

TBA

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1. Reconstruction: Reconstruction under A-movement is systematically possible (w.r.t. to anaphoric binding, Pronominal Binding, idiom interpretation...):

- (1) Some pictures of his mother seemed to everyone to be fuzzy (no WCO + every >some)
- (2) Many pictures of themselves<sub>i</sub> seemed to them<sub>i</sub> (\*their<sub>i</sub> mother) to be fuzzy ( seem >many)
- (3) Grand soin de Marie<sub>i</sub> me/lui<sub>i</sub> semble avoir ete pris t  
Good care of Mary seemed to me/her to have been taken

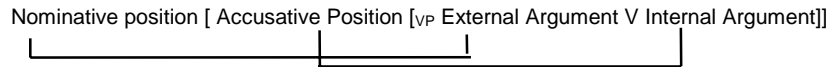
2. Paradoxes

Paradox #1: reconstruction of pronominal determiners under A-movement.

- (4) \* His<sub>i</sub> pictures seemed to everyone<sub>i</sub> to be fuzzy (WCO)
- (5) \* He<sub>i</sub> seemed to John<sub>i</sub>'s mother to be sick (Principle C)

Paradox #2: failure of generalized inverse binding

- (6) They pleased each other
- (7) Friends of each other \*killed/pleased them
- (8) Friends of his parents \*killed/pleased every boy



3. Proposal:

- (9) Reconstructability is a property of movement: moved constituents can always reconstruct.
- (10) D and NPs are not generated as constituents within VP: NP is VP internal, D is VP external

\* [VP [D NP] V]                      OK D... [VP NP V]

(11) Complex representation of simple predicates: n place predicates are syntactically represented as a nesting of n VPs, each with a specifier argument ("the uniformed" Larsonian shell proposal as in Sportiche, 90), each with functional structure responsible for Case.

- (12) Nominative position [..External Argument [Accusative Position ..Internal Argument]]

(no nesting as e.g. in Sportiche, 90 or Koopman and Sportiche, 91)

- (13) [DP His<sub>i</sub> .. ] seemed to everyone<sub>i</sub>; [ NP pictures ] to be fuzzy ]  
He<sub>i</sub> ... seemed to John<sub>i</sub>'s mother [ tNP [ to be sick ]

4. How to guarantee these consequences:

- (14) synthetic compounds; N/NP can saturate theta roles: book writer, floor dusting
- (15) theta relation one way once, this way always; (Strong-) UTAH ( Baker, 89)

wrote this book → past...this [VP [NP book] write] (the theta role saturation property of NP does not percolate to DP: no percolation in general)

in turn: book reader → [book read] er  
floor dusting → [floor dust] ing (in fact: same as Tense VP)

in turn: destruction of the city → of the tion [city destroy]  
(or more precisely common underlying structure for destroy the city and destruction of the city with of and the outside the minimal thematic complex containing dest- and city)

if A kill B ≡ A cause B die → the man killed the dog → the ... the.. [man cause [dog die]]

(16) Why S-UTAH? (inspired by Hale&Keyser, 91 and Halle and Marantz' s Distributive Morphology)

Would follow if syntax had no way of refering to the particular theta roles assigned by particular verbs, e.g. if syntax did not see the difference between kill and cause-die when it comes to predicate saturation. This would follow if the elements manipulated by syntax are not words or roots but rather abstract atomic units (cf. Distributed Morphology's narrow lexicon) combinations of which get realized as morphemes or words and that

- (i) thematic" substructures are just chunks of syntactic substructure ( agent theta role is specifier of atomic CAUSE) so that:
  - (ii) identity of thematic substructure= identity of syntactic substructure.
- Consequently: no percolation possible, no lexicalism possible.

5. Rules of combination for atomic units ultimately interpreted as " words" ?

Head movement:                      A cause [B die ] → A die-cause B  
  A Fut [mange B] → A mang-era B (will eat)  
Morphological affixation:        [book write] er → book writer

**Consequence: there is no Head Movement**

**6. There is No head movement**: it is replaced by (remnant) XP movement followed by morphological affixation ( i.e. PF interpretation of the string)

- a. Complex Verb formation
- b. Compound Formation
- c. Tense /Verb Mergers

**6a. Complex Verb Formation/Synthetic Compounding**

Complex verb formation and synthetic compound formation have the same domain (VP). If Ds split away from NP, lowest domain (VP) contains only predicate and NP: if NPs move out atomic verbs combine to give complex verbs. If NPs do not move out, we get synthetic compounding.

