

Phases class IV

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Does movement Go through vP and CP edge?

- All-stranding at vP and CP in East Derry English:
- What did he [vP **all** do ___ in Derry]?
- What did he say [CP **all** that he did ___ in Derry]?
- What did he [vP **all** say [CP that he did ___ in Derry]]?
- (Henry 2012:31)

Reconstruction to intermediate vP (Legate 2003) - showing passive v a phase head

- [At which of the parties that he_i invited $Mary_j$ to] was every man_i \checkmark introduced to her_j *
- * [At which of the parties that he_i invited $Mary_i$ to] was she_j * introduced to every man_i * ?
- Clauses with a wh-phrase must reconstruct below every man/woman in order for he/she to be bound, and above Mary/John for the construction to obey Condition C.

QR, AC and VP

- ACD resolution via QR (Fox 1995)
- Infinite regress
- I visited every city that you did ~~visit every city [that you did visit every city [that you....~~
- Need an antecedent with no DP and RC (RC late insertion)
- I <sup>←
QR of Every City</sup> every city visited t [that you did visited t]
- How do we know QR is vP

QR to vP

- Negative polarity
- Mary didn't [vp introduce John to [DP anyone you did [vP2e]]].
- Scope
- Some woman [vp gave John [DP every message you did [vP2 e]]].

Agreement

- Examine PIC to account for Agreement
- Since we now have CP and vP how do they Spell out respective to each other.

PIC revised

- The domain of H is not accessible to operations outside HP only H and its edge are accessible to such operations. STRONGPIC/PIC1 “Minimalist Inquiries”
- The domain of H is not accessible to operations at ZP only H and its edge are accessible to such operations. WEAKPIC/PIC2 “Derivation by phase”

