

1 Overview

- There are two different ways in which one constituent can project over another.
- The two kinds of structures differ ways that seem independent of each other (see sec. 4)



Proposal

By treating movement and adjunction as related in a novel way, we derive the seemingly independent differences as results of a single underlying distinction.

There will be three primitive operations: insert, merge and spellout. "Movement" and "adjunction" are names for certain combinations of these.

	Relevant operations	Example
An adjunct	insert, spellout	'Brutus slept quietly '
A "stationary" element	insert, build, spellout	'Brutus stabbed Caesar '
A displaced/re-merged element	insert, build, build, spellout	' Who did Brutus stab ___?'

The operation I call "insert" emerges naturally when we formally flesh out the intuition that movement is merely *re-merging*, following Stabler (2006).

2 Rethinking (structures built by) Merge and Move

Consider the derivation of the following sentence, immediately before the raising of 'John'.

- (1) Which city does John seem ___ to like pictures of ___?

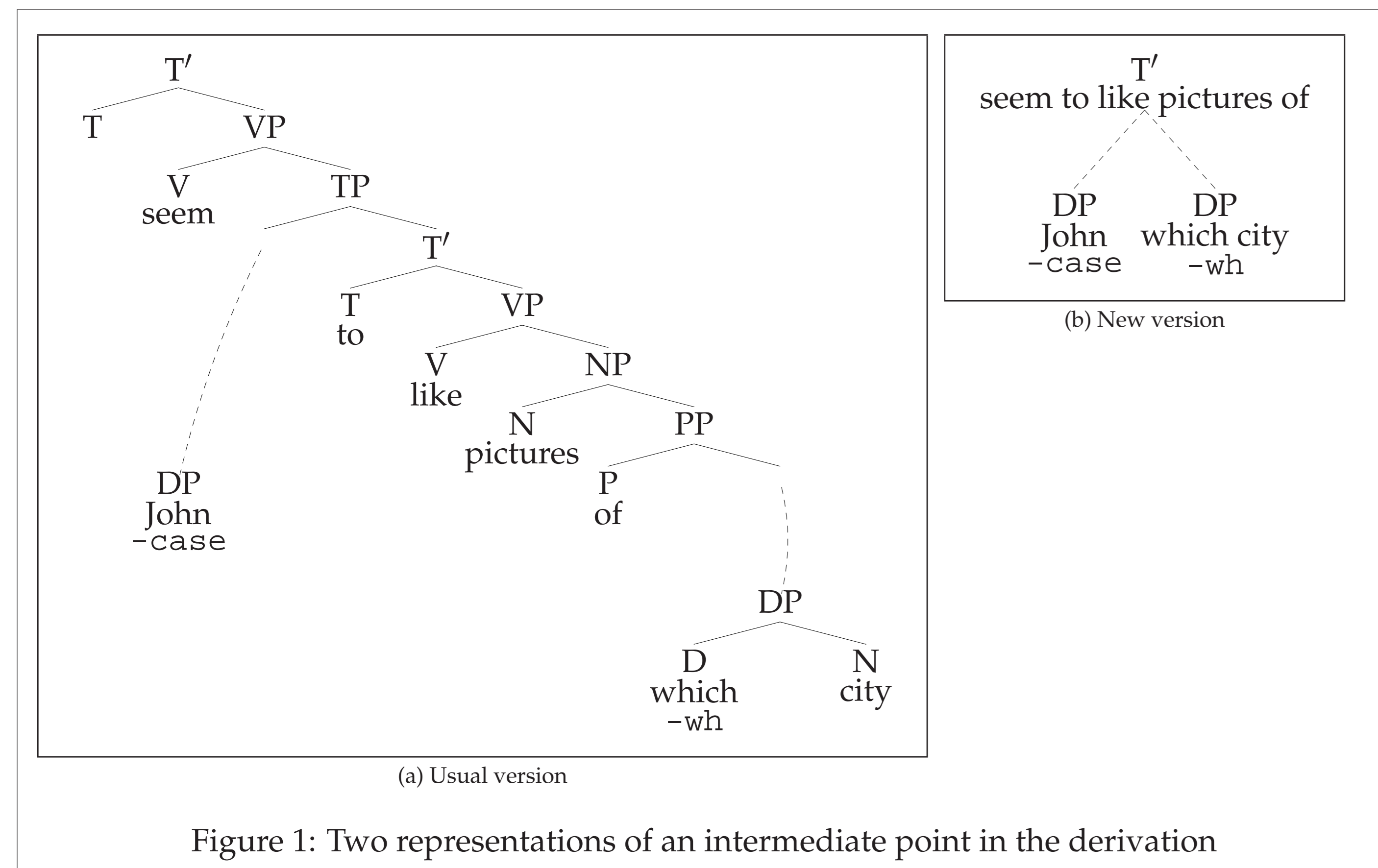


Figure 1: Two representations of an intermediate point in the derivation

Crucial intuition

- The structure in Figure 1a has essentially *three pieces* (those linked by dashed lines)
- From this point on in the derivation:
 - these three pieces will move around *relative to each other*, but
 - the *internal structure* of these pieces will remain unaltered

We can adopt the alternative in Figure 1b as a less redundant representation of the relevant structure. Read it as: "A T' constituent 'seem to like pictures of', out of which: (i) a DP 'John' will move for case, and (ii) a DP 'which city' will move for wh."

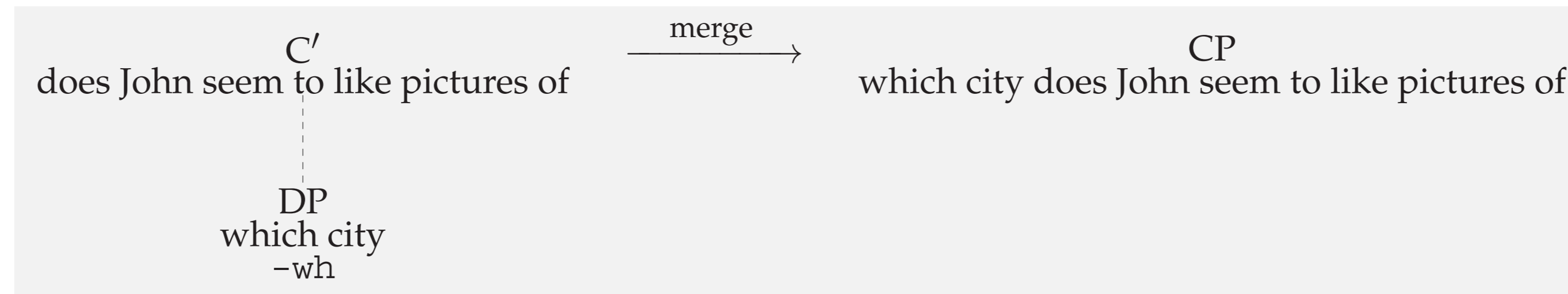
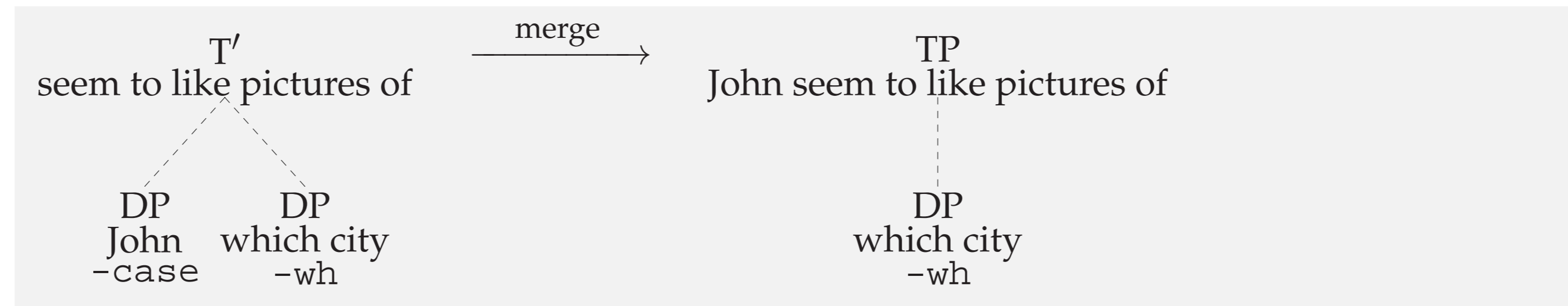
- This new perspective will facilitate implementations of movement and adjunction such that
- Move is "re-merge" (play down the sense in which 'John' and 'which city' are "internal")
- Adjuncts are "loosely attached" (dashed lines)
- Movement and adjunction are *phenomena arising from the same underlying machinery*

