

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

The end of argument structure?

Organized by
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1-2 October

2010

ALUMNI HALL, VICTORIA COLLEGE

Workshop: The end of argument structure?

Description

This workshop, to be held on 1-2 October, 2010, will be an opportunity to explore current issues and re-assess generally accepted premises on the relationship between lexical meaning and the morphosyntax of sentences. A central question in the study of language concerns the mechanisms by which the participants in an event described by a sentence come to occupy their positions in the structure and acquire their interpretation. A long-standing approach is based on the assumption that it is the lexical meaning of a verb that determines, albeit indirectly, the basic properties of sentence structure at the level of verbal meaning, including asymmetric relations, thematic roles, case, and agreement. An alternative approach claims that the syntax itself greatly restricts possible verbal meanings on the basis of the legitimate relations that can exist between syntactic heads, complements, and specifiers.

If we think that all systematic aspects of verbal meanings (licensing of external argument, number and type of 'obligatory' and extra arguments, agentivity, causativity, aksionsart, etc.) are dependent on configurational properties, what is left for lexical entries? Do generalizations such as the UTAH and other prominence hierarchies need to be stated explicitly, or are they derived from more general principles of syntactic operations (and structures) and semantic compositionality? What is left unexplained by syntax-driven approaches?

In order to promote an open exchange of ideas, we have in mind a real workshop format rather than a regular conference around themes that will be determined in consultation with the invited participants, based on their contributions. A small number of papers will be selected from open submissions.

Invited participants:

Mark Baker (Rutgers University),
Heidi Harley (University of Arizona),
Lisa Travis (McGill University)

Invited student participant:

Grant Armstrong (Georgetown University)



Workshop: The End of Argument Structure?
Alumni Hall, Victoria College, University of Toronto

Friday, October 1, 2010

8:45 Coffee

9:15 Welcoming Remarks

Morning Chair: **Elizabeth Cowper**, University of Toronto

9:30 – 10:20 **Lisa Travis**, McGill University
External Arguments and Roots

10:20 – 10:30 Coffee break

10:30 – 11:00 **Jaume Mateu**, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
Strong vs. Weak Resultatives Revisited

11:00 – 11:30 **E. Matthew Husband**, Michigan State University
Argument Structure and State Composition

11:30 – 12:15 Open discussion

12:15 – 2:00 Lunch

Afternoon Chair: **Jeff Runner**, University of Rochester

2:00 – 2:50 **Grant Armstrong**, Georgetown University
Implicatures in voice and roots that appear twice: syntactic approaches to two recalcitrant 'lexical' phenomena in Spanish

2:50 – 3:00 Coffee break

3:00 – 3:30 **Tatjana Marvin**, University of Ljubljana
High and Low Applicatives in Slovenian and South Slavic

3:30 – 4:00 **Mercedes Pujalte & Andrés Saab** (CONICET; Universidad Nacional del Comahue/ Leiden U.)
Syncretism and EPP-repair: the case of SE insertion in Spanish

4:00 – 4:50 Open discussion

Saturday, October 2, 2010

9:00 Coffee

Morning Chair: **Alana Johns**, University of Toronto

9:30 – 10:20 **Mark Baker**, Rutgers University
“Obliqueness” as a component of argument structure in Amharic

10:20 – 10:30 Coffee break

10:30 – 11:00 **David Basilico**, University of Alabama at Birmingham
The Antipassive and its Relationship to Scalar Structure

11:00 – 11:30 **Jaume Mateu & Víctor Acedo-Matellán**, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
Conflation vs. Incorporation Processes and the Manner/Result Complementarity

11:30 – 12:15 Open discussion

12:15 – 1:30 Lunch

Afternoon Chair: **Juvénel Ndayiragije**, University of Toronto

1:30 – 2:20 **Heidi Harley**, University of Arizona
Roots, selection & domains for idiomatic meaning

2:20 – 2:30 Coffee break

2:30 – 3:00 **Terje Lohndal**, University of Maryland
Specifiers, Spell-Out and Logical Forms

3:00 – 3:30 **Alex Trueman**, University of Arizona
Structure and Agency in Sound+Motion Constructions

3:30 – 4:15 Open discussion

Alternates: **Kyumin Kim** (University of Toronto), *External argument-introducing heads: Voice and Appl*
Mercedes Pujalte (CONICET), *(Non)-added datives in Spanish*

List of presenter-participants

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The end of argument structure?

Abstracts of talks selected for presentation

Strong vs. Weak Resultatives Revisited

Jaume Mateu (Centre de Lingüística Teòrica / Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