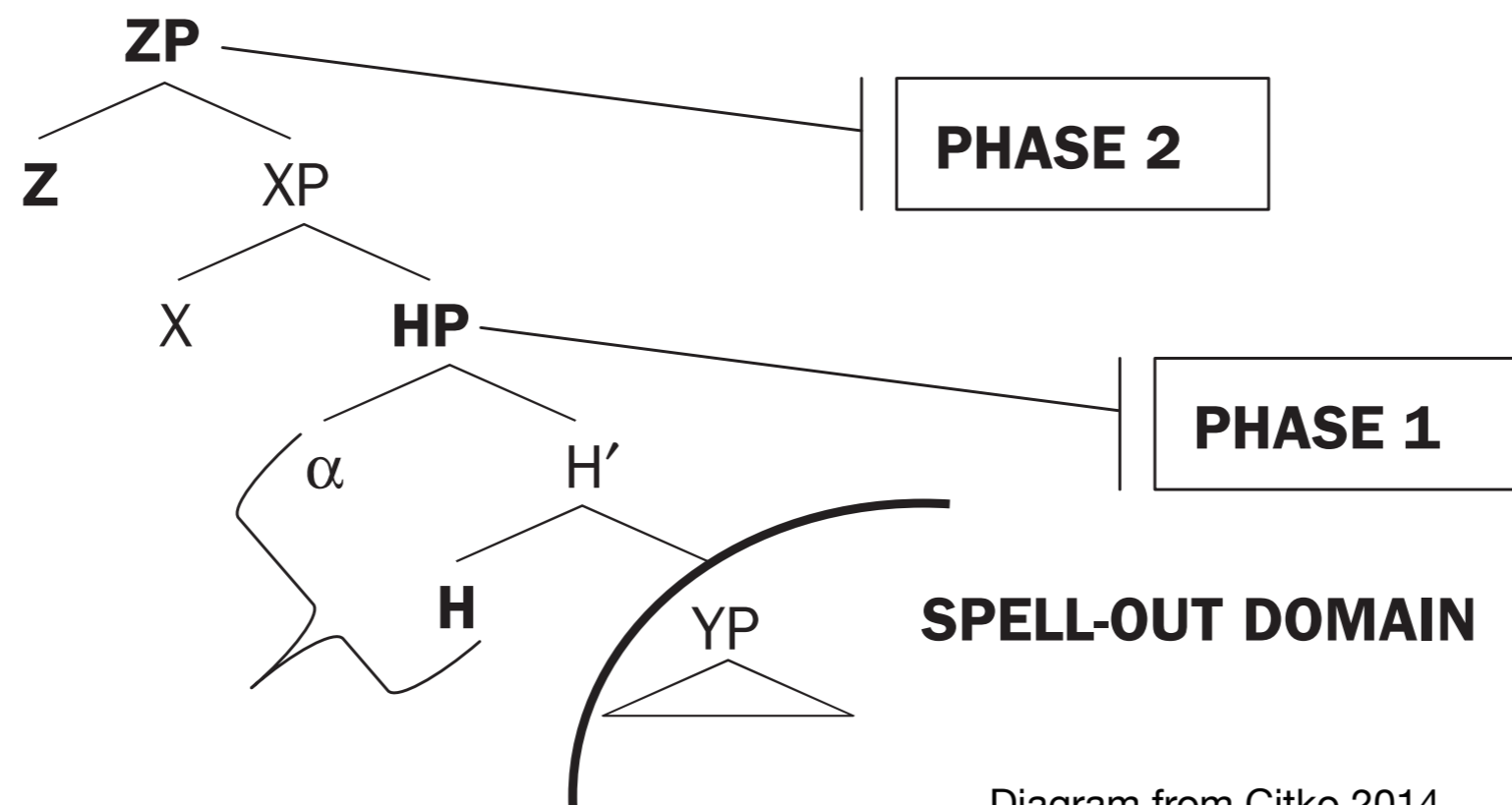
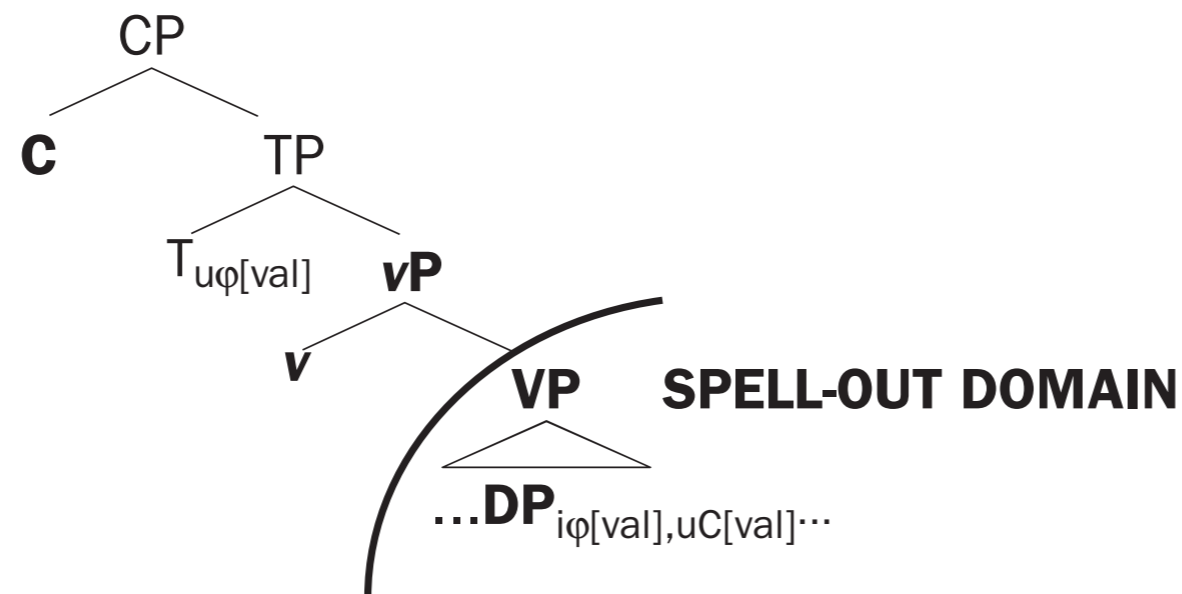