"Normal" structure	With movement	With adjunction
'Brutus [stabbed Caesar]'	'Who did Brutus [stab ___]?'	'Brutus [slept quietly]'
VP stab Caesar	VP stab DP who -wh	VP sleep Adv quietly

3 Operations on the New Structures

First consider move / internal merge

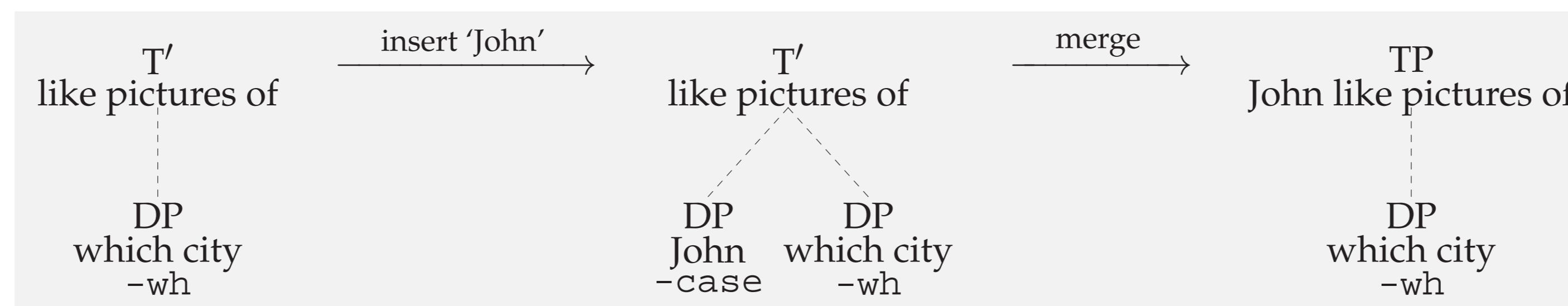
A move/re-merge step combines a "disconnected" piece of the structure with the root:



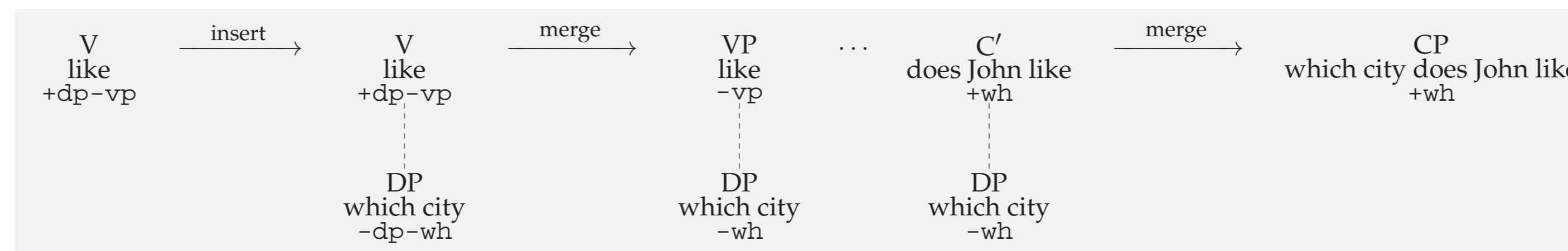
Now consider (external) merge

An (external) merge step must combine a "fresh" piece of structure with the root — how?

- Let us *re-use* the operation above (which we already know we need) to do this combination.
- That operation *draws from the disconnected pieces*, so we need an operation that adds "fresh" pieces as disconnected pieces (Stabler 2006).