In this paper, an important distinction is shown to be drawn within Hoekstra's (1988) *Small Clause Results* (SCR's) in the light of Haugen's (2009: 260) revisionist claim that "*Incorporation* is conceived of as head-movement (as in Baker 1988; Hale & Keyser 1993), and is instantiated through the syntactic operation of Copy, whereas *Conflation* is instantiated directly through Merge (compounding)" (cf. McIntyre 2004, Harley 2005, Zubizarreta & Oh 2007, i.a.). In particular, the main goal of this paper is to show that Haugen's (2009) bipartite classification of denominal verbs (i.e., some involve Incorporation, while others involve Conflation) has an interesting parallel in the SCR domain as well. Following Haugen (2009), examples like *John danced* involve Incorporation (pace Hale & Keyser 2002), while examples like *The factory horns sired midday* (ex. from Clark & Clark 1979; *apud* Borer 2005) and other verbs that can have no source in the argument structure for nominal roots to originate before incorporating (moving) to the verbal position involve Conflation/compounding; see Harley (2005), where it is also argued that the means/manner root is directly inserted into the position of *v*. *Mutatis mutandis*, I claim that a similar distinction can be found in SCR cases: the root is *incorporated* into *v* (e.g., see (1a)) or is *conflated/compounded* with *v* (e.g., see (1b)). Both SCR's in (1) can be exemplified with Talmy's (2000) paradigmatic examples in (2). Furthermore, *result(ative)* constructions can be claimed to involve an abstraction of the complex *Path* constituent: e.g., I assume a syntactic reformulation of the so-called *localist hypothesis* (cf. Gruber 1965, Jackendoff 1983, i.a.). Accordingly, the following resultative constructions in (3a) and (3b) can be claimed to exemplify causative variants of the SCR's involved in (1a) and (1b), respectively. I claim that resultative constructions like (3a) exemplify a particular relation that is similar to the hyponymic one found in *dance_i a jig_i* (cf. Hale & Keyser 2002). Basically, the hyponymous relation problem is resolved in Haugen's (2009) DM-based approach by allowing the insertion of non-cognate roots into the upper and lower copies after a 'movement' (Copy) operation has applied. Viewed this way, (3a) can be argued to involve an Incorporation analysis, while (3b) involves a Conflation/Compounding one. I show that the structural difference between the SCR's in (1) can be argued to account for the descriptive semantic difference between so-called *weak* and *strong* PP/AP resultatives, respectively (e.g., see Washio (1997) and Kaufmann & Wunderlich (1998), i.a., for the claim that both Japanese and Italian have *weak* resultatives but lack strong resultatives, which can be found in Chinese or in Germanic). In the present framework, *weak* resultatives are possible when *Path/Result* is *incorporated* into *v* and the relevant tail of the movement is occupied by a coindexed non-cognate root, which can be semantically interpreted as hyponymous (e.g., (4a)). That is, the *Result* root incorporated into *v* (e.g., Jap. √SOME in (4a') or It. √LAVA in (4b')) can be further specified by a resultative Adj. (e.g., Jap. *pinku* 'pink' in (4a')) or by a directional Particle (e.g., It. *via* 'away' in (4b')), respectively. Italian verb-particle constructions like (4b) are possible precisely because their verbs *already* encode {*Path/Result*}, which is further specified by the particle; as is well-known, such a restriction does not hold in Germanic. Accordingly, examples like those in (5) are impossible in Italian because their verbs do not encode directionality/result. In short, I argue that the relevant conclusion is that, unlike English, Italian lacks those SCR's involving Conflation/Compounding: only the ones that involve Incorporation (i.e., the *weak* resultative pattern) are possible. Both Italian and Japanese lack the *strong* resultative pattern that is found in Chinese and English: i.e., the former languages lack strong AP/PP resultatives like (3b) and (5). I will show how such a correlation is indeed important and nicely squares with Talmy's (2000) typological observation that both Romance and Japanese typically lack the so-called *Co-event pattern* (i.e., the syntactic pattern that involves Conflation/Compounding in Haugen's (2009) sense). Similarly, an interesting fact predicted by Talmy's typology is that Japanese precisely lacks the (strong) resultative *V₁-V₂* compounds found in Chinese: e.g., see the relevant contrast in (6a,b), taken from Nishiyama (1998: 209), after Li (1993). Following Mateu's (2005) I-syntactic analysis of English resultatives, Huang (2006) claims that (6a) involves the "Manner conflation" process in (6a'), where *Result/Path* is encoded in the complement *V₂* and *Manner* (*V₁*) is *conflated* with the main null light verb. In contrast, I argue that Japanese *V₁-V₂* compounds (e.g., see (7a), from Nishiyama (1998:194)) do not involve Conflation but Incorporation: in a verb-framed (and head final) language like Japanese, *Result/Path* is *incorporated* into the main *V₂* (giving the *Result* verb *tubusi* 'use up' in (7c)) and *Manner* is the subordinate *V₁* that is adjoined to (but, crucially, not *Conflated* with a null) *V₂* via a generalized transformation (Zubizarreta & Oh 2007). In short, I claim that the Conflation case in (7b) is just a good translation of (7a) but, unlike (7b), (7a) involves Incorporation (see (7c)).

The final part of the paper is devoted to elaborating on the claim that some of Talmy's (2000) basic descriptive differences (e.g., "Path pattern" vs. "Co-event pattern") are better expressed in the structural terms of Incorporation vs. Conflation/Compounding: cf. (1a-2a) vs. (1b-2b). Such a conclusion will lead us to examine how the present connection between Conflation (in Haugen's (2009) sense: i.e., Compounding; cf. *supra*) and strong resultatives is related to Snyder's (2001) *Compounding Parameter*.

- (1) a. Incorporation: [_vPath_i [_{sc} Figure [Path_i [Place Ground]]]]
 b. Conflation: [Manner+v [_{sc} Figure [Path [Place Ground]]]]
- (2) a. Incorporation: The bottle_i [_v enter_i [_{sc} t_j $\sqrt{\text{INTO}}$ _i the cave]] (floating)
 b. Conflation: The bottle_i [[_v $\sqrt{\text{FLOAT-GO}}$] [_{sc} t_j into the cave]]
- (3) a. They ... [[_v paint_i [_{sc} the wall $\sqrt{\text{PAINT/red}}$]]] (cf. weak resultatives)
 b. Peter ... [[_v $\sqrt{\text{TALK-CAUSE}}$] [_{sc} himself hoarse]] (cf. strong resultatives)
- (4) a. Mary-ga doresu-o pinku-ni some-ta (Japanese)
 Mary-nom dress-acc pink-dat dye-past
 'Mary dyed the dress pink.'
 a'. Mary [_v some_i [_{sc} doresu $\sqrt{\text{SOME/pink}}$]] (NB: word order details omitted)
 b. Gianni ha lavato via la macchia (Italian)
 Gianni has washed away the stain
 b'. Gianni [_v lavare_i [_{sc} la macchia $\sqrt{\text{LAVA/via}}$]]
- (5) a. John worked his debts off.
 b. John danced the night away.
- (6) a. Lisi ba shoujuan ku-shi-le (Chinese)
 Lisi BA handkerchief cry-wet-LE
 'Lisi cried the handkerchief wet.'
 a'. [Lisi [_v [_{v1} $\sqrt{\text{KU}}$]-[_v CAUSE]] [_{sc} shoujuan [_{v2} shi]]] (NB: word order details omitted)
 b.*John-ga hankati-o naki-nure-ta (Japanese)
 John-nom handkerchief-acc cry-wet-past
- (7) a. John-wa zaisan-o nomi-tubusi-ta (Japanese)
 John-top fortune-acc drink-use.up-past
 b. John [[$\sqrt{\text{DRINK-CAUSE}}$] [_{sc} his fortune away]] (cf. 5b)
 c. John [_{v1} nomi]-[_{v2} tubusi_i] [_{sc} zaisan $\sqrt{\text{TUBUSI}}$]] (NB: word order details omitted)
 John drinking-used.up fortune