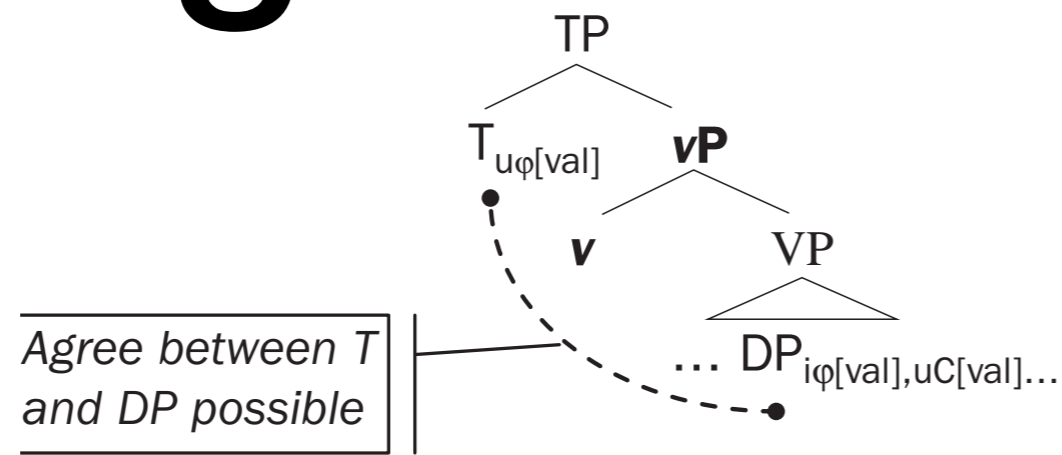