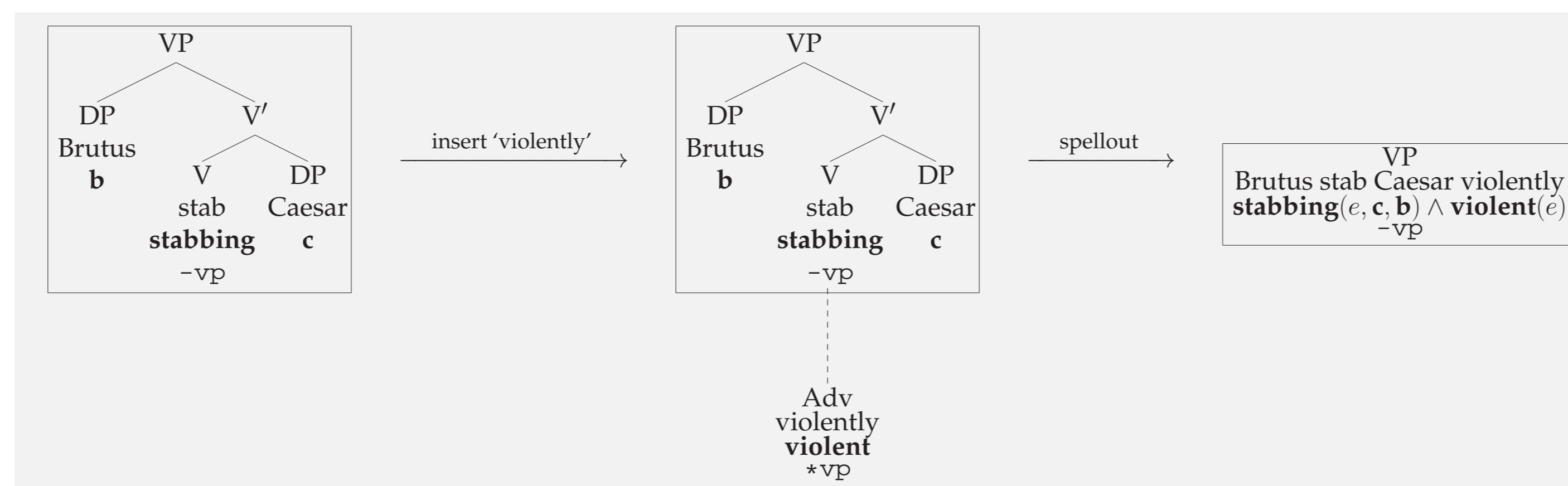
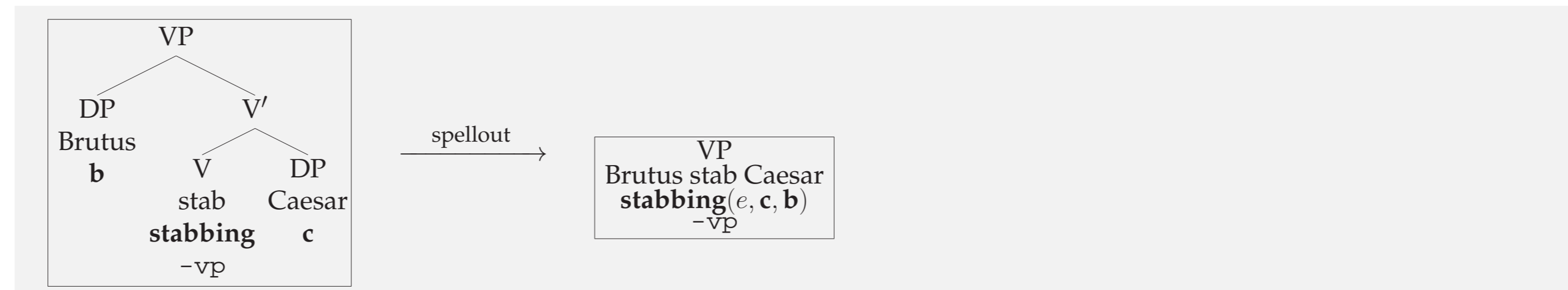
A phrase that is merged into a non-final position *will remain disconnected, to re-merge later*:



Merge and move are unified, but **not this way**: internal merge = copy + external merge
Rather, this way: external merge = insert + internal merge

A new logical possibility: Adjuncts are *only inserted, never merged*

Adjuncts are incorporated into (PF- and LF-)interpretation at spellout. (Up to this point the effects of spellout have been implicit in what I have called "merge".)



