

# CAS LX 522

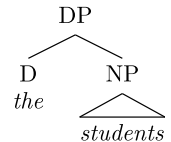
## Syntax I

Week 9b.

$\theta$ -roles in DP, and an introduction to little *n*  
(7.3-7.6)

## The DP

- Last time, we introduced the idea that the nominal elements of the sentences (subjects, objects), are actually DPs, rather than NPs.
- **Determiners:**  
*the, a, some, every,  $\emptyset_{mass}, \emptyset_{proper}, \emptyset_{poss}, \dots$*
- Today, we'll continue our investigations of the internal structure of DPs.



## Deverbal nouns

- The structure inside the DP can be as complicated as inside a clause, as it turns out.
  - 1) Pat broke the vase.
  - 2) Pat's breaking of the vase startled me.
  - 3) The bees startled me.
- It seems to be possible to convert the whole clause *Pat broke the vase* into a "noun" (a DP).

## Deverbal nouns

- What's more, the relationship between *break*, *Pat*, and *the vase* seems to be the same inside the DP as it is in the clause.
  - 1) Pat broke the vase.
  - 2) Pat's breaking of the vase made me angry.
    - *Pat* is an Agent, *the vase* is a Theme.
  - 3) Pat danced.
  - 4) Pat's dancing startled me.
- Just as the verb *break* assigns  $\theta$ -roles, it seems as if the nominalized *breaking* assigns the same  $\theta$ -roles. The DP is in a way like a little clause.

## TPs and DPs

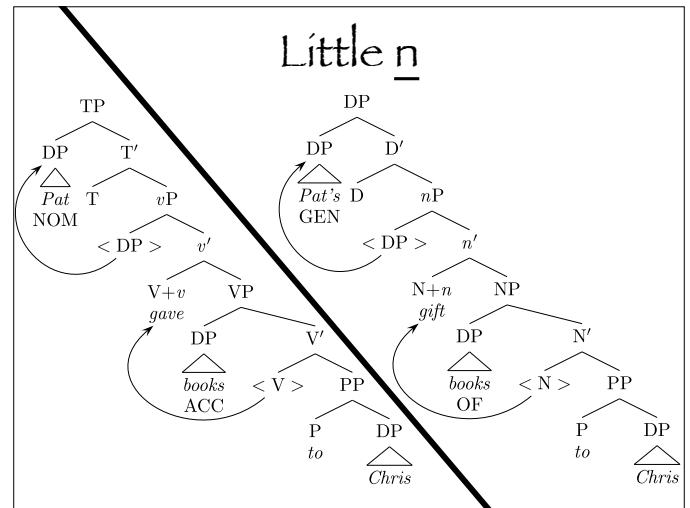
- One difference between clausal DPs and TPs is in the case realized by the arguments.
  - 1) I called him.
    - Agent is nom (from T), Theme is acc (from *v*)
  - 2) My calling of him was unplanned.
    - Agent is gen, Theme looks like a PP introduced by *of*.
- So, the case assigners within a DP are different from the case assigners within a clause.

## Two kinds of N

- Not all N's assign  $\theta$ -roles. Some do, some don't. Generally, the nouns related to a verb that assigns  $\theta$ -roles will assign  $\theta$ -roles. But something like *lunch* doesn't.
  - 1) Pat's lunch was enormous.
  - 2) Pat's eating of lunch was shockingly rapid.
- So, we can either find a DP with a  $\theta$ -role with genitive case, or we can find a possessor with genitive case, in SpecDP.

## Ditransitive N

- Consider the ditransitive verb *give* and the related noun *gift*. Just as *give* is responsible for three  $\theta$ -roles (Agent, Theme, Goal), so can *gift* be:
  - Pat gave an apple to Chris.
  - Pat's gift of an apple to Chris was unexpected.
- The exact same problem arises with ditransitive nouns as arose with ditransitive verbs.
- Binary branching allows for just two arguments in NP. We need an additional projection for the third. Let's try doing this just like we did for verbs...



## DP is like TP

- If we suppose that DP works like TP, we can extend our theoretical machinery in an exactly analogous way.
- Hierarchy of Projections**  
D > n > N
- UTAH**  
DP daughter of nP: Agent  
DP daughter of NP: Theme  
PP daughter of N': Goal

## Case in the DP

- In the DP, the "subject" appears with genitive case.
  - Cf. The subject in TP, which has nominative case, due to a [nom] feature on T.
- So, we say D can have a [gen\*] feature.
  - This checks the genitive case on the subject of the DP, and forces it to move into SpecDP.
- In the DP, the "object" appears with the preposition of.
  - Cf. The object in TP, which has accusative case, due to an [acc] feature on v.
- So, we say that n has an [of] feature.

