

Problem Set 6

Due October 26 before class. Submit on Luminus > Files > Student Submission > PS6.

In this class, we have pushed the hypothesis that different languages are underlyingly fairly uniform, and that many visible differences can be explained by differences in a few particular choices. Consider the following table: (— = we didn't discuss or can't tell)

| | C (head-initial or head-final) | T | <i>v</i> and V | V-to-T mvmt (y/n) | EPP on T (y/n) | T-to-C mvmt in matrix clauses (y/n) | EPP on C in matrix clauses (y/n) |
|----------|-----------------------------------|--------------|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------|---|--|
| English | head-initial | head-initial | head-initial | no | yes | only in questions | only in <i>wh</i> -questions |
| French | | | | | | only in questions | only in <i>wh</i> -questions |
| Japanese | | | | — | — | — | — |
| German | | | | | — | | |
| Swedish | | | — | yes | | | |
| Guébie | | | | | | | |

1. First, fill in the missing cells in the table for French, Japanese, and German. You do not need to justify your answers.
2. Consider the following data and fill in the Swedish row.¹ Assume there is V-to-T movement in Swedish. Briefly support your answers.

(1) **Matrix clause word order:**

- a. Han känner faktiskt Ingrid.
he knows actually Ingrid
'He actually knows Ingrid.'
- b. Ingrid känner han faktiskt.
Ingrid knows he actually
'He actually knows Ingrid.'
- c. Faktiskt känner han Ingrid.
actually knows he Ingrid
'He actually knows Ingrid.'

All other reorderings of these four words are ungrammatical.

¹Problem from David Pesetsky.

(2) **Embedded clause with complementizer *att*:**

Johan mindes [att han faktiskt känner Ingrid].
Johan remembered that he actually knows Ingrid
'John remembered that he actually knows Ingrid.'

All other orders of the words in the embedded clause are ungrammatical.

3. Consider the following data and fill in the Guébie row. Guébie is a Niger-Congo language (Kru subfamily) spoken in the Ivory Coast.² Briefly support your answers.

(3) **Simple clause with no auxiliary:**

a. ɔ³ li² dʒa³¹
3.SG eat.IMPF coconuts
'He eats coconuts'

b. ɔ³ li³ dʒa³¹
3.SG eat.PERF coconuts
'He ate coconuts (recently)'

(4) **Simple clause with future tense auxiliary:**

ɔ³ ji³ dʒa³¹ li²
3.SG will.IMPF coconuts eat
'He will eat coconuts'

All other orders of the words in (3–4) are ungrammatical with the intended interpretations.

(5) **Embedded clauses:**

a. e⁴ dʒereme^{3.3.3} gba¹ dʒɔk^{wi}-jə^{3.2.2} buru^{2.2}
I read.PERF that bird-PL fly
'I read that birds fly.'

b. e⁴ jira^{2.3} gba² e⁴ ka³ lawɔ^{3.2.1} lelo-wa^{1.1.1} jokuni^{2.3.3}
I want that I IRR visitor new-DEF see
'I want to see the new visitor.'

(IRR is a tense auxiliary: "irrealis.")

²Don't worry about the numbers; they're tones. All Guébie data from ʃɪɔʔ əpɪnəʃ ɸəʊnəʃ, but don't look it up!