References:

- Hunter, T. (2010). *Relating Movement and Adjunction in Syntax and Semantics*. PhD thesis, University of Maryland.
 Hunter, T. (2011). *Deconstructing merge and move to make room for adjunction*. Ms., Yale University, available from <http://www.ling.yale.edu/~timh/>.
 Lebeaux, D. (1988). *Language acquisition and the form of the grammar*. PhD thesis, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
 Stabler, E. P. (2006). *Sideways without copying*. In Wintner, S., editor, *Proceedings of FG-2006: The 11th Conference on Formal Grammar*, pages 157–170, Stanford, CA. CSLI Publications.

4 Empirical Properties of Adjunction

Adjuncts are "either inside or outside" maximal projections:

- (2) a. Brutus [_{VP} stabbed Caesar] (3) a. Brutus [_{VP} slept quietly]
 b. Stab Caesar, (is what) Brutus did b. Sleep quietly, (is what) Brutus did
 c. * Stab, (is what) Brutus did Caesar c. Sleep, (is what) Brutus did quietly

Adjuncts avoid reconstruction effects (Lebeaux 1988):

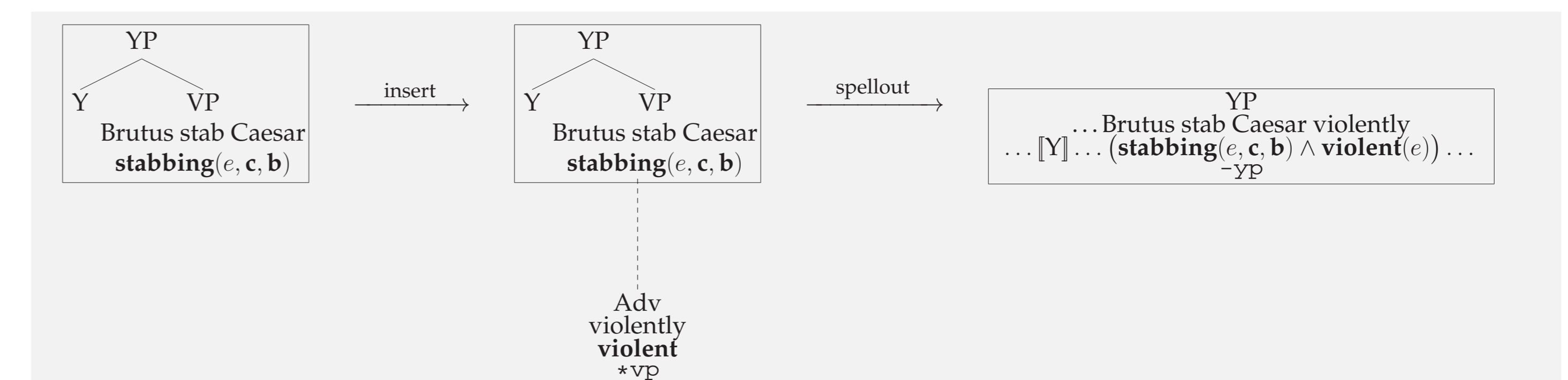
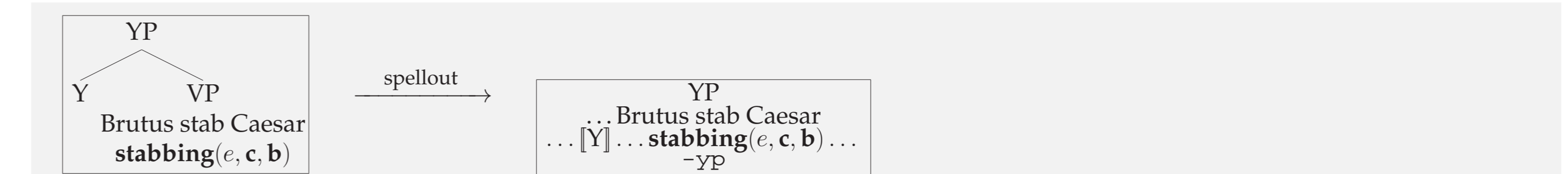
- (4) * Which claim [that Mary_i was a thief] did she_i deny?
 (5) Which claim [that Mary_i made] did she_i deny?