Diagram from Citko 2014

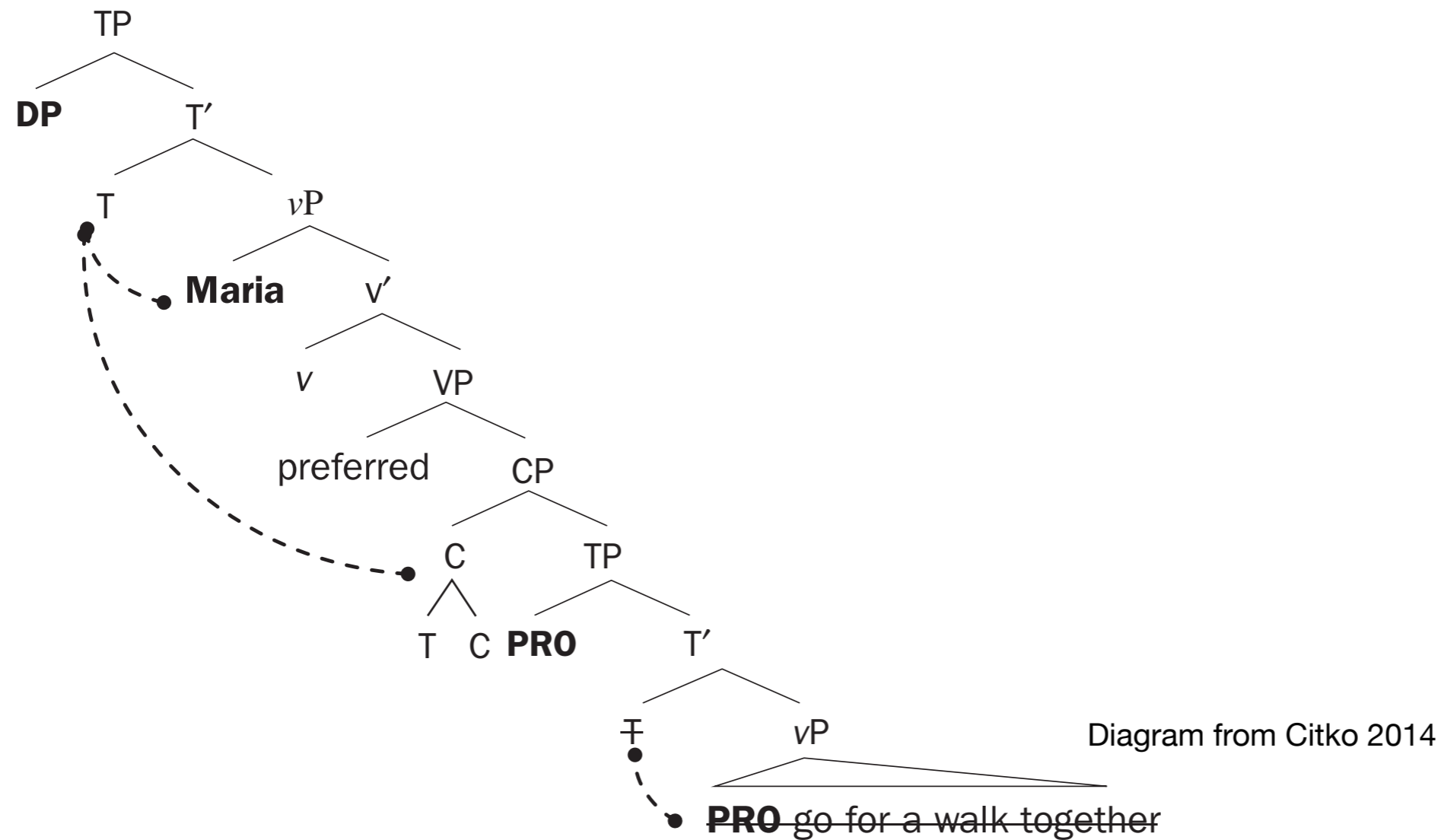
Agreement



- Henni höfðu leiðstPeir. [Icelandic]
her.DAT had.3PLbored.at they.NOM
‘She had found them boring.’ (Sigurðsson2002: 692)
- Marii podobała się ta książka. (Polish Citko 2014)
Maria.DAT please. REFL this book.NOM
‘Maria liked this book.’

Diagram from Citko 2014

Partial control Landau 2000



- Maria₁ preferred [PRO₁+to go for a walk together]
- Partial control - allows plural PRO (together)

