On Dutch *allemaal* and West Ulster English *all*

Hilda Koopman
UCLA

This squib compares the similar distributions of floating *allemaal* and *all* under wh-movement in Dutch and West Ulster English (WUE) (McCloskey 2000).[1] The comparison leads to the conclusion that the floated quantifier is merged at the edge of "vP" in both languages. Current theoretical understanding – Binary (external and internal) Merge, universal head complement order (Kayne 1994), syntactic hierarchies, phrasal movement (overt but not covert), strict locality (sisterhood), Minimality, and some principle yielding *that-t* – makes it possible to deduce necessary properties of the derivations of WUE from a simple systematic comparison of the WUE orders and Dutch linear orders. The derivations provide a new understanding of the interaction of object shift and verb movement. If correct, the derivational differences between the two languages turn out to be minimal and follow from a difference in the size of phrasal pied-piping (Koopman & Szabolcsi 2000; Koster 2000).

The basic problem: Q-float in West Ulster English and Dutch

McCloskey (2000) shows that WUE allows both the standard English pattern with *all* immediately following a bare wh-phrase, and a stranding pattern. *All* may be stranded in the clause where the wh-phrase originates, or, in case of wh-movement out of CPs, in a position following a subordinating verb and preceding *that*. Dutch *allemaal* shows a (partially) similar distribution, but crucially, it can never occur between the finite verb in non root environments and *dat* (2b) (numbers refer to the example number in McCloskey 2000).

---

(1)   a.   What did he say (that) he wanted all?   (8b)
      b.   Wat   heeft hij gezegd dat hij allemaal wilde   hebben?
           what has   he   said   that he   all   wanted have

(2)   a.   What did he say all that he wanted?   (8c)
      b.   Wat   heeft hij (allemaal) gezegd (*allemaal) dat hij wilde   hebben?
           what has   he   all   said   that he   wanted have

McCloskey argues that WUE *all* is stranded in Spec, CP, and then uses *all* to probe the architecture of WUE vP/VPs. Dutch (2b) shows that *allemaal* occurs in preverbal position, and cannot be stranded in CP. *Allemaal* precedes low external arguments (*wat hebben er allemaal voor mensen voor squibs geschreven (lit. what have there all for people for squibs written)* but follows Middlefield material. I thus assume it occurs at the edge of 'vP'. The pattern in (2) holds more generally in Dutch, as Barbiers (2002) first established for other discontinuous constituents. Barbiers shows that such ~~these~~ patterns provide strong evidence for Chomsky's (1986) wh-movement-via-the-edge-of-vP-proposal. Barbiers rules out stranding in Spec, CP because wh-movement does not transit through that position, a proposal I am not willing to accept. Taking *all* and *allemaal* to be basically similar, the question is now how to reconcile the analyses for WUE and Dutch *all/allemaal* stranding, two genetically related languages that have similar types of *that*-complements. Since Dutch *allemaal* is visibly not in Spec, CP, but at the edge of 'vP', McCloskey's stranded-in-Spec-CP's analysis cannot lead to a unified analysis, but analyzing WUE *all* as occurring at the left edge of vP, just as Dutch *allemaal*, can. (This option is indeed entertained, but rejected, by McCloskey (2000, p. 62, fn. 6). Given certain theoretical results this is in fact the *only* analytical possibility. Sportiche (1996: 230, 1999: 697) updates his 1988 base generation and stranding Q-float analysis, because of his conclusion that Ds are merged in the spine outside VPs. Floated quantifiers are merged in the spine (as in the traditional adverbial analysis), where they take surface scope. They quantify over a DP that has moved through their specifier, thus capturing the syntactic distribution (cf Collins 2007). Stranded WUE *all* and Dutch *allemaal* thus occur at the left edge of a vP boundary, because they are merged there. *All/allemaal* merge with a vP as their complement, and attract the restriction to their Spec. Further wh-movement leads to a stranded Q. As Dutch (2b) shows, stranding in CP cannot be available. This should now be understood as a reflection of the lexical properties of *all/allemaal* as selecting for a (vP) predicate, but never for an argument CP. *All/allemaal* therefore cannot merge with CP.

