Appositions and layered derivations

Jan-Wouter Zwart
University of Groningen

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1. Layered derivations

1.1 Merge

(1)   *Minimally needed*
          a. a set of elements N (Numeration)
          b. a procedure yielding relations among the members of N = structure (Merge)

(2)   *Simplest merge* (Zwart 2004, 2008, 2009; Fortuny 2008)
          a. Top-down: split   b. Bottom-up: transfer

          N = { a, b, c }   N = { a, b, c }

              N   *N*   workspace
          >   ⟨ a, { b, c } ⟩   >   { a, b, c }   ∅
              ⟨ a, ⟨ b, { c } ⟩⟩   { b, c }   ⟨ a, ∅ ⟩
              ⟨ a, ⟨ b, ⟨ c, { } ⟩⟩⟩   { c }   ⟨ b, ⟨ a, ∅ ⟩⟩
                                                              { }   ⟨ c, ⟨ b, ⟨ a, ∅ ⟩⟩⟩
          >   ⟨ a, b, c ⟩
                                                          >   ⟨ c, b, a ⟩

(3)   *Unary merge*
          a. each step creates an ordered pair
          b. derivation yields an ordered n-tuple

(4)   *Linear Correspondence Axiom (redefined)*
          ⟨ a, b ⟩ = / a b /   (where slashes indicate a string)

(5)   *Structure and order*
          a. Structure in any domain (syntax, morphology) is always a function of Merge
          b. Order is always established at the interfaces

1.2 Layered derivations

(6)   *Starting point*
          Members of N may be of any type (features, morphemes, words, phrases, clauses)
   e.g. Dutch *vader en moeder-tje* [father and mother-DIM] 'playing house'

(7)

$N_1 = \{$ vader, en, moeder $\}$

yielding ⟨ vader, en, moeder ⟩

spelled out as **vader en moeder** $N_2 = \{$ [vader en moeder], -tje $\}$

yielding ⟨ vader en moeder, tje ⟩

spelled out as **vader en moeder-tje**
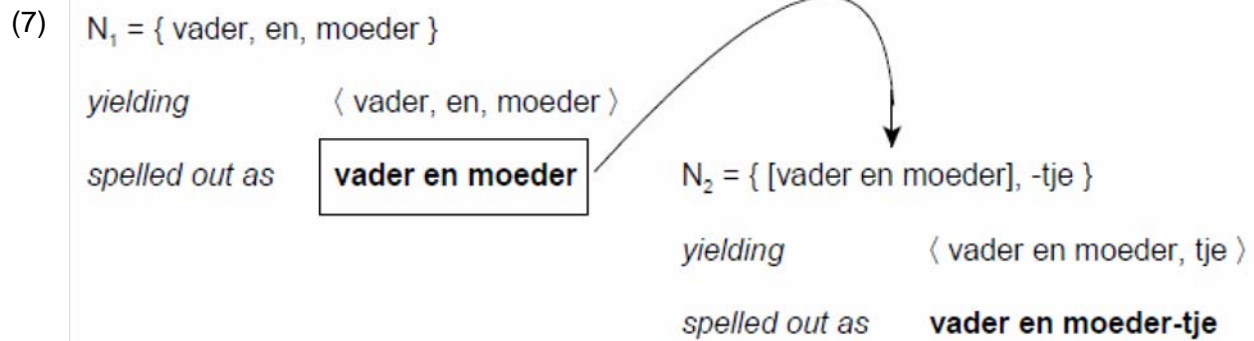
(8)   *(complex) specifiers/adjuncts must stem from a separate derivation layer*

a. $N = \{$ the, man, hit, the, ball $\}$ >   ⟨ the, $\underset{*}{\{ \text{man, hit, the, ball} \}}$ ⟩   **not a constituent*

b. $N = \{$ [the man], hit, the, ball $\}$ >   ⟨ [the man], hit, the, ball $\}$ ⟩

(9)   *Recursion*
A derivation D, containing subderivations (D_i, D_k) with numerations (N_i, N_k), is recursive iff a member of N_i is the output of D_k.