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- Zubizarreta, M. L. & E. Oh. 2007. *On the syntactic composition of manner and motion*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Observations of the variable behavior of lexical items has been used in linguistic theory to argue against the encoding of a property into the lexical item itself. This has been demonstrated quite clearly in the literature on telicity where certain argument structure configurations allow for telic interpretation while others permit only atelic interpretation, (1) (Verkuyl, 1972, and many others). The properties shared by nominals and events and the manner of their composition has been the source of much debate, leading to a rich literature on event composition. Largely left out of this debate, however, has been the role that argument structure might play, if any at all, in the composition of states. One area deserving of further research is the availability of an existential interpretation of a subject (EIS) in stage-level/individual-level states, which is traditionally thought to result from differences in lexical properties (Diesing, 1992; Kratzer, 1988/1995). However, observations of variable behavior in the availability of EIS are known (Fernald, 1994, 2000), and appear to also depend on argument structure configurations, (2). This variable behavior of states argues that the stage-level/individual-level distinction is not a part of the lexical entry, but instead, derived from the type and configuration of stative arguments.

Most accounts of (2) seek an analysis through topic-comment structure (Jäger, 2001). Kratzer and Selkirk (2007), for instance, propose that EIS is related to the requirement of a syntactically represented topic. This analysis assumes that the weak/strong distinction between the objects in (2b) and (2c) accounts for the alternation, but there are other distinctions between *homework* and *this homework*, and a wider range of arguments is needed to uncover the relevant distinction.

Examples (3–5) examine a wider range of arguments and demonstrate two broad classes of behavior. Statives with mass or bare plural objects block EIS (3), while all other object types license EIS. Statives with bare numeral or weak determiner objects are generally less acceptable, though EIS is possible (4). Statives with weak quantifier, strong determiner, or strong quantifier objects are fully acceptable with EIS (5). This finding argues against the assumption that EIS in (2b) and (2c) results from the weak/strong distinction of objects. Instead, (3–5) make a cut around the quantized/homogeneous distinction, as found between atelic and telic events. States and events, then, are sensitive to the same quantization properties, suggesting they may be more similar than traditionally thought.

Given this similarity, I propose that state and event VPs are composed via the same mechanisms while the distinction between states and events arises from their relationship to their subjects. Event VPs, as properties of events, map subjects to event part-structures; however, state VPs, as properties of states, map states to subject part-structures. I propose that these part-structure mappings are mediated by voice heads which also introduce the subject (Kratzer, 1996). The stative voice head specifies a part-structure mapping between the state and its subject (7). Assuming Kratzer’s (2004) composition of VPs (which maps objects to eventualities through accusative case, (6)) and the existence of stages of individuals (Carlson, 1977), the availability of EIS results from the homogeneity of the VP. When the VP is homogeneous, the state applies to homogeneous stages of the subject (8a). As these stages compose the individual itself, no particular spatiotemporal stage of the individual is acquired and EIS is blocked. When the VP is quantized, the state applies to only a quantized stage of the subject (8b). This quantized stage, as a particular spatiotemporal slice of the individual, guarantees existence.

I also argue that reference to homogeneous or quantized stages of individuals clarifies several other stage-level/individual-level phenomena, including possible temporal modification of individual-level predicates (Percus, 1997) and the triggering of lifetime implicatures

(Musan, 1997).

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--------------|--------|
| (1) | a. John read | *in an hour. | |
| | b. John read literature | *in an hour. | |
| | c. John read the book | in an hour. | |
| (2) | a. Students understand. | | (*EIS) |
| | b. Students understand homework. | | (*EIS) |
| | c. Students understand the homework. | | (EIS) |
| (3) | a. Monkeys live on land/in trees. | | (*EIS) |
| | b. Tycoons own silverware/banks. | | (*EIS) |
| (4) | a. Monkeys live in a/three tree(s). | | (?EIS) |
| | b. Tycoons own a/two bank(s). | | (?EIS) |
| (5) | a. Monkeys live in several/many/the/these/each tree(s). | | (EIS) |
| | b. Tycoons own many/the/this/every bank(s). | | (EIS) |

	Mass Noun/ Bare Plural	Bare Numerals/ Weak Determiners	Strong Determiners/ Weak-Strong Quantifiers
	Bare Plural	*EIS	?EIS
			EIS

$$(6) \quad \llbracket \text{ACC} \rrbracket = \lambda R_{\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle} \lambda x \lambda e [R(x)(e) \ \& \ \underbrace{\forall x' [x' \leq f(x) \rightarrow \exists e' [e' \leq e \ \& \ R(x')(e')]]}_{\text{Mapping to Events}}]$$

$$(7) \quad \llbracket \text{Voices} \rrbracket = \lambda x \lambda s [\text{Holder}(x)(s) \ \& \ \underbrace{\forall s' [s' \leq s \rightarrow \exists x' [x' \leq x \ \& \ \text{Holder}(x')(s')]]}_{\text{Mapping to Objects}}]$$

- (8) a. $\llbracket \text{Students understand homework} \rrbracket =$
 $\lambda s [\text{Holders}(s)(\text{students}) \ \& \ \forall s' [s' \leq s \rightarrow \exists x' [x' \leq \text{students} \ \& \ \text{Holder}(s')(x')]] \ \& \ [\text{understand}(s)(\text{homework}) \ \& \ \forall x' [x' \leq \text{homework} \rightarrow \exists s' [s' \leq s \ \& \ \text{understand}(s')(x')]]]$
- b. $\llbracket \text{Students understand this homework} \rrbracket =$
 $\lambda s [\text{Holders}(s)(\text{students}) \ \& \ \forall s' [s' \leq s \rightarrow \exists x' [x' \leq \text{students} \ \& \ \text{Holder}(s')(x')]] \ \& \ [\text{understand}(s)(\text{this-homework}) \ \& \ \forall x' [x' \leq \text{this-homework} \rightarrow \exists s' [s' \leq s \ \& \ \text{understand}(s')(x')]]]$

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High and Low Applicatives in Slovenian and South Slavic

Tatjana Marvin, University of Ljubljana

1. Introduction

The work on applicatives in the recent years has largely been directed towards providing an essentially syntactic account of the phenomenon, arguing that the applicative argument in multiple object constructions is introduced by the so-called low and high applicative heads in the syntax instead of being licensed through the verb as one of the verb's arguments, Pyllkkänen (2002, 2008) and subsequent work. The *low* applicative head LAppl (e.g. in English, Korean, Japanese, Spanish, Bulgarian, Rumanian) attaches below the verb and semantically denotes a relation between two individuals, (1a), while the *high* applicative head HAppl denotes a relation between an event and an individual and attaches above the verb (e.g. in Albanian, Chaga, Venda, Luganda), (1b).