   Given this, the following minimal properties must hold in the syntactic derivations of WUE and Dutch wh-Q-float:

(3)   w(h)at$_i$ … [<w(h)at> all/allemaal [$_{vP}$ v…… [$_{CP}$ <w(h)at> th/d/at) [……<w(h)at>

By systematically comparing WUE and Dutch linear orders, we can use (3) to backwards engineer further derivational properties, finding the derivational paths that capture what is identical in both languages most directly. For reasons of space, this exercise focuses on how the orders in Dutch yield insights in the particular derivations for WUE.

Let us warm up with the analysis of (2a) in WUE. Stranded *all* shows the vP bracket must be to the left of the CP; thus a constituent containing *say* must have moved to the left of *all*, stranding the *that* CP.

(4) a. What$_i$ did he say [$_{allP}$ t_i all   [$_{vP}$ [$_{CP}$ t_i that
     b. Wat$_i$ heeft hij   [$_{allP}$ t_i allemaal [$_{vP}$ gezegd [$_{CP}$ t_i dat

          he wanted *t?*
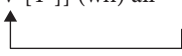   hij *t* wilde hebben?

This shifted constituent can contain a light PP *to him* (5). (The? in (5) and below refers to what McCloskey argues is deviance of the optimal prosody *V(pronoun) all*).

(5) a. $^?$What did he [say to him] all that he wanted to buy *t*?   (15c)

     b. Wat heeft hij allemaal [tegen hem gezegd] dat hij wilde kopen?
         what did   he all   to him say   that he wanted to buy

     c. *What did he say all to him that he wanted to buy?   (15b)

Say to him all in (5a) mirrors *Q PP V* in Dutch (5b). We thus conclude that *say to him* in WUE English rolls up and 'pied-pipes' to the left of *all*. Since only constituents can be moved, and CPs are stranded, this means that the constituency in (6) must hold at some point in the derivation (either by what Koster calls parallel structures or, in theories with greater derivational depth, by building these up via movement from small atomic pieces (Kayne 2000, 2005; Sportiche 1999; or in my own work):

(6)   [what$_i$ all   [[$_{vP}$ you say t$_i$ to him] [$_{CP}$ t$_i$ that ….]
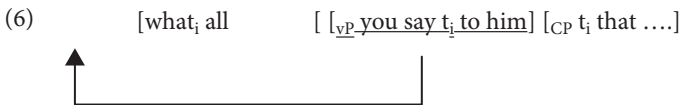
Given the basic theoretical tools and assumptions outlined above, what other properties of WUE derivations can we infer from a simple comparison of WUE orders and Dutch orders? Starting out from the basic comparative derivational scenarios in (7) and (8), I show that all instances may actually be attested in the WUE sample presented in McCloskey (2000). WUE derivations minimally involve movement of 'vP', with vP sometimes pied-piping another constituent, sometimes stranding a constituent, showing more language internal flexibility than Koster proposed. (Discussion of the motivation for vP is postponed to the final section of this squib).

(7)   The WUE order *V Y all* is derived ~~by:~~

    I.   for elements that appear between *allemaal* and V in Dutch: pied-piping ('roll-up') of vP.

        D (w) allemaal Y V = WUE [$_{vP}$ V [Y]] (wh) all

    II.   for elements that appear to the left of *allemaal* (internally merged), 2 steps of vP shifting:

        D .. (w) allemaal [t$_i$ V = WUE [$_{vP}$ V ..t$_i$..] XP$_i$ [$_{vP}$ ..t$_i$..] (wh) all

(8)   The WUE order *V all XP* is derived ~~by:~~

    III.   for elements that are merged higher than Dutch *allemaal:* Pied-piping of *[[vp] (what) all]*

        D XP… [(w) allemaal …. V] = WUE [[$_{vP}$] [(wh)all] XP [[$_{vP}$____][all ..