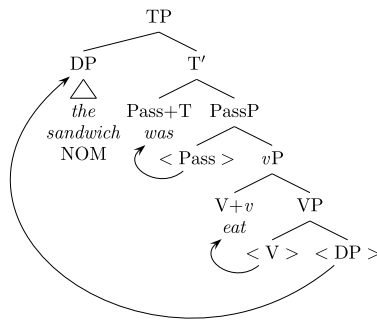
## The of case

- What's the deal with this "of case" that objects in DPs get? Isn't *of* a preposition? Shouldn't *of cheese* in *The gift of cheese to the senator was appreciated* be a PP?
- This *of* is completely meaningless, it acts like a case marker. So, we're going to analyze it as such. *Of cheese* is a DP with the *of* case marking. Just like *Pat's* is a DP with the genitive ('s) case marking.
- Treating *of* as case allows a complete parallel between TP and DP; v has an [acc] feature, n has an [of] feature.

## Passive nouns

- Last week, we looked at the passive construction:
  - The sandwich was eaten
- Here, the Theme *the sandwich* becomes the subject because the strong feature of T forces it to move to SpecTP. The v does not project an Agent.

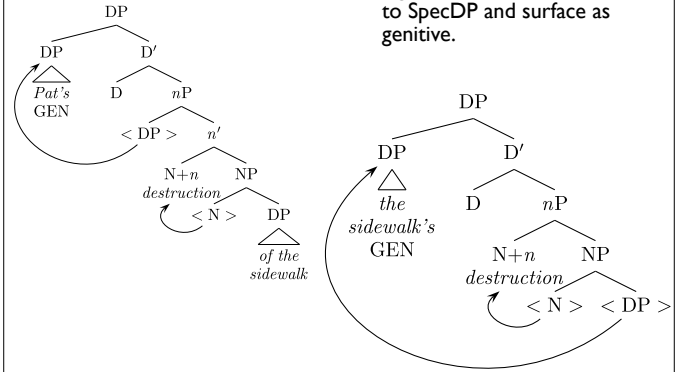
## Passive



- In the passive, *v* does not introduce an Agent, and does not have an [acc] feature.
- T still has a [nom] feature, so it checks the [case] feature on *the sandwich*.
- T has a [uD\*] feature, so the sandwich moves to SpecTP to check it.

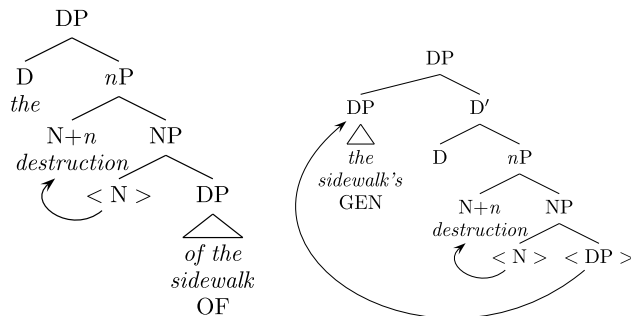
## Passive nouns

Very similar to the passive, if an *n* doesn't introduce an Agent, the Theme can move to SpecDP and surface as genitive.



## Passive nouns

- If the DP has a head *D* like *the* that does not check genitive case, then there can be no Agent (nothing could check its case), and the Theme stays unmoved (its *of*-case checked by *n*).



## Case and $\theta$ -roles

- We now predict the observation Adger makes: Either an Agent or a Theme can show up in the genitive, but only a Theme can show up with *of*-case.

- 1) Adger's analysis of the DP is simple.
- 2) The DP's analysis is simple.
- 3) \*The analysis of Adger is simple.

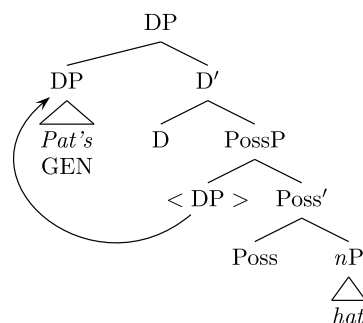
- This is essentially the same as the generalization that, in a clause, either an Agent or a Theme can show up with nominative case, but only a Theme can show up with accusative case.