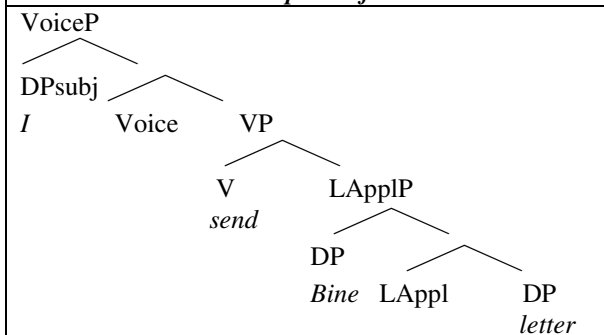
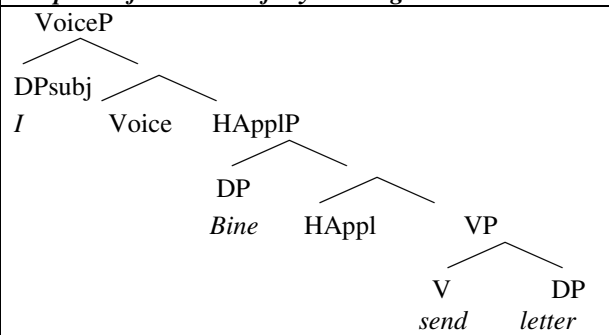
- (1) a. [_{VP} v⁰ [_{HAppIP} IO [_{HAppl}⁰ [_{VP} V⁰ DO]]]]
- b. [_{VP} v⁰ [_{VP} V⁰ [_{LAppIP} IO [_{LAppl}⁰ DO]]]]

This paper presents how applicative construction data in Slovenian (and in other South Slavic languages) cannot be incorporated into Pyllkkänen's approach in its present form. In these languages the two applicative heads cannot freely attach to any VP, instead, the availability of the low and high applicative meanings depends on the inherent semantic meaning of the verb. This calls for a reexamination of the analysis of applicatives in the recent literature in order for it to account for the South Slavic data as well.

2. Slovenian and South Slavic applicative constructions

Firstly, contrary to e.g. English, the double object construction in Slovenian is ambiguous between high and low applicative readings with a majority of verbs (e.g. *send*, *bake*, *cook*, *wash*, *cut*, *kill*, etc.), (2) and the table below:

- (2) Binetu sem poslal pismo
 Bine_{DAT} AUX sent letter_{ACC}

Low applicative: 'I sent Bine a/the letter': the possessive relation between <i>letter</i> and <i>Bine</i> ; <i>Bine is the intended recipient of the letter</i>	High applicative: 'I sent a/the letter for Bine': I sent someone Bine's letter as a favor to Bine; <i>Bine is the recipient of the event of my sending the letter</i>
	

However, no ambiguity as in (2) appears with verbs *dati* 'give', *pokazati* 'show' and *povedati* 'tell', and their derivatives, (3), suggesting that the availability of the low and high applicative meaning depends on the inherent semantic meaning of the verb. This presents a challenge for a Pyllkkänen-type analysis, where languages usually have only high or only low applicatives (or could potentially even have both, as Slovenian), but without any connection between the verb in V and the possibility of having a particular applicative head attached.

- (3) a. Binetu sem dal sok
 Bine_{DAT} AUX given juice_{ACC}
 'I gave Bine some/the juice', *'I gave someone some/the juice for Bine'
- b. Binetu sem pokazal sobo
 Bine_{DAT} AUX shown room_{ACC}
 'I showed Bine a/the room', *'I showed someone a/the room for Bine'
- c. Binetu sem povedal zgodbo
 Bine_{DAT} AUX told story_{ACC}
 'I told Bine a/the story', *'I told someone else a/the story for Bine'

The division into the group of verbs with both high and low applicative meanings and the group with only the low applicative meaning in Slovenian overlaps with Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2008) groups of verbs with respect to the dative alternation – in Slovenian, *throw*-type and *send*-type verbs (with both caused motion and possession meaning) show ambiguity with respect to the two applicative meanings while *give*-type verbs (with only a caused possession meaning) can only have the low applicative meaning.

To keep a Pylkkänen-type analysis for languages such as Slovenian, the incompatibility of the high applicative head and the 'give-type' low applicative meaning should perhaps be attributed to the semantic properties of the high applicative head as a selectional requirement on the caused motion component in the complement VP. On the other hand, if we allow such a possibility to save an otherwise appealing syntactic solution, we import yet another lexical property of vocabulary items (e.g. the caused motion meaning of verb roots) into the syntactic structure to do the work that should ideally be done by the syntax component independently. Slovenian applicative data seems to suggest that syntax-driven approaches still need to rely on the lexical entries' properties and that more linguistic research is needed in this area before declaring the end of argument structure.

3.1. Applicatives in other South Slavic languages

Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian and Bulgarian behave in a similar fashion to Slovenian. Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian allow ambiguity with verbs such as *bake*, *throw* or *send*, but have only the low reading with *give*, *show* or *tell*. In Macedonian, the high applicative reading is more readily obtained with definite direct objects, while in Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian definiteness does not seem to play a role. Bulgarian can display the ambiguity with some verbs, but only with definite direct objects and not as readily as other three languages mentioned. Verbs such as *give*, *show* or *tell* in Bulgarian have only the low applicative reading.

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Syncretism and EPP-repair: the case of SE insertion in Spanish

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In this paper, we propose an analysis for the well-known problem of *se* syncretism in Spanish (and Romance in general). In this language, the clitic *se* is introduced -among other contexts- in anti-causative (1), reflexive (2), passive (3), and impersonal (4) *se* constructions.