- (15) [N floor] dust-ing                                      [N book] writ-er

- (16)
  - i. input to the rules of morphophonology are syntactic trees
  - ii. input is simplified by pruning silent categories which receive no morphological interpretation
  - iii. affix and host to be adjacent and subjacent to each other: e.g. \* host ] ] suffix (cf \* [ book [read and write] ] ing/ er)  
( left branching OK: [table and chair duster].

(17) Properties to derive (e.g. Williams, Grimshaw):

- i. Nouns can saturate internal argument slots (\*book reading of books).
- ii. Only one argument can compound: \* child-gift-giving
- iii. Only the lowest argument can compound: \* Child giving of gifts, gift giving to children

iii' Subjects do not incorporate

iv. Q's, Plurals, pronouns, names do not incorporate: \*she admirer, Billy hater, bears hunting.

Let V and W atomic verbs combining to give write-like verbs, two nominal arguments A and B:  
 (same would apply if V and W combined to yield the two lower predicates of give:  
 e.g. where C gave B A [ C cause [ A be [ B with] ] ]

(18) A write B → [VP A V [WP B W] ]

(19) if A and B move out; OK the man wrote the book

(20) if A moves out but not B: Ok the man book-writing (head raising Vergnaud/Kayne).

(21) if A does not move out ( regardless of what B does);

a. crashes subjacency violation: man-writing ( of books): derives ii, iii and iii'

b. exception A is PRO: [PRO self hating] OK.

(22) If A moves out and B moves to Num (plural), D to form a pronoun, or C:  
 crashes because of subjacency

(23) problems:

(i) Intransitives are covert transitives with " incorporated object

(ii) Unaccusatives always take a (covert) object (e.g. directional with motion verbs go, arrive,..)

(iii) - en compounds and irregular plurals.

Tense/Verb merging (sketchy and simplified)

(24) problems V to T / T to V

i. essential lowering (tense morphology inside VP)

ii. blocking effects unclear: not blocks regular verbs but not auxiliary

iii. general problem of c-command of head traces.

(25) proposal:

V/T merger always involve VP adjunction to TP to make VP final V adjacent to affixal T:

In simple cases, the difference between V to T verbs and T to V verbs is that the latter actually are VP to T that pied pipe more material than the former which only move bare VP's (containing only V)

English auxiliary verbs and French verbs are not pied pipers

English main verbs are pied pipers

(26) Jean cuira ses tomates

John cooked his tomatoes

John has cooked his tomatoes

(27) Jean cuira lentement ses tomates

John often cooks his tomatoes → John often will cook his tomatoes

(high adverbs but can occur higher than T independently)

John slowly cooked his tomatoes → \* John slowly will cook his tomatoes

=John cause his tomatoes to slowly cook ( low adverbial)

(28) French: Jean a mal voulu parler John wanted to speakly badly ( "adverbial climbing)

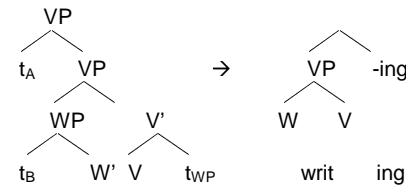
(29)\*John not cooked his tomatoes =/ John cause his tomatoes not to cook

=/ \* John not will cook (tomatoes)

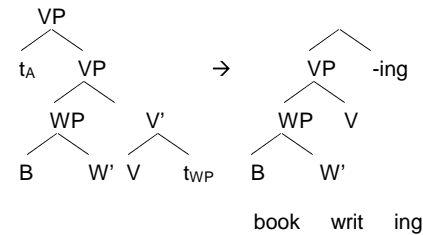
V + W = write or be-with (Pruning of silent material from syntax to morphology)