Full control Landau 2000

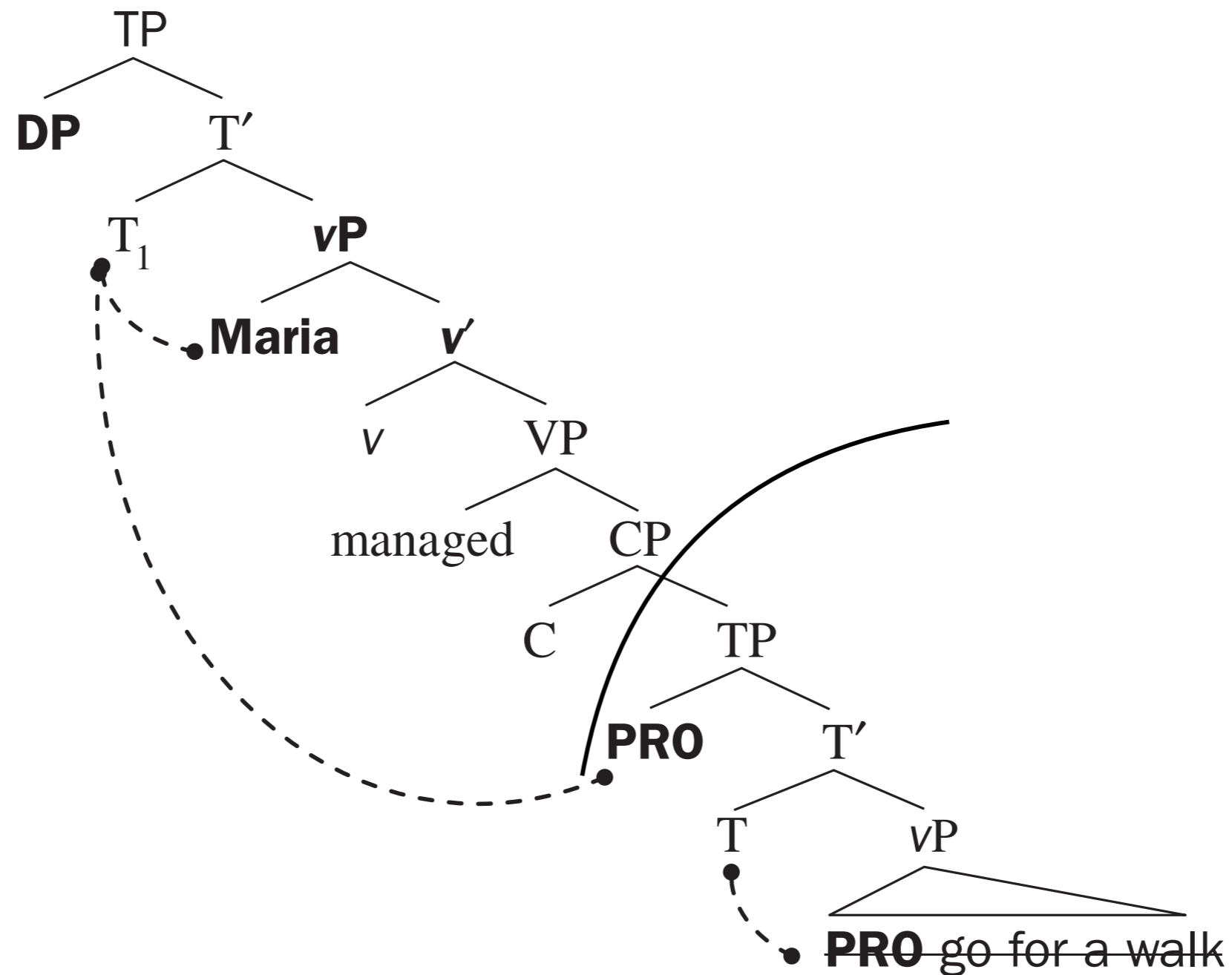


Diagram from Citko 2014

- . Maria₁ managed [PRO₁ to go for a walk].

Control and PIC

- PIC needs to be modified to allow Agree violating PIC if Goal has interpretable features Landau 2000
- Problematic
 - Transfer and PIC are disjoint
 - PIC more a condition on Merge (Internal and External)

Long Distance Agreement

- enir [užā magalu bāc'ruḷi] b-iyxo.
Mother [boy bread.III.ABS ate] III-know
The mother knows [the boy ate the bread].
'The mother knows the boy ate the bread.' (Polinsky & Potsdam2001: 584)
- Agreement between matrix verb and embedded object in tensed clause
- LDA either PIC needs revising
- Or there is movement going on here

What is a phase head

- Rigid Lexicalist approach
- C,v possibly others like D and P are phase heads
- This means that the Lexicon has an entry for C with a featureal description that licenses it as a phase.
- Syntactic computation is terminated via feature.

Is phrase structure fixed

- This works on the assumption that phrase structure is fixed
 - A clause is always a CP
 - A predicate, verbal phrase is always a vP
 - A nominal is always a DP

Connection to C -selection

- Clauses have a fixed spine
 - C - T - v
- Nominals too, albeit with more variation
 - D - n - N
- Interaction with Category selection:
- C selects T, T selects v
- Even if we get rid of T as a projection of C, C selects v, etc

C selection

- C selection is a Lexical property sensitive syntactic labels
- A given head X C selects an YP with a label Y.
- If we have dynamic phrases (not phases) then C selection needs to be also extended

Lexical/extended Domain

- The notion of one extended domain is that a given Lexical category, V, N have a set of functional projections that

Bošković 2014

- contextual approach to phasehood whereby the highest phrase in the extended projection of all lexical categories functions as a phase.
- Propositinal definition of phase hood breaks down
- Especially once we have DP phases, but even CP variation based on propositionality, Chomsky claims
 - There seemed [to have arrived someone] Not phase, non finite T
 - It seemed [someone had arrived.] A phase, finite T.
- But propositionality of each embedded clause is the same.

Every Lexical projection is phase

- the highest phrase in the extended projection of a lexical category that functions as a phase.

Ellipsis

- Betsy has been being hassled by the police, and Peter
- a. has too.
- b. has been too.
- c. *has been being too (Sag 1976:29)
- This is exactly what is expected under the current analysis.
- [TP Peter_k has_i [VP_{f1} t_i [AspectP₁ be_j+en [VP_{f2} t_j [AspectP₂ ing [VP_{f3} be [VP hassled t_k by the police]]]]]]]]

Passive vs Active

- John must be hassling the police, and Peter must be too.
- John must be hassled by the police, and Peter must be too.
- Peter must be [passive [VP main verb]]

Voice mismatches (Merchant 2008)

- The problem was to have been looked into, but obviously nobody did [vP-active [~~VP look into~~]]
- Complement of v is deleted since non-identical v's cannot elide (vpassive~vactive)

Pseudogapping

- Pseudogapping (where there is focus movement of inner argument) does not allow voice mismatches
- *Roses were brought by some, and others did lilies.
- Cannot have the structure below since mismatched v's cannot elide
- *Roses were brought by some, and others did lilies [~~vP active [VP bring]]~~
- But why should vP elide? v is a phase head.