Following Landau's (2007) EPP theory, we will show that the occurrence of *se* (or the relevant agreeing clitic: *me*, *te*, and so on) is the result of a PF repair strategy that applies when a v introducing causers and agents lacks a specifier (see also Marantz 1984 and Embick 2004, a.o.). This is stated as in (5).

According to Landau, the EPP property is a purely PF phenomenon that refers to the morphophonological properties of functional heads. A functional category can satisfy this PF requirement in different ways: (a) a phrase with phonological content is merged in its specifier, (b) a head with phonological content is merged with the functional head. In the case at hand, none of these configurations are formed in the Syntax, so the PF component performs a repair strategy consisting in the PF introduction of a D head (the most impoverished one, when possible) that can satisfy this PF condition. This head is realized as *se* in the paradigms under consideration. In other words, *se* syncretism is the result of the particular syntax of the paradigm in (1) and (4) that forces the introduction of a PF clitic in the morphological component for EPP reasons. In this sense, CL insertion can be seen as a case of expletive insertion, attested in other languages like English for the T node.

Under this view, the syncretism problem between, say, the anti-causative alternation and reflexives is purely accounted for in syntactic terms; specifically, the pattern under consideration follows from the nature of the syntax-PF connection, without reference to different lexical-semantic rules (Reinhart & Siloni 2005). What we have to show is that an essentially uniform syntactic analysis can be given for this set of sentences.

Our proposal is very simple: there is no lexical or (post)-syntactic reduction. Indeed, there is no reduction at all. This idea is in consonance with the no tampering condition (Chomsky 2008) and with some previous accounts of the causative alternation (Embick 2004, Alexiadou *et al* 2006, a.o.). What determines the argument reduction effects in (1)-(4) is the set of possible ϕ -feature combinations on T and v . Take for instance the sentence in (1) and compare it with its transitive version in (6).

In both cases, we propose that there is a CAUSE relation introduced by a designated functional category: v [cause]. The difference between (1) and (6) is that the sub-array creating (6) contains an additional DP to be externally merged with this v . We claim that (6) arises when v [cause] and the C-T complex are both ϕ -complete, so the external DP values nominative against C-T and the internal one accusative against v . However, there is an alternative sub-array in which v [cause] lacks ϕ -features completely and there is only one DP in the whole set of sub-arrays. Under this scenario (e.g., 1), v [cause] has to inherit its ϕ -features from the C-T complex (Chomsky 2008). Notice that what we obtain is a situation in which a C-T- v complex is formed and, consequently, the internal DP values its case feature as nominative.

Now consider (2). Here, we have agentive meaning introduced by v [agent], which is also lacking ϕ -features, and consequently the inheritance mechanics applies forming again a C-T- v complex. A possible derivation for the syntax of reflexives, then, involves a sub-array with only one DP (like in (1)). This DP is merged in the internal position of the ROOT and receives nominative case from the C-T- v complex. This DP is also interpreted as the external argument because it values the person features of v associated with the C-T complex.

Let us see (3). Here the same situation as (2) is obtained, but we conjecture that C-T is defective: it only has number feature specification. Then, we get a defective C-T-*v* complex by inheritance. The prediction is that passive *se* cannot occur with subjects that specify a [person] feature. This is correct: no proper noun or full nominative pronouns can occur in contexts of passive *se* constructions, an observation not frequently discussed in the literature: given the fact that the first person pronoun and the proper name *María* have person features, they cannot be valued against functional probes lacking such features.

Finally, consider the case of impersonal *se* in (4). Here, the situation is as follows: C-T is lacking ϕ -features, but *v* is fully specified for them. Following Chomsky (2008), feature inheritance can only take place downwards, so the C-T complex cannot inherit the ϕ -set of *v*[agent] and third person default agreement applies for the C-T complex. The syntax of this construction, then, consists of a sub-array with only one DP, which is merged in the internal argument position. In this position, it values its case feature as accusative via *Agree* with *v*. Nothing is merged at the edge of this *v*. If *pro* is merged, then its case feature cannot be valued against full defective T-C. PRO cannot be inserted, either, because finite tense does not license null case. Interestingly, in languages that license null case in finite clauses, as Brazilian Portuguese, no expletive clitic arises in impersonal constructions. We assume then that the interpretation of impersonal constructions proceeds like in (1) and (3). The feature [cause] or [agent] allows the introduction of a free variable in the semantics that is implicitly interpreted as the external argument. Notice that in reflexive constructions, instead, the C-T-*v* complex forms a full ϕ -chain associated with the internal DP. Then, this DP is interpreted in the same way as the external argument of whatever active *v*: *the nominative argument of a transitive and active verb is interpreted as the external argument of that structure*. The only condition we add to this general fact is that the complex C-T-*v* be ϕ -complete for reflexive interpretation to take place; i.e., this complex has to encode person specification. This follows from the general fact that agents have to be [animate]. So, in passive *se* constructions the internal argument cannot be reflexively interpreted.

If this analysis is on the right track, then all the sentences in (1)-(4) have a common syntactic property: *v*[EXT ARG] has no specifier. The different combinations of functional categories with argument DPs follow from the ϕ -properties of functional heads and the feature inheritance mechanism. In those situations in which the ϕ -composition of functional heads prevents the introduction of an external argument we obtain a violation of the EPP requirement on *v*[EXT ARG] and, then, a clitic is inserted at PF, as required by (5).

To sum up, we propose a new account for *se* insertion in Spanish that is in consonance with the no tampering condition and the assumption that there is no Lexicon as a separate generative component. This is a sound conceptual argument in favor of our analysis. However, we believe that its main virtue is not only conceptual, but empirical: it resolves *se* syncretism in an explicit way by stating and deriving the generalization in (5).

