that the lexical head has to raise to the lowest position in the left periphery of the phase it starts. Hence, the lexical noun has to raise to d° (the lowest position in the DP left periphery) unless a determiner is present.