What is elided

- In pseudo gapping there is more structure - inner argument is focused in low FocP - this is the phase head
 - . . . others did [FocP lilies [~~vP-active~~ [~~VP bring~~]]]
- That is why it is bad
- vP ellipsis does to have a focus head since no focus
 - obviously nobody did [vP-active [VP ~~look into~~]]

No fixed null heads

- Bošković 2014 argues that there are no null fixed heads - i.e. head that somehow do not impact existing structure, morphologically or in the case of focus information structure wise.
- So in in vP ellipsis there is no null focus head above v since there is no focus, or to be more precise contrast is always on the subject in Spec T.

No fixed null heads

Consequences

- In some cases we see as if a whole phrase is elided not just the complement.
- Extraction interaction with ellipsis

Sluicing and extraction

- movement out of ellipsis sites must be possible, including A'-movement, sluicing
- They arrested someone, but I don't know [CP whoi C [IP they arrested ti]].

Japanese

- Hanako-wa [CP zibun-no teian-ga saiyoosareru to]
Hanako-TOP self-GEN proposal-NOM accepted.be that
omotteiru ga, Taro-wa omotte inai
think though Taro-TOP think not
'Hanako_i thinks that her_i proposal will be accepted, but
Taro_j does not think ~~that her_i/his_j proposal will be
accepted.~~'
- This is ellipsis since sloppy strict readings
- But CP is deleted

Phase head ellipsis

- IF whole CP is deleted and
- No spurious empty heads
- Then we can elide a phase head
- Bošković 2014 claims this accounts for lack of extraction in Japanese CP ellipsis

Extraction out of elided CP not possible

- *Hon-o_i Taroo-wa [CP Hanako-ga t_i katta to] itta ga,
book-ACC Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM bought that said though
zassi-o_j Ziroo-wa itta.
magazine-ACC Ziroo-wa said
'Taro said that Hanako bought a book, but Ziro said that she
bought a magazine.'
- Scrambling not possible from null CP, possible in non null

Why movement out of elided CP out

- Once higher phase head is merged (PIC-weak) lower phase head active
 - Either assigns PF deletion to its complement
 - Or is slated for PF deletion as a whole
- The latter freezes PF operations such as move

Not all movement frozen

- Ik wou hem dat boek helemaal niet geven, maar ik moest
I wanted him that book at.all not give but I must.PAST
~~[hem dat boek geven]~~.
him that book give
'I didn't want to give him that book at all, but I had to.'
- Analyzes as T complement deletion (Aelbrecht 2010:51),
not
- Modal complement deletion