- (1) *Se* hundió el barco con la tormenta. LIT: ‘SE sank the ship with the storm’
- (2) Juan *se* ama. LIT: ‘Juan SE loves’
- (3) *Se* cerraron las puertas para impedir el paso. LIT: ‘SE closed the doors...’
- (4) Nunca *se* castiga a los culpables. LIT: ‘Never SE punishes toacc the culprits’
- (5) At PF a CL is inserted on *v*[EXT ARG], when *v*[EXT ARG] does not have a specifier (i.e., it is not associated with a thematic DP).
- (6) La tormenta hundió el barco. LIT: ‘The storm sank the ship.’
- (7) a. **Se* castigó yo. LIT: ‘SE punished I’
b. **Se* castigó Ana. LIT: ‘SE punished Ana’ (OK with reflexive interpretation)

References: Alexiadou, A., E. Anagnostopoulou & F. Schäfer (2006) “The properties of anticausatives crosslinguistically”. In M. Frascarelli (ed.) *Phases of Interpretation*. Berlin: Mouton; Chomsky, N. 2008. “On phases”. In Otero et al. (eds.) *Foundational Issues in Linguistic Theory* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 134–166;

The Antipassive and its Relationship to Scalar Structure

Introduction: The study of verbal alternations has led to important insights into the nature of the lexicon and the syntax/lexicon interface. This study of the antipassive (AP) alternation in West Greenlandic (1) argues that the ‘path’ or ‘scalar’ structure of an event is important to understanding the relationship between argument structure, event structure, and syntactic structure (Tenny 1994, Krifka 1987, 1992, Hay et al. 1999, Ramchand 2008, Beavers 2008 and others). With the AP alternation, a transitive verb becomes intransitive through the affixation of an AP morpheme (here, the suffix *-si*). The subject appears not in the ergative case but in the absolutive and the verb agrees only with the subject. The object appears not in the absolutive but in an oblique case. In addition, there are aspectual differences, with the transitive having a perfective or resultative interpretation and the AP an imperfective or irresultative interpretation.

A scale or path is an element that provides a measure for the change denoted by an event. In (2a), the direct object NP gives the scale; the event proceeds through the volume of the direct object ‘an apple’; when the apple’s volume reaches zero, the event concludes. Other scales of change can involve spatial paths (the PP ‘along the trail’ in 2b) or even property scales (the adjective phrase ‘clean’ in 2c).

Proposal: I argue that the AP alternation manipulates not the valency of the verb but the scalar structure of the clause; the internal argument changes from being a patient/undergoer NP (in the transitive) to being a path NP (in the AP). In this way, not only can we explain the differences noted above between the transitive and AP, but also we can extend the analysis to explain an interesting puzzle concerning the appearance of the AP suffix. When attached to a stative, intransitive verb, the suffix creates not an AP but an inchoative verb (3). We can unify the AP with the inchoative by appealing to the notion of a path or scale; in both its AP and inchoative use, the suffix has as its complement an element that functions as a path or scale. In the AP, the oblique NP serves this function, while in the inchoative, the stative VP does.

Analysis: I propose that the AP suffix is actually a head (as in Spreng 2006) of an underspecified eventive light verb that has as its complement a path or scalar element (4). In the AP construction (5), the suffix *-si* first merges with a verb to create a complex head; when it does so, the verb it merges with provides the manner component for the event. The oblique NP is the complement to this complex head and functions as a path. In (1b), the oblique NP provides a spatial path, with the NP itself giving the orientation of the path; the activity of stabbing proceeds through a spatial path that is oriented toward, but need not culminate at, the polar bear. The irresultativity of the antipassive results from this particular path structure. The NP receives oblique case from the AP verbal head itself (Spreng 2006, Bok-Bennema 1991).

In the transitive (6), there is no complex head; the internal argument NP functions not as a path but as an undergoer. This NP appears in the specifier of VP, receiving absolutive case from T (not shown). The polar bear undergoes the action of stabbing, so the event is resultative.

In the inchoative (7), the AP suffix does not form a complex head but takes the stative VP as its complement; it is the stative VP, and not an oblique NP, that provides the path or scale. The scale here is a property scale; the event proceeds through the property of being healthy, starting at the lowest point of the scale of not being healthy and moving toward the highest point of being well. The absolutive NP moves from the specifier of the stative verb to the specifier of the antipassive head; adapting ideas from Ramchand (2008), it is both the ‘holder’ of the resulting state and ‘undergoer’ of the event. The stative verb moves to the AP head (not shown).

Conclusion: Scalar/Path structure can determine both the syntactic positioning and semantic interpretation of event participants, providing insight into the nature of some verbal alternations.

Examples

- (1) a. Anguti-up nanuq quqir-jaa
man-ERG polar.bear.ABS shoot-PART.3SG/3SG
The man shot the polar bear.
b. Anguti quqir-si-juq nanu-mik
man.ABS shoot-AP-PART.3SG polar.bear-OBL
The man is shooting/shot at a polar bear.

(from Bittner 1987)

- (2) a. The student ate an apple.
b. The student hiked along the trail.
c. The student wiped the table clean.

- (3) a. Miiqqat piqqip-p-u-t
children healthy-IND-[-TR]-3PL
The children are healthy.
b. Miiqqat piqqis-si-pp-u-t
children healthy-AP-IND-[-TR]-3PL
The children are getting well.

(from Bittner and Hale 1996)

- (4) [VP [V si] [XP PATH]]
(5) [VP [V [V quiqir] si] [NP nanu-mik]]
(6) [VP [NP nanuq] [V' [V quiqir]]]
(7) [VP [NP miqqat] [V' [V si] [VP (miqqat) [V' [V piqqis]]]]]

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Conflation vs. Incorporation processes and the Manner/Result Complementarity