(19) A&B move out

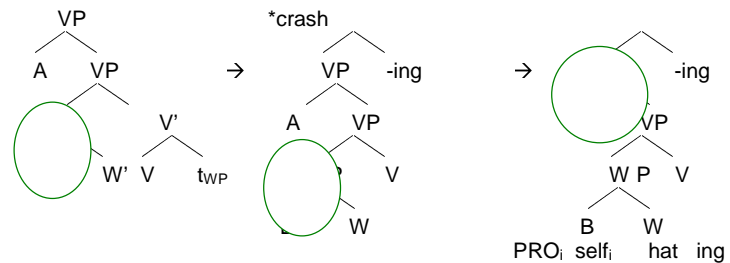


(20) A moves out, B does not

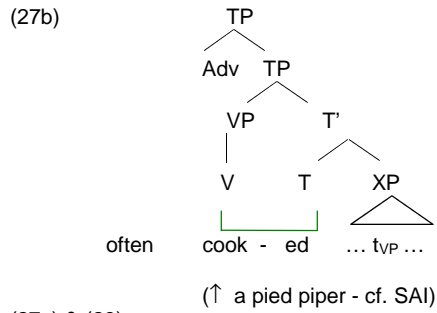
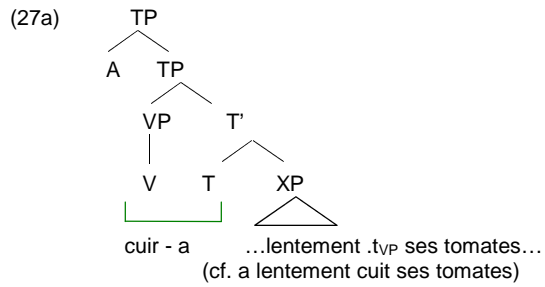
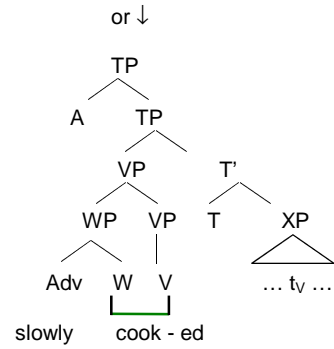
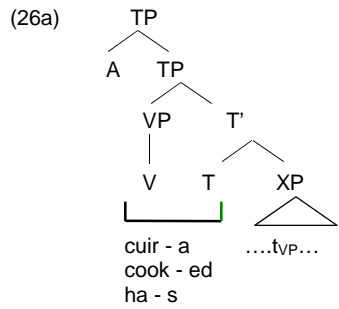
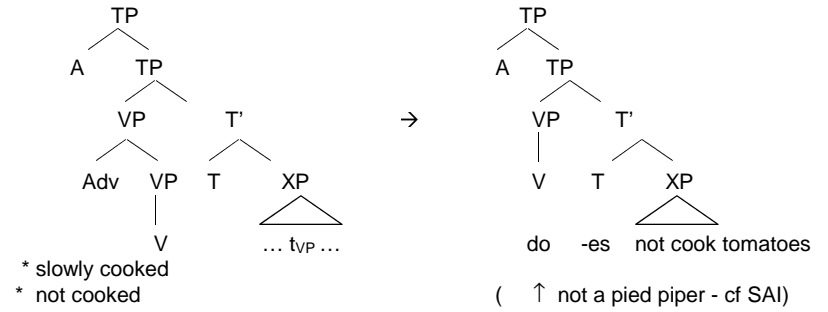
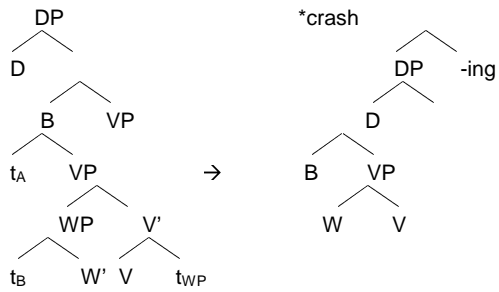


(21) if A does not move out ( regardless of what B does);

Except if A=PRO



(22) A moves out, B a pronoun (D + eN) or a DP



(27c) & (29)