

Reanalysis

Master: 04-046-2015 (Syntax: Lokale Prozesse, Kolloquium)



08, Topics in Syntax (seminar)

Fridays, 11:15–12:45, H1.5.16
WiSe 2014, Universität Leipzig

Institut für Linguistik
Gereon Müller
gereon.mueller@uni-leipzig.de
<http://www.uni-leipzig.de/~muellerg>

Extraction from NP

1. Background

- (1) *A taxonomy of Cut operations:*
- phrases:
 - specifiers: [-D-]
Müller (2014), Murphy (2014) on standard and stacked passives, respectively
 - complements: [-V-], [-T-]
possibly an option that might be pursued for VP ellipsis and sluicing (TP deletion).
 - heads: [-D_h-]
see the previous handouts on Circassian DP shell removal (the lower part of the complement remains intact); on *that* removal (Chomsky's recent lectures); and on verb projection raising and restructuring infinitives
 - features: [-f-]
possibly a way to make sense of impoverishment in the syntax, as in Keine (2010), Doliana (2013)

Assumption:

Cut obeys exactly the same constraints as Merge (PIC, Strict Cycle Condition).

2. Extraction from NP

- (2) a. *[_{PP} Über wen]_i hat [_{NP} ein Buch t_i] den Wolfgang beeindruckt ?
about whom has a book_{nom} ART Wolfgang_{acc} impressed
- b. *[_{PP} Über wen]_i hat den Wolfgang [_{NP} ein Buch t_i] beeindruckt ?
about whom has ART Wolfgang_{acc} a book_{nom} impressed
- c. [_{PP} Über wen]_i hat der Wolfgang [_{NP} ein Buch t_i] geschrieben ?
about whom has ART Wolfgang_{nom} a book_{acc} written

- d. *[_{PP} Über wen]_i hat der Wolfgang [_{NP} ein Buch t_i] geklaut ?
about whom has ART Wolfgang_{nom} a book_{acc} stolen
- (3) a. *[_{PP} Über wen]_i hat der Verleger [_{NP} einem Buch t_i] keine Chance
about whom has the publisher_{nom} a book_{dat} no chance_{acc}
gegeben ?
given
- b. *Worüber_i hat man neulich [_{NP} einem Buch t_i] einen Preis
about-what has one_{nom} recently a book_{dat} an award_{acc}
geschenkt/verliehen ?
given
- (4) a. [_{PP} Über wen]_i hat keiner einer Frau [_{NP} ein Buch t_i]
about whom has no-one_{nom} a woman_{dat} a book_{acc}
gegeben ?
given
- b. Worüber_i hat man dir [_{NP} ein Buch t_i] geschenkt ?
about-what has one_{nom} you_{dat} a book_{acc} donated

Analysis in Müller (1995):

Barriers are to some extent determined by lexical factors.

- (5) *Barrier:*
For every α included in XP, XP is a barrier iff (a) and (b) hold.
- α does not occupy an escape hatch in XP.
 - X is distinct from Y, where Y is the head of YP, and YP is the minimal maximal projection which does not exclude XP.
- (6) *Three ways of removing distinctness of heads:*
- overt incorporation (Baker (1988))
 - empty identification (cf. complementizer-trace effects)
 - abstract incorporation:* co-indexing at S-structure followed by movement at LF.

An alternative via reanalysis:

Bach & Horn (1976), Chomsky (1977)

3. Extraction from Clauses

- (7) a. Wie₁ denkst du [_{CP} dass das passiert ist t₁] ?
b. *Wie₁ bedauerst du [_{CP} dass das passiert ist t₁] ?
c. *Wie₁ ärgert (es) [_{CP} dass das passiert ist t₁] ?

Analysis in Müller (1995) (based on Ross (1967), Kiparsky & Kiparsky (1970), Chomsky (1973), Perlmutter & Soames (1979)):

- All (finite) clausal complements are embedded in NP shells.
- Bridge verbs differ from other clause-embedding predicates in permitting abstract incorporation of N, the head of the NP-shell.

A reanalysis approach:

Bridge verbs have a Cut feature that removes the NP shell: [-N_h-]

Extension to (real) NPs:

This is actually not trivial. A naive approach:

- (i) [-N_h-] on V. (This is possible only if V and N qualify as a “natural predicate”).
- (ii) Movement of PP since there is no NP that would block it.
- (iii) Remerge of NP via [●N●] on V.

Note:

This is problematic because (a) determiners (DP in NP) are ignored, and (b) V actually has *two* separate subcategorization features for NP.

References

- Bach, Emmon & George Horn (1976): Remarks on ‘Conditions on Transformations’, *Linguistic Inquiry* pp. 265–299.
- Baker, Mark (1988): *Incorporation. A Theory of Grammatical Function Changing*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Chomsky, Noam (1973): Conditions on Transformations. In: S. Anderson & P. Kiparsky, eds., *A Festschrift for Morris Halle*. Academic Press, New York, pp. 232–286.
- Chomsky, Noam (1977): On Wh-Movement. In: P. Culicover, T. Wasow & A. Akmajian, eds., *Formal Syntax*. Academic Press, New York, pp. 71–132.
- Doliana, Aaron (2013): The Super-Strong Person-Case Constraint: Scarcity of Resources by Scale-Driven Impoverishment. In: *Rule Interaction in Grammar*. Vol. 90 of *Linguistische Arbeits Berichte*, Institut für Linguistik, Universität Leipzig, pp. 177–202.
- Keine, Stefan (2010): *Case and Agreement from Fringe to Core. Impoverishment Effects on Agree*. Linguistische Arbeiten, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Kiparsky, Paul & Carol Kiparsky (1970): Fact. In: D. Steinberg & L. Jakobovits, eds., *Semantics. An Interdisciplinary Reader in Philosophy, Linguistics, and Psychology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 345–369.
- Müller, Gereon (1995): *A-bar Syntax*. Mouton/de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Müller, Gereon (2014): The Short Life Cycle of External Arguments in Passive Derivations. Ms., Universität Leipzig.
- Murphy, Andrew (2014): Stacked Passives in Turkish. Ms., Universität Leipzig.
- Perlmutter, David & Scott Soames (1979): *Syntactic Argumentation and the Structure of English*. The University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Ross, John (1967): Constraints on Variables in Syntax. PhD thesis, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.