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In this paper, we show how the so-called “Manner/Result Complementarity” (cf. (1)) can be taken as evidence for a syntactic approach to argument structure (see Hale & Keyser (2002), Harley (2005), i.a.). Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2010) claim that the origins of (1) can be found in the constraint in (2). Our syntactic proposal is that the constraint in (2) and its associated descriptive claim in (1) follow from how primitive elements of argument structure are composed in the syntax. In particular, the descriptive observation in (1) can be accounted for in a syntactic model where notions like Manner and Result become grammatically relevant because they can be claimed to be configurationally read off the syntactic argument structure: in particular, we claim that Manner can be read off the adjunction relation to *v* (cf. Mateu 2002f; McIntyre 2004; Embick 2004; Harley 2005, Den Dikken 2008), whereas Result can be read off a Hale&Keyserian version of a SCR (*Small Clause Result*)-like predicate (cf. Hoekstra 1988f; Hale & Keyser 2002; Mateu 2002; Zubizarreta & Oh 2007). Accordingly, (2) can be shown to be derived from the syntactic fact that a single (monomorphemic) root cannot act both as a *v* modifier and as a SC predicate at the same time: i.e., (2) should not then be regarded as an inescapable stipulation (as in RH&L’s (2010) lexical-semantic approach), but can be shown to be derived from the general fact that a root cannot be conflated and incorporated at the same time (in a single verb). In particular, we follow Haugen’s (2009: 260) insightful revisionist claim that “*Incorporation* is conceived of as head-movement (as in Baker 1988; Hale & Keyser 1993), and is instantiated through the syntactic operation of Copy, whereas *Conflation* is instantiated directly through Merge (compounding).” For example, according to Haugen, there are two ways of forming denominal verbs: i.e., via Incorporation or via Conflation. In Incorporation cases, the denominal verb (e.g., see (3a)) is formed via Copying the full matrix of the nominal complement into the null verb (see (3b); cf. Hale & Keyser (1993)). In Conflation cases, the denominal verb (e.g., (4a)) is formed via Compounding a root with the null verb (see (4b); see also Harley (2005), for the analysis of instrumental verbs).

In order to exemplify our abovementioned proposals, we use the verb *climb* (cf. Jackendoff 1985; Mateu 2002; Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2008). This verb has been said to be interesting in that it shows two different uses, a manner use and a result/directionality one: cf. (5a) and (5b), respectively. However, our claim is that the root \sqrt{CLIMB} can occupy the complement position of an unergative structure in (5a) or can occupy the Small Clause-like predicate position of an unaccusative structure in (5b). In addition, it can appear as adjoined to *v* as in (6b). As emphasized above, it is then the syntactic argument structure that tells us how the root is structurally interpreted: so, for example, we claim that the root \sqrt{CLIMB} is interpreted as *Incremental Theme* in (5a’), as *Result* in (5b’) and as *Manner* in (6b). Concerning the transitive use, (7) could be said to have the same conceptual meaning involved in (6a) (see Jackendoff (1985, 1990), for a such a proposal) but our claim is that their compositional semantics is not the same, since they represent two different syntactic construals: (6a) is to be analyzed as involving Manner Conflation in the unaccusative structure in (6b), whereas (7) can be argued to involve the same argument structure involved in *route verbs* like those in (8) (cf. Tenny 1994) which can be claimed to involve Conflation of the root with an agentive light verb: see (8a’). We concur with RH&L’s (2010) conclusion that Manner but not Result is encoded by the transitive verb in (7) (*contra* Jackendoff 1985, 1990). However, we reach the same conclusion from different considerations: while RH&L (2010) bring pragmatic arguments to their point (“the direction of motion in transitive uses <cf. 7> is determined contextually from the combination of the manner, the nature of the reference object, and the intention of the agent”), we offer a purely syntactic argument: i.e., Manner (and not Result) is involved in (7) since the root is merged with an agentive *v*. Crucially, no SC is involved; see also the Romance counterparts of (8) in (9), which express the same basic syntactic structure ([DO X]) in a more transparent way.

To conclude, our focus is not on how the interpretation of the root *pre*determines the linguistic derivation, as depicted in (10a) (e.g., cf. RH&L’s (1998; 2010) “canonical realization rules”). Rather we want to emphasize that it is the position the root occupies in the syntax that determines its *structural* interpretation (as Manner, Result, etc.). The picture we argue for is the one depicted in (10b) (cf. Borer 2005).

Specifiers, Spell-Out and Logical Forms

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The nature of phrase structure and whether arguments are severed from the verb are two major issues in linguistic theory. The goal of this paper is to bring them together.

Schein (1993) presents a number of arguments that full thematic separation is absolutely necessary in the sense that the Agent relation, the Theme relation and the verb are all independent of each other (see also Williams 2005, 2008; though see Kratzer 1996 for a different view for Themes), which suggests a configurational view of argument structure. This is the Neo-Davidsonian analysis in (2) of (1). Here I will focus on one of Schein's original arguments and explore its syntactic ramifications.

Schein (1993) argues that lexical decomposition is not sufficient. He makes this argument by putting a Theme in between the Agent and the verb. If the Agent is not lexically represented on the verb, but rather introduced by structure separate from the verb, the Agent can be the agent of an event that is not that of the verb. Schein introduces one such case involving a distributive quantifier as the Theme. Such a Theme may induce a mereological partition relation between the event of Agent and the event of the verb.

Schein concentrates on cases like (3). The claim is that the mereological relation among events ($e' \leq e$) connects quantification over quarterbacks and their solitary events to the larger event where three video games are the teachers. The logical form is given in (4) and its English paraphrase in (5).

On the assumption that Schein is correct about the semantics, an obvious question is:

What is the syntax that would give you such a logical form? Recently there's been a lot of research into this and related questions; see in particular Kratzer (1996), Marantz (1997), Borer (2005) and Ramchand (2008). In this paper, I'm going to put forward a new suggestion which can be illustrated by looking at (6). I've used abstract labels since they don't matter for these purposes. I also follow Borer (2005) in assuming that the verb is first-merged in the structure and that all arguments are in specifier positions and merged above the VP. However, I will argue that the syntactic structure in (6) suffers from a flaw: It makes use of the concept "specifier". Following Starke (2004) and Chomsky (2010), I will argue that specifiers should be eliminated from the phrase structure ontology and I will argue that this gives us a more transparent syntax-semantics mapping. I suggest that specifiers can be eliminated by revising Transfer/Spell-Out domains. Following Moro (2000), Chomsky (2008) and others, I argue that there is a constraint that bans the merger of two phrases: *XP XP. Thus, when the would-be specifier is going to be merged with the existing phrase, such merger cannot take place. I argue that one way to remedy this is to spell out the complement of B such that only the B head remains. This single B head can then merge with the would-be specifier. The initial derivation of (6) would look as in (7).

