University of Leipzig, Department of Linguistics
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Syntax of the noun phrase

Martin Salzmann – martin.salzmann@uni-leipzig.de
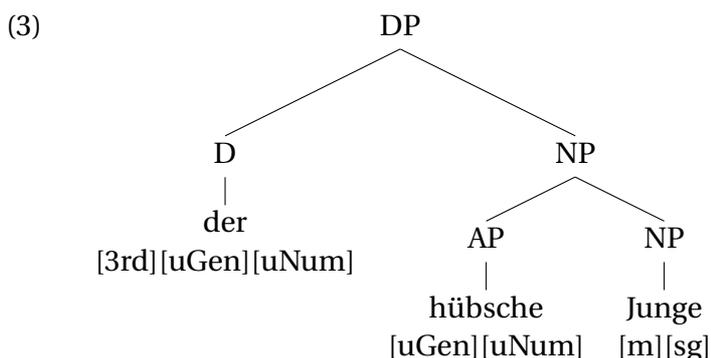`www.martinsalzmann.com/teaching.htm#2016-17NP`

1 Danon (2011): Concord

- Why is concord relevant/interesting?
    - a kind of agreement, but also somewhat different from agreement: spreading; in the case of Case, what spreads/is copied is not an inherent feature of N
    - can it be handled by means of Agree or is a new/different mechanism required?
    - what are the implications for the theory of Agree (upward, downward, valuation vs. checking vs. feature sharing)?
    - what are the implications for the theory of Case? cf. traditional case theory vs. dependent case
    - what are the implications for phase theory?

1.1 Issues for the standard Agree model (Chomsky 2000, 2001)

(1)   Agree
    a.   probe c-commands goal
    b.   probe and goal have matching features
    c.   feature of probe is unvalued and uninterpretable, feature of goal is valued and interpretable
    d.   minimality and locality
    e.   Agree results in ϕ-feature valuation
    f.   goal must have a ϕ-complete set of features to delete the uF on the probe
    g.   case is a side effect of ϕ-feature valuation

- the interpretable features of the DP do not all originate on D:
    - gender is an inherent feature of N
    - number is an inherent feature of N (alternatively, associated with a Number-projection)
    - person is associated with D (cf. demonstratives that encode proximative vs. obviative); cf. also the generalization that concord never involves person, which follows if [person] is above the other features/heads within DP

(2)   der   hübsche   Junge
      the.m.sg handsome.m.sg boy.m.sg
      'the handsome boy'