1.3   What happens between derivation layers

(10)   derivation → interfaces → derivation → interfaces
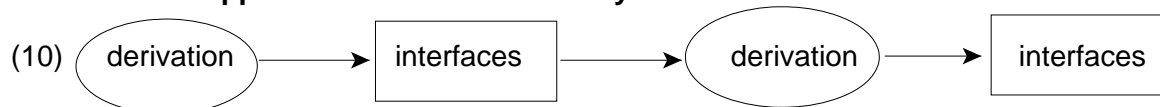
(11)   *Interface effects between derivation layers*
a.   **atomization**: given a derivation D_i with numeration N_i, parts of members of N_i are not merged in D_i (Generalized Integrity)
b.   **linearization**: conversion of structure (ordered N-tuple) to linear order (string) (Zwart 2009)
c.   **conventionalization**: idiosyncratic sound/meaning pairing (e.g. idioms)
d.   **grammaticalization/recategorization/reanalysis**
e.   morphological **realization** of dependency ('morphology after syntax')
f.   **prosodic** effects

(12)   *Generalization*
The interfaces turn the output of a derivation into a single item ('lexical item'), which
a.   potentially has idiosyncratic properties, and
b.   may be used as an atom in another derivation.

(13)   *'Lexical'*
a. α is a **lexical item** iff α is a member of a numeration
b.   P is a **lexical property** iff P is a property of a lexical item
c.   a construction is a lexical item

1.4 Opacity

(14) *Left branch extraction*
- a. **Whose father** did you say [**[e]** left] ?
- b. * **Whose** did you say [[**[e]** father] left] ?

(15) Whose father left

a. N ≠ { whose, father, left }   >   ⟨ whose ⟨ father ⟨ left ⟩ ⟩ ⟩   (cf. (8))

b. N = { [whose father], left }   >   ⟨ [whose father] ⟨ left ⟩ ⟩

(16) a. *whose father* in (14/15) is a **lexical item** in N
b. opacity follows from Lexical Integrity, now generalized (17)

(17) *Generalized Integrity*
Given a derivation D of a Numeration N, operations in D manipulate only members of N.

(18) *Transparency*
a. He said [that Tasman found Tasmania]
b. **What** did he say [Tasman found **[e]**]]

(19) a. phase-theory: (18b) should be bad > edge-hypothesis
b. layered derivations: complement need not be output of separate derivation

(20) N = { he, said, that, Tasman, found, Tasmania }

⟨ he, ⟨ said, ⟨ that, ⟨ Tasman, ⟨ found, Tasmania ⟩⟩⟩⟩⟩

(21) a. [That Tasman found Tasmania] surprised Cook
b. Cook found the Cook Islands [before Tasman found Tasmania]

(22) a. *__What__ did [that Tasman found **[e]**] surprise Cook
b. *__What__ did Cook find the Cook Islands [before Tasman found **[e]**]

> adjuncts/subjects **must** be outputs of separate derivation layers (cf. (8))

1.5 Reanalysis as an interface effect

(23) a. far from simple (adjective)   b. far from home (PP)
(24) a. a far from simple solution   b. *a far from home cowboy

(25) Reanalysis: PP > A

(26) Derivation$_1$ N = { far, from, simple }   >   ⟨ far, from, simple ⟩
Interface   / far from simple / = 'not simple (by far)' = a kind of simple = A

(27) Derivation$_2$ N = { a, [far from simple]$_A$, solution } >   ⟨ a, [far from simple], solution ⟩

2. Appositions

(28)   **Abel Tasman**, *the famous explorer*, found Tasmania

2.1   Atomicity

(29)   a. Abel Tasman **himself** found Tasmania
        b. Abel Tasman didn't **himself** find Tasmania

(30)   a. **Abel Tasman**, *the famous explorer* didn't find the South Land
        b. *****Abel Tasman** didn't *the famous explorer* find the South Land

>   **anchor** and *apposition* are a (complex) unit
>   in subject/adjunct position: they must be outputs of separate derivations
>   in object position?