    IV.   for elements that must occur between *allemaal* and V: vP movement stranding XP (cf. (6))

        D   (w) allemaal […XP.. V] =   WUE [$_{vP}$…] (wh) all [$_{vP}$…   ] XP

I. When the vP rolls up: [V…] all [   ]

This order is observed for indirect object PPs ((2c)..*talk to him all*), for stranded Ps (9), as well as for directional PPs (discussed under III):

(9)   a.   ?Who did you [talk to] all   (21b)

     b.   de   mensen   waar   je   <u>allemaal</u>   <u>mee</u>   (over Jan Vat)   gepraat   hebt
         the   people   who   you   all   with   (about)   talked   have

     c.   *Who did you [talk all] to?   (21a)

     d.   *de   mensen   waar   je   mee   allemaal   gepraat   hebt
         the   people   who   you   with   all   talked   have

(10)   a.   ?Who did you <u>give tea to</u> all?   (23a)

     b.   de   mensen   waar   je   allemaal   <u>thee</u>   <u>aan</u>   <u>gegeven</u>   hebt
         the   people   who   you   all   tea   to   given   have

II. When vP moves repeatedly: (V XP all)

WUE and Dutch object pronouns, indirect objects (DPs), and definite direct objects precede *all/allemaal.* Failure to 'shift' yields ungrammaticality (11e/f):

(11)   a.   Who did Frank tell <u>you all</u> that they were after *t*?   (9a)

      b.   Wie heeft Frank <u>je allemaal</u> verteld dat ze achtervolgden?
           who did Frank you all tell that they pursued

      c.   ˀWhat did he tell <u>his friends/Mickey all</u> (that) he wanted *t*?

      d.   Wat   heeft hij   <u>zijn   vriend/Mickey</u>   allemaal   verteld   dat
           what   did   he   his   friend/Mickey   all   tell   that

           hij   wou hebben?
           he   wanted   have

      e.   *What did he tell <u>all his friends/Mickey</u> (that) he wanted *t*?

      f.   *Wat   heeft   hij   <u>allemaal   zijn   vriend/Mickey</u>   verteld   dat
           what   did   he   all   his   friend/Mickey   tell   that

           hij   wou   hebben?
           he   wanted   have

How exactly do pronouns (or (in)direct objects) shift to a position preceding *all/allemaal?* Through independent movements or by never leaving their vP (Nilsen 2003; Koster 2000)? (12a) shows object shift is obligatory in both languages. Dutch shows the object shifts by itself to the left of <u>*allemaal*</u>.

(12)   a.   Who did you <u>want your mother</u> [~~who~~ all [$_{vP}$] to meet at the party?   (39a)

      b.   Wie   heb je   <u>je moeder</u> [$_{vP}$ ~~wie~~   allemaal   [$_{vP}$ op   het
           who   did you   your mother   all   at   the

           feest   laten   ontmoeten?
           party   let   meet

           'Who all did you get your mother to meet at the party?'

      c.   *Who did you want <u>all your mother</u> to meet at the party?   (40a)

      d. *Wie   heb   je   <u>allemaal   je   moeder</u>   op   het feest
           who   did   you   all   your   mother   at   the   party

           willen   laten   ontmoeten?
           want   let   meet

Taking Dutch and WUE to be maximally similar, this suggests the following derivational path for WUE (11a), with vP fronting preceding further extraction of the pronoun.

(13)   a.   [[$_{vP}$Frank tell you *t*$_{CP}$] [what [all [$_{vP}$. …] [$_{CP}$dat..

      b.   you [$_{vP}$ Frank tell ~~you~~..] what all… [$_{CP}$dat..

      c.   [[$_{vP}$Frank tell…] [you [*t*$_{vP}$] what all

Similarly in (12a), *all* must be merged with vP *want*, with the pronoun and *want* moving independently.

III. WUE [vp [what… all] XP

This order arises by pied-piping around an XP which is merged to the left of *allemaal* in Dutch. This is a straightforward account for the position of right peripheral adverbs in WUE.

(14)   What did she buy all in Derry (*all) yesterday (*all)?   (25), (26)

The Dutch translations show however that another derivation of the WUE string might be available as well, as the locative can also occur inside the *allemaal…V* frame (15a).

(15)   a.   Wat   heeft   ze   allemaal   (gisteren)   in Derry   gekocht   (gisteren)?
                what   did   she   all   yesterday   in Derry   buy   yesterday

        b.   Wat heeft ze (gisteren) (in Derry) allemaal gekocht (in Derry) (gisteren)?

        c.   Wat heeft ze allemaal gekocht in Derry gisteren?