(3)

```
                        DP
                       /  \
                      /    \
                     D      NP
                     |     /  \
                    der   /    \
              [3rd][uGen][uNum] \
                         AP      NP
                         |       |
                      hübsche  Junge
                   [uGen][uNum] [m][sg]
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- problem: interpretability: inherent vs. probe features
    - N: interpretable gender and number
    - D: interpretable person; uninterpretable gender and number (probe features)
    - → there is no ϕ-complete probe for v/T (perhaps not so detrimental given the by now large bulk of work on independently probing features, cf. Béjar and Řezáč 2009)!
    - → D might intervene for Agree T/v-N

1.2 Feature Sharing: Frampton and Gutmann (2006), Pesetsky and Torrego (2007)

- feature sharing unifies two feature occurrences into two instances of one shared formal object
- goal need not carry a valued feature: Agree between two unvalued features
- feature valuation is independent of interpretability: interpretability is determined at the interface
- indirect feature valuation through transitivity: participle agrees with the pronoun w.r.t. phi- and Case-features; the Case value is obtained indirectly later through Agree v-DP

(4)   We expect them-ACC.PL to have been seen-ACC.PL

- feature-sharing within NP:
    - N: valued gender, number
    - A: valued gender, number
    - D: valued gender, number, person → complete ϕ-set
    - v/T acquires these features from D via Agree

- note that ϕ-completeness must be relativized to the type of probe:
    - A: only gender, number
    - T: person, number (gender???)

- cross-linguistic generalization: concord never involves person
    - follows given the assumed feature-specification: A only has [gender][number]
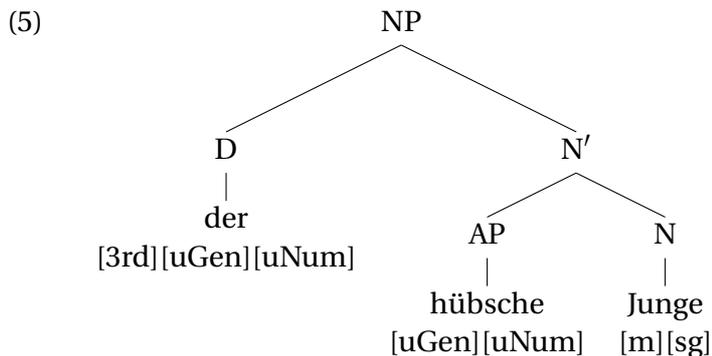   - still, one has to stipulate that heads below D cannot bear [uPerson]

1.3 Case

- when does Case assignment apply?
    - with ϕ-complete goals
    - with person (but: multiple person agreement in Bantu)
    - → unclear thus if case is a by-product of ϕ-Agree

- problem: the activity condition!
    - if N has no Case-feature, it should be invisible for Agree with A/D w.r.t. ϕ-features
    - if D agrees with N w.r.t. Case, D should be deactivated and thus invisible for Agree with v/T

- if case is a side effect of Agree, it is not quite clear how this works in concord (which features lead to Case valuation? just person or only a ϕ-complete set?)
- if Case is simply an [uF] on DP, it unvolves upwards probing
- feature sharing provides the solution:
    - N bears [uCase]
    - A bears [uCase]
    - D bears [uCase]
    - feature sharing within DP leads to a shared feature without a value; the value is later provided by v/T

1.4 Discussion

1.4.1 What about upward Agree?

- crucial difference:
  - goal c-commands the probe
  - goal has iF, probe uF

- applied to concord:
  - N: might find Case on D
  - A: cannot look down → cannot find [gender][number] above it
  - D: cannot look down → cannot find [gender][number] above it
  - → concord in ϕ-features seems difficult to derive

- potential advantages
  - adjectival inflection depends on a feature on D → must be [uStrength] on A (cannot be uF on D as it would go unchecked in the absence of an AP) → must be upward probing, like case
  - definiteness agreement (e.g. Hebrew): if [def] is a feature of D only, A and N must have upward probing [udef] (but cf. Danon (2008) for the assumption, that [def] is an inherent feature of N ...)

1.4.2 what about the NP-structure?

(5)