An interesting feature of this system is that it will ensure full thematic separation. Each spell-out corresponds to a conjunct at LF. The verb becomes Verb(e), YP becomes Patient(e, YP) and when XP is spelled out, it becomes Agent(e, XP). I will postulate mapping rules that ensure that this is exactly what happens with the arguments as they are mapped from syntax to LF. Conjunction and a process of thematic 'integration' (to get XP into the Agent (e, X) schema) are required as mapping principles, in addition to \exists at the top (Pietroski 2005, 2010). I will argue that this approach is superior to Kratzer (1996) because the semantic composition operation Event Identification is made obsolete. Thus revision of phrase structure makes it possible to reduce the inventory of semantic composition operations.

The current approach argues that we get a better syntactic and semantic analysis of argument relations if we look carefully at both and that we can make do with fewer operations on both sides, which is a virtue from a Minimalist perspective.

Structure and Agency in Sound+Motion Constructions

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Drawing on evidence from periphrastic motion constructions in English, this paper provides new evidence for a structural difference between agentive and non-agentive motion constructions, which are accounted for by a combination of theoretical and structural factors, such as the availability of distinct types of little v^0 , which control argument structure.

At first glance, the sentences in (1) might be considered semantically interchangeable paraphrases, and the difference implied by varying the position of the participial verb *whistling* simply a matter of relatively higher or lower adjunction of the participle, or perhaps reordering via rightward or leftward movement of the adjunct or the PP or even both.

- (1) a. John went whistling down the street.
b. John went down the street whistling.

I propose that the alternation indicates a more significant structural difference between the two, which is highlighted when a non-agentive subject is introduced.

- (2) a. The bullet went whistling through the window.
b. #The bullet went through the window whistling.

The restriction in (2b) is exactly that which is apparent when *whistling* occurs as a simple unergative activity verb: its subject must be agentive, teleologically capable of actively producing that sound. (Harley and Folli 2008)

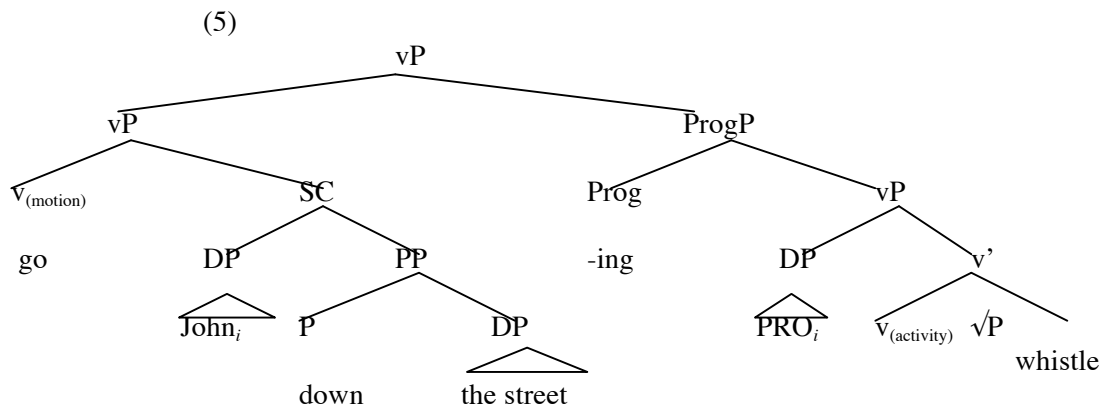
- (3) a. John whistled.
b. #The bullet whistled.

We know that agentive and non-agentive manner-of-motion constructions are different; solo verbs of sound emission can only have a motion interpretation when they occur with a non-agentive subject. (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1991)

- (4) a. #John whistled down the street.
b. The bullet whistled through the window.

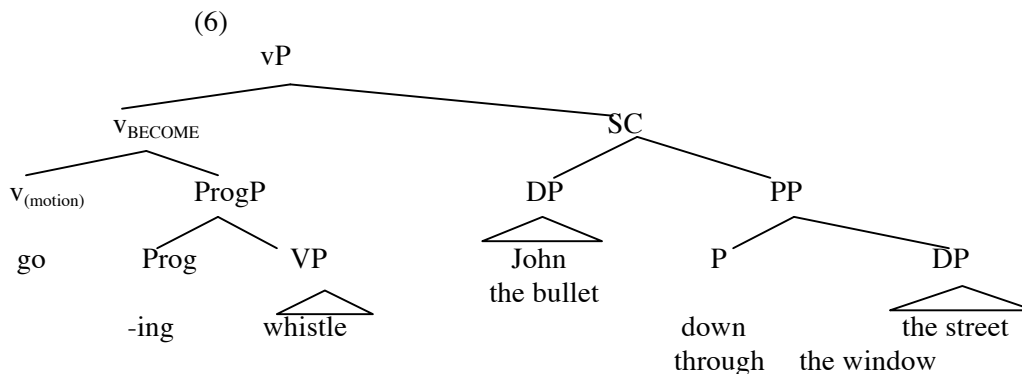
Harley and Folli (2006, 2008) account for the facts in (3-4) by positing two different vP structures for motion and activity predicates respectively. They utilize a small-clause analysis of directed motion structures, which builds on work by Hale and Keyser (1993) and Hoekstra and Mulder (1990). Motion predicates are headed by a v^0 which lacks a specifier, and has a small clause complement which contains a path PP; activity predicates are headed by a different v^0 which obligatorily has a specifier, and may not have a PP complement.

Continuing in this vein, I conclude that the examples in (1b-2b), which display agentivity-based subject restrictions, should receive a standard vP-adjunction analysis, wherein participial *whistling* is dominated by a v^0 that is distinct from that which governs the motion construction. This v^0 requires an agent, presumably a null argument (such as PRO) which is coindexed with the matrix subject. I propose the structure seen in (5).



Because PRO is controlled by the subject of the motion construction, this subject must be an appropriate agent of *whistling*, which explains the ungrammaticality of examples such as (2b); it is parallel to the ungrammaticality of (3b).

The examples in (1-2a), however, have no subject restrictions, implying that they do not involve the unergative v_{activity} in their representation, since *whistling* has no impact upon argument selection. Rather, they behave exactly like typical motion constructions headed by ‘go’. Following Zubizarreta and Oh’s (2004) analysis for manner modifiers in serial verb constructions in Korean, I propose an analysis where *go* inhabits v^0 , and *whistling* is a manner-like modifier adjoined directly to v^0 , crucially lacking its own activity vP, as shown in (6).



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