TP complement deletion

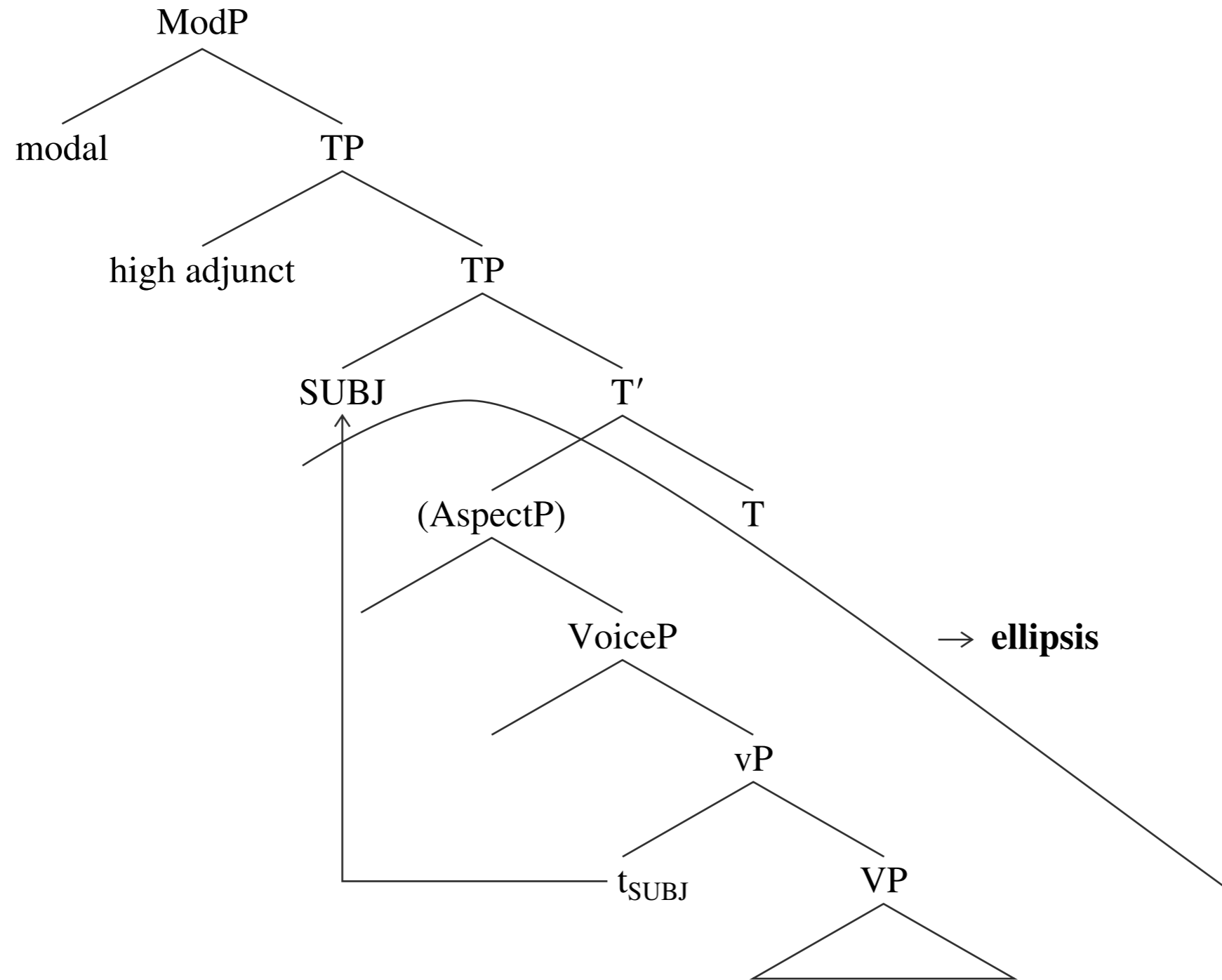
- A: Gaat er iemand naar het feestje morgen?
goes there someone to the party tomorrow
'Is anyone going to the party tomorrow?'
- B: Er moet toch [iemand[naar het feestje gaan]].
there must still someone to the party go
'Well, SOMEONE has to.'
- Someone is in SPecT, still adjunct of TP (Aelbrecht 2010:56)

Wh move not allowed

- *Ik weet niet wie Thomas moet uitnodigen, maar ik weet wel wie hij niet mag.
I know not who Thomas must invite but I knowAFF who he not
is.allowed
'I don't know who Thomas HAS to invite, but I do know who he
isn't ALLOWED to.'(Aelbrecht 2010:128)

Diagram

Albrecht 2010



A-move allowed since top phase head not there yet, no PF freezing

Ellipsis and phases

PIC

- One problem how do we avoid PIC when ellipsis target multiple embedded phases
- I thought it appears that John seems to suspect that Susan sneezed and so did Bob [think it appears...]
- v head of think has e feature
- But what about all the embedded phases - do they all have E features?
 - If not then they cannot have PF deletion, PIC prevents it
 - If they do then why we cannot have spotty ellipsis
 - *I said that Susan thinks Bob left and so did Ken ~~say that Susan think~~
~~Bob left~~

Timing

- Multiple phases require precise timing when
 - P/EPP edge features are triggered
 - Ellipsis freezes phase head
- For Bošković 2014 to work Ellipsis needs to precede cyclic move

When does cyclic move occur

- There is problem with this analysis
 - Cyclic move like any other needs to be structure building
 - Spec-CP licensed prior to next phase head being in structure
 - EPP/P feature needs to be uninterpretable - those need to be checked ASAP

Look Ahead

- Look ahead is a problem in derivational systems where operation in cycle n is motivated by cycles $n+x$
- Cyclic move
 - Choice of head with P/EPP features in fixed phase head system
 - In Bošković 2014 the problem is even more acute since a phase head is only known after phase is built
 - No tampering violated if we add features later