```
                    NP
           ┌─────────┴─────────┐
           D                   N′
           │           ┌───────┴───────┐
          der          AP              N
      [3rd][uGen][uNum] │              │
                      hübsche        Junge
                    [uGen][uNum]     [m][sg]
```

- A and D Agree with N
- later T/v Agree with, well N and D in separate Agree operations?
- problem: collecting all features on N so that later only Agree v/T–N is necessary would require an [uPerson] on N, but that would not only require upward Agree, it would also be in conflict with the generalization that concord never involves [person]
- alternative (suggested by Yuriy): T/v targets D as it is the only element that bears all features so that because of ϕ-completeness the NP can be skipped (as it has fewer features than D) → works technically, but may be in conflict with our intuition that agreement with the noun phrase involves agreement with the entire noun phrase rather than a sub-constituent
- → concord thus seems more difficult under the NP-hypothesis

1.4.3 Phase theory

- problem: the available approaches to concord are incompatible with phase-theory (even the weak version, according to which the complement of a phase-head becomes inaccessible once the next higher phase-head is merged) iff D is a phase head

  - feature-sharing: NP must be accessible for v/T for Case-assignment (at the very least, it must still be accessible for D when it Case-agres with v/T)
  - concord via multiple Agree (Assmann et al. (2014): v agrees in Case- and ϕ-features simultaneously with all DP-constituents (D, A, N): the complement of the phase-head D must still be accessible

$\rightarrow$ consequence: Agree is not sensitive to the PIC (Bošković 2007

- alternative: feature-checking
  - requires duplication of features on all DP-internal heads above N: have a probe feature that checks features on lower heads and a feature with the same value that needs to be checked
  - one has to enforce that probe- and goal-features have the same value

1.4.4 Case theory

- if Case is handled by means of Agree, Case concord can be derived relatively straightfor-wardly
- under dependent case, it is quite unclear how DP-internal Case concord can be handled: since A and N are c-commanded by D, one would not expect them to bear the same case ...

1.4.5 Inherent vs. probe features

- the feature-sharing approach blurs the distinction between inherent features (that normally participate in Agree) and probe-features (that are invisible once they have participated in Agree)
- while this is welcome for DP-internal concord, it becomes problematic once N (or some agreement head/D) bears agreement features that result from Agree with a possessor dependent on N: we have to make sure that only the inherent features of N are visible to an outside probe (the agreeing verb takes 3sg, not 1pl):

(6) (biz-im) kitab-ımız
     we-GEN book-1PL.POSS
     'our book'

2 Overview of the texts/topics

2.1 Visibility conditions: Sternefeld (2004)

- certain case exponents on German DP-internal concord depend on the presence of another exponent within the same DP (dat singular, gen singular):

  (7) a. aus Holz-(*e)
           from wood
       b. aus braunem Holz(-e)
           from brown   wood

- challenge: how to derive these facts under post-syntactic morphology?

2.2 Genitive of quantification/quantified nominals: Bošković (2006), Danon (2013)

(8) Pjat' devušek rabotali/rabotalo   tam
     five girls.GEN worked.PL/worked.SG there
     'Five girls worked there'   *Russian*

- challenges:
  - the intuitive head of the noun phrase bears a case different from the entire DP: genitive
  - GOQ is (in most languages) only available if the DP bears a structural Case; the genitive is overwritten if it bears in inherent case (perhaps a phase-problem? the case assigned by Q depends on the case assigned from outside)
  - Such quantified NPs can trigger different kinds of agreement (if the Q-element is singular): singular, plural, semantic agreement, cf. German:

    (9) die Hälfte der   Leute ist/sind   gekommen
         the half   the.GEN people be.3SG/be.3PL come.PTCP
         'Half of the people came.'

  - what about

    (10) die Hälfte von den   Leuten ist/sind   gekommen
          the half   of the.DAT people be.3SG/be.3PL come.PTCP
          'Half of the people came.'

2.3 Possessors: doubling, Case-split

- possessor doubling (Georgi and Salzmann 2011):

  (11) dem   Hans seine Frau ist   gekommen
        the.DAT John his   wife be.3SG come.PTCP
        'John's wife has come.'

  - how is the agreement on the possessive pronoun to be treated (agrees with both the possessor and the possessum)
  - where does the dative Case come from? How to prevent that the Case goes to the possessum rather than the possessor?

- possessor case split in Udmurt (Assmann et al. 2014):