- 1) I called her.
- 2) She tripped.
- 3) \*Her tripped.
- 4) \*Tripped her.

## Back to possession

- Prior to today, the genitive case was associated with the possessor. So far today we've been looking at deverbal nouns, where genitive case goes to the subject.
- Our new improved UTAH says, among other things:
  - DP daughter of NP: Theme
  - DP daughter of nP: Agent
- Possessors are neither of these, so possessors need to be initially Merged into a distinct place in the structure.

## Possessors



- Adger proposes that Possessors are introduced by a new head, Poss.

- HoP:  $D > (Poss) > n > N$



## Parameters

- Languages differ on whether *n* moves to D, yielding some languages where nouns precede adjectives, and some languages where nouns follow adjectives.
  - Likewise, languages differ on whether *v* moves to T, yielding some languages (e.g., French) where verbs precede adverbs, and some languages (e.g., English) where verbs follow adverbs.
- What governs whether *n* moves to D is the strength of an uninterpretable feature checked on D or *n* by the other. One such feature is [*unum*:].
  - Italian: [*unum*:\*] is strong on null determiners.
  - English: [*unum*:] is weak, even on null determiners.
    - [ $\emptyset$ <sub>indef</sub> Happy students] poured forth from the classroom.

## More Italian, same point

- [<sub>DP</sub> Il mio Gianni] ha finalmente telefonato.  
the my G. has finally called  
'My Gianni has finally called.'
- \*<sub>[DP</sub> Mio Gianni] ha finalmente telefonato.
- [<sub>DP</sub> Gianni mio] ha finalmente telefonato.

## Some Hebrew

- harisat ha-oyev 'et ha-'ir  
destruction the-enemy OM the-city  
'The enemy's destruction of the city'
- tipul ha-Siltonot ba-ba'aya  
treatment the-authorities in-the-problem  
'The authorities' treatment of the problem'
- Construct state. What seems to be happening here? Again, parametric variation.
  - [*gen*] feature of D is weak in Hebrew, strong (when there) in English. But [*unum*:] feature is strong in Hebrew.
  - Rather like VSO languages, where *v* moves to T (like in French, unlike in English), but the subject doesn't move to SpecTP (the [*uD*] feature of T is weak).

## Ditransitive passives

- Consider again *Pat gave Chris books*.
  - Chris was given books.
  - \*Books were given Chris.
- *Pat gave books to Chris*.
  - Books were given to Chris.
  - \*Chris was given books to.

## Where does the by-phrase attach?

- Adverb tests can give us a hint...
  - The sandwich was eaten by Pat today at noon
  - The sandwich was eaten by Pat at noon today
  - The sandwich was eaten today \_ by Pat \_ at noon
  - The sandwich was eaten at noon \_ by Pat \_ today
- The dishes were washed by Pat \_ poorly \_ yesterday
- The dishes were washed poorly by Pat yesterday
- The sandwich was eaten by Pat \_ sloppily \_ at noon
- The sandwich was eaten sloppily by Pat at noon
- Conclusion?

## Japanese Numeral Quantifiers

- Gakusei ga hon o 4-satu katta  
students nom book acc 4-cl bought  
'The students bought four books.'
- ?\*Gakusei ga hon o 4-nin katta  
students nom book acc 4-cl bought
- Gakusei ga 4-nin hon o katta  
students nom 4-cl book acc bought  
'Four students bought books.'
- Gakusei ga kyoo 3-nin kita  
students nom today 3-cl came  
'Three students came today.'
- Hon o Taroo ga 2-satu katta  
books acc T nom 2-cl bought  
'Books, Taroo bought two.'
- Yuube, kuruma ga doroboo ni 2-dai nusum-are-ta  
last night cars nom thief by 2-cl steal-pass-past  
'Last night, two cars were stolen by a thief.' (Miyagawa 1989)

## Italian ne-cliticization

- Maria ha visto Gianni. Maria lo ha visto.  
M has seen G. M him has seen.
- Gianni trascorrerà tre settimane a Milano.  
G spend.fut3sg 3 weeks in M
- Gianni ne trascorrerà tre (\*ne) a Milano.  
G of-them spend.fut3sg 3 in M.
- Alcuni {persone/\*ne} trascorreranno tre settimane a Milano  
some people/of-them spend.fut3pl 3 weeks in M.
- Telefoneranno tre persone domani
- \*Ne teleferanno tre domani
- Ne arriveranno tre domani
- Ne furono arrestati molti.