

# A new perspective on the DBH

Eric Fuß, IDS Mannheim

Venice, 20.10.2016

## A new perspective on the DBH

- Recall: According to the DBH, word order variation in OE (and perhaps Early Germanic more generally) results from competing values for the head parameter for IP and VP, giving rise to the following set of phrase structures:

# A new perspective on the DBH

- (1)a.  $I^0$  right,  $V^0$  right:  $S-O-V-V_{fin}$   
*þæt se biscop* [<sub>I'</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> *þæt cild up aheafan*]  $t_i$ ] *wolde<sub>i</sub>* ]  
 that the bishop                      the child up lift                      wanted
- b.  $I^0$  left,  $V^0$  right:  $S-V_{fin}-O-V$   
*þæt se biscop* [<sub>I'</sub> *wolde<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> *þæt cild up aheafan*]  $t_i$ ]]
- c.  $I^0$  left,  $V^0$  left:  $S-V_{fin}-V-O$   
*þæt se biscop* [<sub>I'</sub> *wolde<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>VP</sub>  $t_i$  [<sub>VP</sub> *aheafan up þæt cild* ]]]
- d.  $I^0$  right,  $V^0$  left:  $S-V-O-V_{fin}$   
*þæt se biscop* [<sub>I'</sub> [<sub>VP</sub>  $t_i$  [<sub>VP</sub> *aheafan up þæt cild*]]] *wolde<sub>i</sub>* ]

# A new perspective on the DBH

- (1)a.  $I^0$  right,  $V^0$  right:  $S-O-V-V_{fin}$   
*þæt se biscop* [<sub>I'</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> *þæt cild up aheafan*] *t<sub>i</sub>*] *wolde<sub>i</sub>* ]  
that the bishop                      the child up lift                      wanted
- b.  $I^0$  left,  $V^0$  right:  $S-V_{fin}-O-V$   
*þæt se biscop* [<sub>I'</sub> *wolde<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> *þæt cild up aheafan*] *t<sub>i</sub>*]]
- c.  $I^0$  left,  $V^0$  left:  $S-V_{fin}-V-O$   
*þæt se biscop* [<sub>I'</sub> *wolde<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>VP</sub> *aheafan up þæt cild*]]]
- d.  $I^0$  right,  $V^0$  left:  $S-V-O-V_{fin}$**   
***þæt se biscop* [<sub>I'</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>VP</sub> *aheafan up þæt cild*]]] *wolde<sub>i</sub>* ]**

# A new perspective on the DBH

- Problems:
- Option (1d) seems to be crosslinguistically rare or even absent: \*VO-Aux
- In addition to the DBH, rightward movement/extraposition must be assumed to account for orders such as V-Aux-O

# A new perspective on the DBH

## Basic assumptions:

- The root raising parameter (RRP): basic structural difference between OV and VO languages (see above)
- From the RRP it follows that there is a difference between OV and VO languages w.r.t the make-up/size of Spell-out domains (SOD) (i.e., sisters of phase heads that are subject to the operation Transfer):

# A new perspective on the DBH

- (2) a. VO: SOD1 (VP): (obj) (V-to-v)  
SOD2 (TP): (subj. T v+V)
- b. OV: SOD1 (VP): (t<sub>obj.</sub>)(or CP) (removal of v  
SOD2 (TP): (subj. T obj. V) after inheritance)

# A new perspective on the DBH

## Additional assumption (linearization at Spell-out):

- Linear order results from the operation Vocabulary Insertion (VI), which supplies syntactic terminal nodes with phonological content.
- VI operates in a bottom-up fashion, starting with the most deeply embedded phase/Spell-out domain.
- Linear order is built incrementally from left to right by adding the outcome of VI at any given stage of the linearization process to the left of the existing string of exponents derived by previous applications of VI.
- Each Spell-out domain is linearized separately; in a subsequent step, the relevant output strings are combined. As a result, Spell-out domains that are linearized earlier appear to the right of Spell-out domains that are linearized later:  $\langle \text{SOD}_n \dots \text{SOD}_2, \text{SOD}_1 \rangle$



# A new perspective on the DBH

- (3)
- a. LIN applying to SOD1:  $\langle \phi_1 \rangle$
  - b. LIN applying to SOD2:  $\langle \phi_2, \phi_1 \rangle$
  - c. LIN applying to SOD3:  $\langle \phi_3, \phi_2, \phi_1 \rangle$

(“ $\phi$ ” = a string of phonological exponents)

- Immediate result: The most deeply embedded element/phrase is linearized as the rightmost element in linear order (see also Haider 1995 on extraposition).

# A new perspective on the DBH

- Linearization of a fully head-initially structure (periphrastic tense/transitive verb):

(4) a. LIN (VP): <obj.>

**S-AUX-V-O**

b. LIN (TP): <subj. T v+V> + <obj.>

# A new perspective on the DBH

- Linearization of a fully head-final structure (periphrastic tense/transitive verb):

- (5)      a.      LIN (VP): <t<sub>obj.</sub>>                                      **S-O-V-Aux**  
            b.      LIN (TP): <subj. obj. V T> + <t<sub>obj.</sub>>



# A new perspective on the DBH

- Linearization of a mixed structure (FOFC?): head-final TP and head-initial VP (periphrastic tense/transitive verb):

- (7)
- a. LIN (VP): <obj.>
  - b. LIN (TP): <subj. v+V T> + <obj.>

# A new perspective on the DBH

- Linearization of a mixed structure (FOFC?): head-final TP and head-initial VP (periphrastic tense/transitive verb):

- (8) a. LIN (VP): <obj.> **S-V-Aux-O!**
- b. LIN (TP): <subj. v+V T> + <obj.>

# A new perspective on the DBH

- Step-by-step:

(9)a. Linearization of VP: <obj.>

b. Linearization of TP:

i. Spell-out of V (moved to v): <V>

ii. Spell-out of T (lexical property: head-final): <V Aux>

iii. Spell-out of subj. (specs always to the left): <subj. V Aux>

c. Assembly of SO1 (VP) and SO2 (TP): <subj. V Aux> + <obj.>

# A new perspective on the DBH

- Upshot: Under these assumptions, VO-Aux orders are not derivable under the DBH; instead, the apparently problematic combination of a head-final TP and a head-initial VP gives rise to the other 'problematic' order, namely extraposition from an (apparent) OV-base: V-Aux-O!