  - possessor normally bears genitive
  - possessor bears ablative if DP is assigned accusative
  - possessor remains within the DP – why the change in Case?

2.4 Expression of definiteness

- double definiteness in Germanic (Schoorlemmer 2012)

  (12) a. hus-et
  house-DEF
  'the house'

  b. det stora hus-et
  DEF big house-DEF
  'the big house'

  – the A seems to intervene - why?
  – why is definiteness expressed twice?
  – relative clauses can trigger either pattern while PP-complements/modifiers require the suffixal pattern - why?
  – how to account for the cross-linguistic variation: no double def in Danish; only a suffixal article in Icelandic, only free-standing def in German/Dutch

- definiteness spreading in Hebrew (Danon 2008)

  (13) ha-mištara ivtexa et hafganat   ha-studentim ha-gdola.
  the-police secured om demonstration the-students the-big
  'The police secured the big student demonstration.'

  – the entire possessed DP is interpreted as definite even though the head noun (*haf-ganat*) crucially cannot be marked as definite (while nouns outside the CS can bear definiteness marking)
  – up to 4 interpretations are possible: both possessor and DP are definite, only DP, only possessor or neither
  – how to account for the various readings, how to account for the syntax-semantics mismatch
  – what are the implications for concord?
  – how to account for the differences between the CS and the free state (of-construction)?

  (14) a. Peters/der   Kinder Buch
  Peter's/the.GEN children book
  'Peter's/the children's book' → def

  c. ein/das Buch eines/des   Kindes
  a/the   book a.GEN/the.GEN child.GEN
  'a/the book of a/the child' → all options

  b. eines Kindes   Buch
  a.GEN child.GEN book
  'the book of a child' → def + indef (=?)

2.5 Languages without articles

- the Boskovic correlations (Bošković 2005, 2008, 2009): languages without articles differ from DP-languages: they have no D-layer, which has drastic consequences
  – LBE

  (15) Lijepe$_1$ je vidio ____$_1$ kuće
  beautiful is seen   houses
  'Beautiful houses, he saw.'   *Serbo-Croatian*

  – adjunct extraction: *From which city did he meet girls?*
  – long-distance scrambling etc.

- what accounts for impossibility of LBE in English-type languages:
  – anti-locality
  – phrase-structure: A selects NP → AP cannot be extracted

- is LBE really AP-extraction or rather some alternative: remnant movement or distributed deletion?

- what are the implications of LBE for Phase theory? cf. Bošković (2016)

- arguments against Boskovic's claims: Pereltsvaig (2007, 2013), Gillon and Armoskaite (2015)

2.6   Order in the noun phrase: Abels and Neeleman (2012)

(16)   *Greenberg's universal 20*
       when any or all of the items (demonstrative, numeral, and descriptive adjective) precede
       the noun, they are always found in that order. If they follow, the order is either the same or
       its exact opposite

- observation: not all logically possible permutations are attested (14 out of 24)
- observation: more orders are attested post-nominally than prenominally
- Cinque (2005): tries to derive the pattern by means of the LCA and massive remnant movement
- proposal: the LCA fails for various reasons
- the Cinque-approach raises non-trivial questions about restrictions on movement
- the restrictions on word order can be derived more parsimoniously:
    – head and complement can be freely ordered
    – only N and projections of N can move

2.7   Different options

- NP-split in German (Ott 2015):

    (17)   Linguisten kenne   ich nur beknackte.
           linguists   know.1SG I   only crazy
           'As for linguists, I only know crazy ones.'

    – is this subextraction, distributed deletion or are we dealing with two independent constituents?

- NP-ellipsis (e.g. Corver and van Koppen 2010, 2011)

    (18)   I like John's picture and you like Mary's.
    – what is the exact size of the elided constituent?
    – is NP-ellipsis PF-deletion or does it involve a silent proform (deep or surface anaphora)?
    – what licenses NP-ellipsis? cf.

        (19)   a.   I like these books and you like those.
               b.   I like this book and you like that *(one).

- predicate inversion in DP (N-of-N-construction, spurious *een*, cf. Bennis et al. 1997)

    (20)   Ein Bär   von einem Mann.
           a   bear of a   man
           'a bear of a man'

    – semantically like: *ein Mann wie ein Bär* ('a man like a bear')

    (21)   a.   die mafia van een politie
                that mafia of   a   police
           b.   *Ik heb   een politie gezien
                 I   have a   police seen

    – the indefinite article does not make any sense

    (22)   [Wat een boeken] heb jij   gelezen!
           what a   books   have you read
           'Boy, did you read a lot/kind of books!'

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