Adjuncts are islands for extraction:

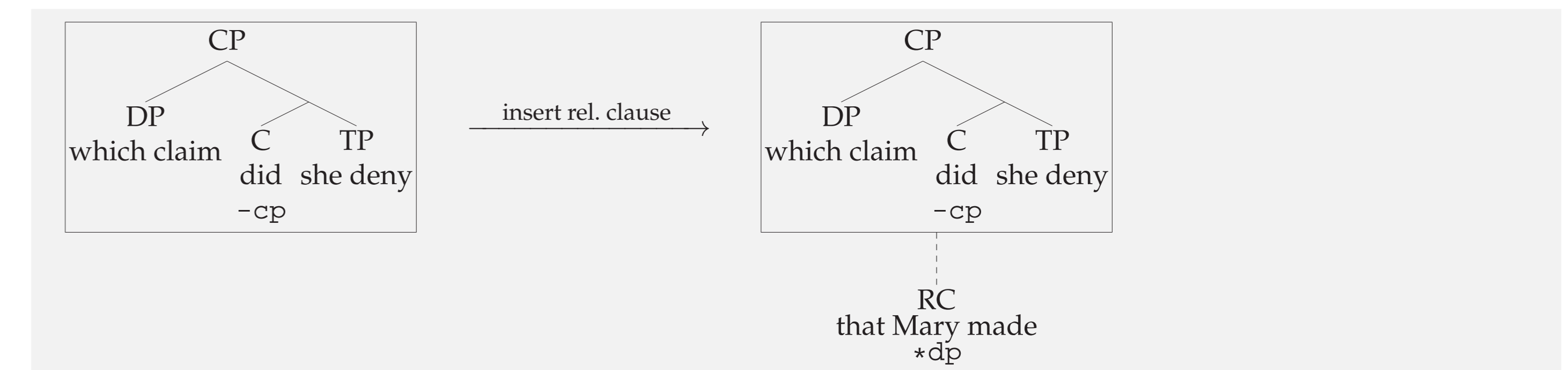
- (6) Who do you think [that John saw ___]?
 (7) * Who do you laugh [because John saw ___]?