This indicates that the locative in (14) could be stranded below *all* (as in (15a)). This option must be independently available, as WUE and Dutch wh-locatives can combine with a stranded *all* (cf. *where did they go all for their holidays?* (McCloskey 2000, (3c)) and Dutch *waar is hij allemaal in zijn vakantie geweest/waar heeft hij allemaal gegeten?* [where has he all in his vacation been/where has he all eaten]). How to tease these options apart remains a question for further research.

IV. V all XP orders: vP extraction, stranding XP below all

Last but not least, this order alternates with 'roll up' for many elements that occur between *allemaal* and the verb in Dutch. Judging from McCloskey's examples, the availability of this order seems to depend on whether what wh-moves is (i) a non-subject which normally occurs to the left of a PP or (ii) a subject of v.

    (i) Dutch PPs that *must* occur between *allemaal* and V allow more than one possible order in WUE:

(16)   Wat   heb   je   allemaal   *t*   in   de   la   gestopt   (gisteren)
        what   did   you   all   in   the   drawer   put   yesterday

)   a.   What did you [put] all *t* in the drawer?   (29b)
        b.   ˀWhat did you [put in the drawer] all (yesterday)?   (29a)

This suggests that both a pied-piping derivation (17b) (subject to usual heaviness) and a stranding derivation (17a) must be available within the same grammar: this can be described as variability in the size of pied-piping.

    (ii) Subject/ non subject asymmetries and the motivation for vP movement: McCloskey shows that WUE subject wh-movement and *all* stranding present tough analytical problems. First, we find an illustration of (8.II): a WUE PP, which occurs in Dutch between *allemaal…V*, must strand when a wh-subject is extracted (18b):

(18) a. *Who was [underline]talking to the kids/to him[/underline] all last night?   (56b,c)

  b. ?Who was [talking] [underline]all to the kids[/underline] last night?   (56d)

  c. Wie waren er   allemaal met de kinderen /met hem
      who were   there all   with the kids/with hem

      aan het praten (gisteravond)?
      talking   last night

And this, even though the PP must be pied-pied when a *non*-subject is wh-moved, judging from (5) (?*what did he say to him all…/*say all to him…*).

  To see if the current exercise can provide insight in this subject/nonsubject asymmetry, let us consider (5a) above, replace *he* with *who*, and *say what* with *talk,* and examine the derivational options. As the surface string shows the *to PP* must be stranded, the bracketing at some point in the derivation must be as in (19) (leading straight to Kayne's (2000) treatment of Ps):

(19) [all [[$_{vP}$who talk] [to him/to the kids]]]

At this point in the derivation, we expect *who* to move to *all* for quantificational reasons resulting in **who will all talk to him*. There are good reasons to assume this movement is excluded for subjects. Wh-movement to Spec,*all* can attract wh-phrases from embedded CPs (2a), a diagnosis for the presence of a phase head. We know that subject wh-phrases cannot extract when they are next to a phase head like *that*. If (19) is then basically like a 'that-*t*' configuration, wh-subject extraction is blocked. This leaves no other option than for *who* to pied-pipe vP to Spec,*all* (as I propose for TP pied-piping of wh-subjects in English, Koopman 2000), where quantification is established. Quantification under pied-piping is independently attested with PPs in Dutch (*met wie heb je allemaal ~~met wie~~ gepraat* [*lit.* with who have you all talked]). There are just two pied-piping options in (19): the *who*-vP pied-pipes PP or it does not. vP movement of *who talk* converges to *who was talking all to the kids* (18b), but vP pied-piping PP does not ((18a) *who was talking to him all*). Could the latter in fact be excluded in this particular context? Both Abels (2003) and Kayne (2005) propose generalizations which precisely have this effect. For Abels, the complement of a phase head cannot move. In Kayne's proposal a direct complement of a head may never move to its Spec. If these generalizations are correct, pied-piping of the entire complement to Spec,*all* is effectively ruled out, leaving (18b) as the only converging derivation. Stranding *to him/DP* then might be available only if the unmarked pied-piping option is independently blocked. In cases of non-subject wh-extraction this problematic situation never arises, as the wh-phrase moves to Spec all by itself, and the vP shifts around the allP to the phase edge.