2.2   Opacity

(31)   a. The VOC ordered Tasman to find **the South Land**, *a nonexisting continent*
        b. **What** did the VOC order Tasman to find **[e]**
        c. ***What** did the VOC order Tasman to find **[e]** *a nonexisting continent*

>   anchor + apposition in object position is also the output of a separate derivation

2.3   Interface effects

(32)   a. atomization: 2.1/2.2
        b. linearization: fixed order
        c. conventionalization: identification/attribution/specification?
        d. grammaticalization/reanalysis: noun phrase juxtaposition > NP + proposition
        e. morphological realization (apposition markers?)
        f. prosody: "comma intonation", more tellingly: echo intonation

(33)   A^2-bel^1 Tas^3-man^2, the^1 fa^2-mous^1 ex^1-plo^3-rer^2, was^2 born^3 in^2 Lut^4-je^1-gast^1

2.4   Heringa's observations (chapter 4)

Apposition does not affect verbal agreement
(34)   **Every explorer**, *Cook, Tasman, Lewis & Clark*, { was/*were } hesitant

>   reanalysis   **NP** + *NP* = **NP**

Apposition ignored in ellipsis interpretation
(35)   Cook lost **his ship**, *the Endeavour*, and so did Tasman

>   same reanalysis

Apposition is not in a selection relation with anything outside the appositive construction

(36) a. The VOC ordered Tasman to find **the South Land**, *a nonexisting continent*
      b. The VOC ordered Tasman to find a nonexisting continent

      > (36b) is *de re* only, (36a) can be *de dicto* as well

Apposition is shielded off from dependencies originating outside the appositive construction

(37) a. * Tasman named the island after Tasman's superior
      b.   Tasman named the island after **Van Diemen**, *Tasman's superior*

      > again follows from the reanalysis at the interface between derivation layers

2.5   The propositional analysis of appositions

Already in Wobbe de Vries (1914-1915), *De typen der mededeeling*, p. 180-181:

> in 'Harke, een beste kerel, had er geen erg in' is de appos.
> ampl., neerkomend op 'hij was een b. k.' (evengoed als 'die
> een b. k. was' daarop neerkomt).

> we see an NP, we interpret a proposition: could this be an interface effect?
   (for example, E-type pronoun not merged, but supplied at the interface)

3.   Tense and appositional opacity

(38) a. **Marianne Vos**, *winnaar van de Giro Donne*, heeft in Haren gereden
          Marianne Vos, winner of the Giro Donne, has in Haren ride:PART

      b. ***Wie** heeft **[e]** *winnaar van de Giro Donne* in Haren gereden ?

(39) a. **Marianne Vos**, *ooit winnaar van de Giro Donne*, heeft in [nu] Haren gereden
          Marianne Vos, winner of the Giro Donne, has [now] in Haren ride:PART

      b. **Wie** heeft **[e]** *ooit winnaar van de Giro Donne* [nu] in Haren gereden ?

Not in object position, except with ECM

(40) a. Ik heb **Marianne Vos** *(ooit) winnaar van de Giro Donne*, [nu] in Haren gezien
          I have   see:PART

      b. ***Wie** heb je *(ooit) winnaar van de Giro Donne*, [nu] in Haren gezien ?

(41) a. Ik heb **Marianne Vos** *(ooit) winnaar van de Giro Donne*, [nu] in Haren zien winnen
          I have   see win

      b. **Wie** heb je *(ooit) winnaar van de Giro Donne*, [nu] in Haren zien winnen ?

> facts suggest that appositions with a temporal marker are **different**, perhaps joined to a different type of anchor
> possible consequence: tense is not a canonical property of appositions