5 Explanations for the Properties of Adjuncts

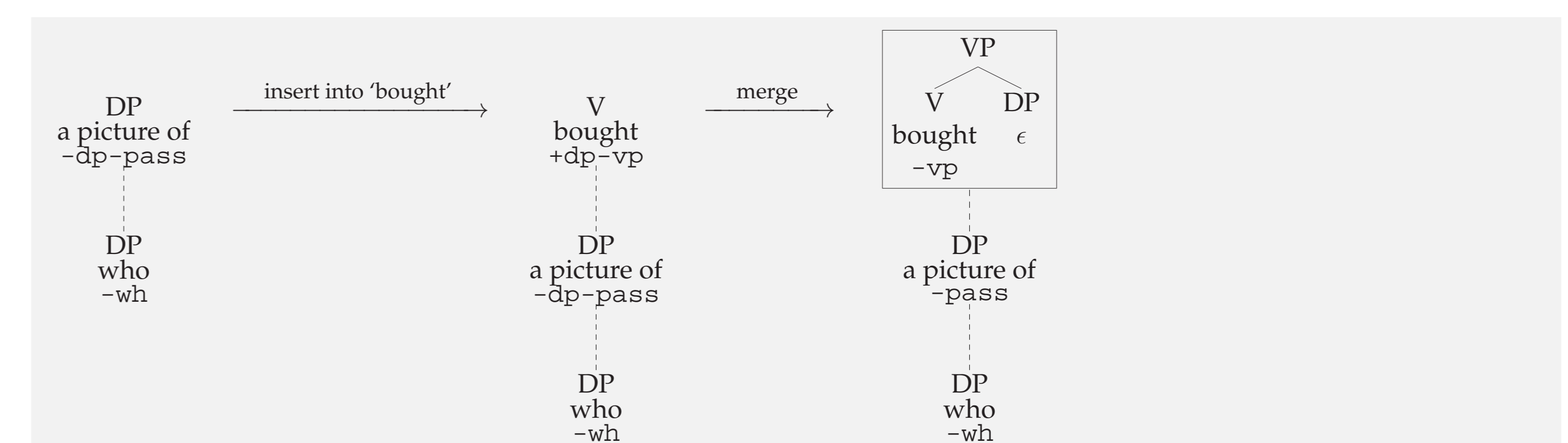
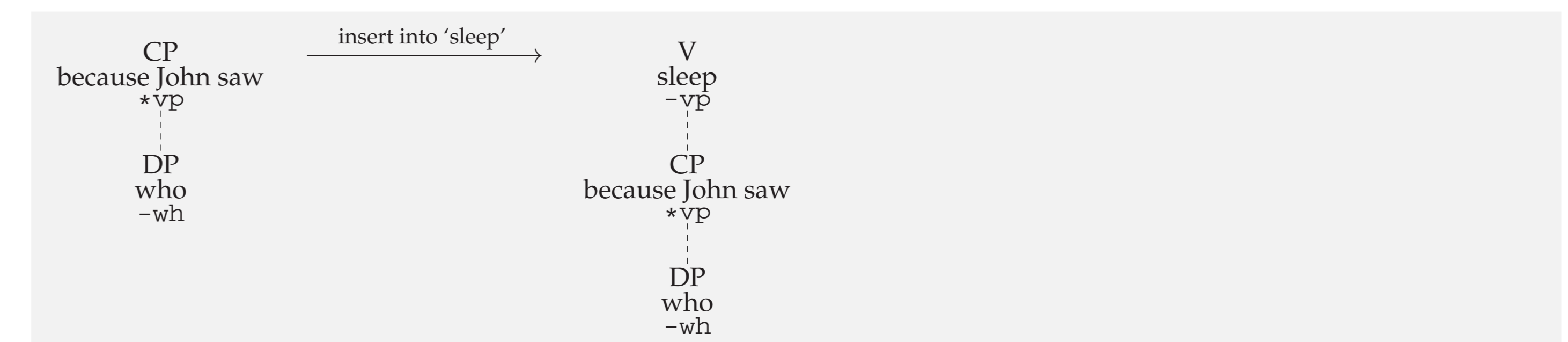
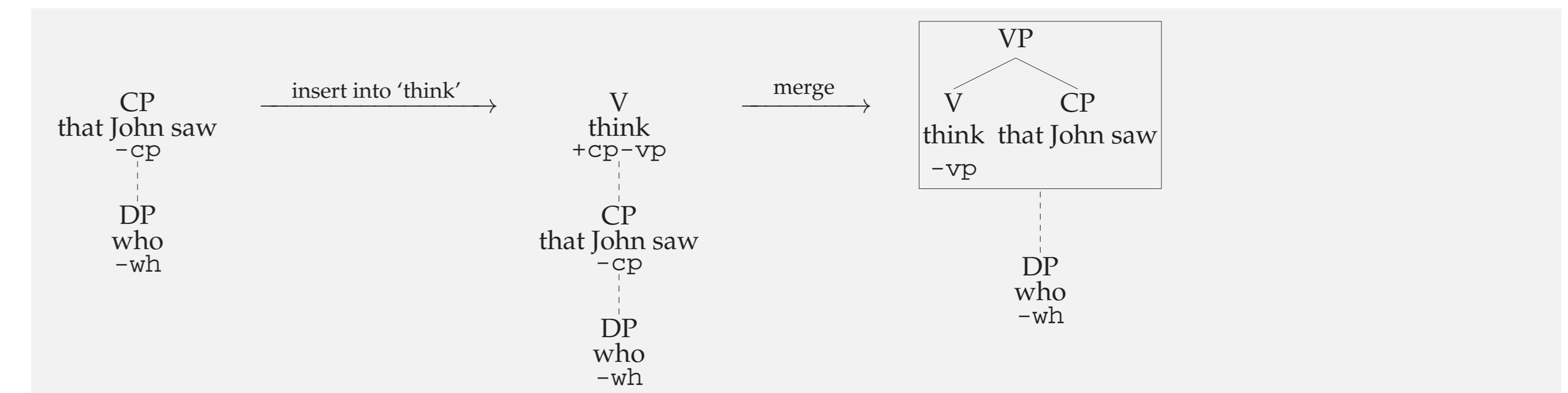
The ability of an XP-adjunct to be "outside" the modified XP is the ability of the adjunct to be inserted *during the construction of the YP of which XP is the complement*.



The ability of an adjunct to be attached counter-cyclically is an instance of the same pattern, inserting the adjunct *during the construction of a YP into which the host has re-merged*.



Adjunct island effects can be subsumed under the same constraint as "freezing effects".



- (8) * Who was [a picture of ___] bought?