  In WUE, vP movement to the left of *all* seems to be forced under all instances of wh-movement. Yet, this movement is *never* possible under Q-float under A-movement, which behaves in WUE just like standard English here (McCloskey 2000: 77). Why have

vP movement at all? What motivates vP movement? Take non-subject wh-extraction: if *what all* marks a phase boundary, the external argument should never be able to undergo A-movement. Yet it clearly does, as it shows up in Spec,TP (2a). Note now that vP shifting (phrasal movement, not head movement) 'smuggles' the external argument around the phasal boundary, from where it can map to Spec,TP in the usual fashion. This suggests a new motivation for vP shift: it is necessary to smuggle the subject around the phasal boundary induced by non-subject wh movement. For subject wh-phrases, vP movement to the left of *all* is forced for a different reason (quantification and *that-t*). Finally, in the case of simple Q-float under A-movement, it is widely assumed that no phasal boundary intervenes, hence vP shifting is not necessary. Observationally then *vP shifts as high as it needs to to yield convergence*. This provides a new way of looking at Holmberg's (1996, 1999) generalization that object shift cannot pass the verb. It is not that the object cannot pass the verb: rather the subject cannot get over the object because of a Minimality violation (generalizing Koopman, to appear). The only way to converge then is to smuggle the vP that contains the external argument around the object.

Note that if this correct, it must be the case for Dutch as well that the subject is 'carried' over the phasal boundary by a verbal constituent that contains it: Dutch vPs then move just as English vPs (Kayne 1994). Thus, the derivations of Dutch and English might be even more similar than Koster (2000) claims, with Dutch simply always moving a tiny sized vP. A comparison of extremely simple word order patterns of Dutch and WUE directly leads to non-trivial conclusions about necessary properties of WUE derivations. These derivations require considerable depth. While many questions remain, it is theoretically encouraging that deep similarities between Dutch and WUE can be brought to light so directly.

References

Abels, Klaus. 2003. Successive cyclicity, anti-locality, and adposition stranding. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut.

Barbiers, Sjef. 2002. Remnant stranding and the theory of movement. In Artemis Alexiadou, Elena Anagnostopoulou, Sjef Barbiers & Hans-Martin Gaertner (eds.), *Dimensions of movement: From features to remnants* [Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today 48], 47–69. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Chomsky, Noam. 1986. *Barriers*. Cambridge MA: The MIT Press.

Collins, Christopher. 2007. Floated quantifiers and linkers. Ms, New York University.

Holmberg, Anders. 1986. Word order and syntactic features in the Scandinavian languages and English. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Stockholm.

Holmberg, Anders. 1999. Remarks on Holmberg's generalization. *Studia Linguistica* 53: 1–39.

Kayne, Richard. 1994. *The antisymmetry of syntax*. Cambridge MA: The MIT Press.

Kayne, Richard. 2000. *Parameters and universals*. Oxford: OUP.

Kayne, Richard. 2005. *Movement and silence*. Oxford: OUP.

Koopman, Hilda. 2000. *The syntax of specifiers and heads*. London; Routledge.

Koopman, Hilda. To appear. Samoan ergativity as double passivization. In Laura Brugè, Anna Cardinaletti, Giuliana Giusti, Nicola Munaro & Cecilia Poletto (eds.), *Functional heads*. Oxford: OUP.

Koopman, Hilda & Szabolcsi, Anna. 2000. *Verbal Complexes*. Cambridge MA: The MIT Press.

Koster, Jan. 2000. Pied Piping and the word orders of English and Dutch. *Proceedings of NELS* 30, 415–426.

McCloskey, James. 2000. Quantifier float and wh-movement in an Irish English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 31: 57–84.

Nilsen, Øystein. 2003. Eliminating positions. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utrecht.

Sportiche, Dominique. 1996. Clitic constructions. In Johan Rooryck & Laurie Zaring (eds.), *Phrase structure and the Lexicon*, 213–276. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Sportiche, Dominique. 1999. Pronominal clitic dependencies. In Henk van Riemsdijk (ed.), *Clitics in the languages of Europe*, 679–708. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.