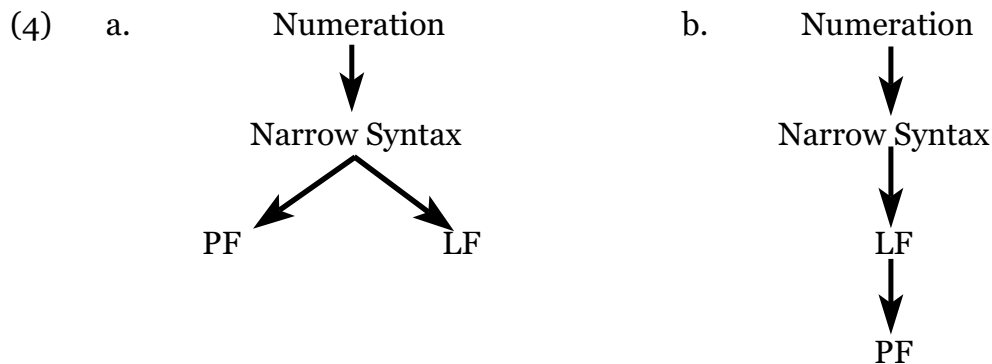


On externalization (PF after LF)

Jan-Wouter Zwart
University of Groningen

Workshop Kerr/Li, Leiden, September 4, 2024

- (1) Three components in a derivation:
a) Numeration, b) Narrow Syntax (Merge), c) Externalization
- (2) Externalization: a) for sound [PF], b) for meaning [LF]
- (3) definitions
 - a. Numeration: set of elements to work with (not just words!)
 - b. Narrow Syntax: just Merge
 - c. PF: includes inflectional morphology, prosody, linearization
 - d. LF: poorly defined; should involve quantification, scope, disco/info (not QR!)



- (5) Arguments for (4b) from:
 - a. agreement
 - b. case
 - c. ellipsis
 - d. binding
 - e. scope facts
 - f. wh-movement
 - g. second position phenomena
- (6) Generalization
Unexpected phenomena are semantically motivated
(where ‘semantics’ includes discourse/information structure)

Agreement

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(7) <i>Swahili</i> (Bokamba 1980:12)</p> <p>ki-jana a-me-anguka
7-youth SU:1-PERF-fall
‘The lad fell.’</p> | <p>(8) <i>Inari Sami</i> (Corbett 2006:146)</p> <p>alma-h kuá’láást-ava/eh onne
man-NOM.PL fish-3DU/3PL today
‘The (two) men are fishing today.’</p> |
|--|--|

>> where does *ad sensum* agreement information enter the derivation? (>LF)

(15) *Marathi* (Pandharipande 1997:287)
 tyālā apghātāt dzakham dzhālī
 3SG:DAT accident:LOC injury:3SG.F happen:PAST:3SG.F
 ‘He suffered an injury in the accident.’

(16) *Icelandic* (Thráinsson 2007:201)

a. Haraldur borðaði fiskinn
 Harald:NOM ate fish:DEF.ACC
 ‘Harald ate the fish.’

b. mig dreymdi illa
 1SG.ACC dreamt badly
 ‘I had a bad dream.’

c. þeim finnst Haraldur skemmtilegur
 3PL.DAT find Harald:NOM interesting:NOM
 ‘They find Harald interesting.’

d. hennar nýtur ekki við lengur
 3SG.F.GEN enjoys NEG with longer
 ‘She is no longer here (to help).’

- (17) traditionally: a function of thematic role assignment
- (18) problem: no evidence that noun phrases “carry” a thematic role (so what is thematic role assignment within minimalism?)
- (19) Talsma (to appear, and simplified)
“thematic roles” are features of the verb, to be valued by argument NPs
- (20) the interpretation that a particular argument values a particular thematic role ought to take place LF (the interpretative component)

sensitivity to animacy/specificity

- (21) *Kham* (Watters 2002:68)
gē:h-**ye** ŋa-**lai** duhp-na-ke-o
ox-ERG I-ACC butt-1SG-PERF-3SG
‘The ox butted me.’
- (22) *Turkish* (Kornfilt 1997:219)
 - a. ben kitab-ı oku-du-m
I book-ACC read-PAST-1SG
‘I read the book.’
 - b. ben kitap oku-du-m
I book read-PAST-1SG
‘I read books.’
- (23) the interpretation that a particular argument is markedly animate/specific ought to take place at LF

Ellipsis

- (24) two approaches:
 - a. generating empty structure, reconstruction at LF
 - b. generating full syntactic structure, failure to spell-out at PF
- (25) a. John graduated before Bill did [_{VP} --]
b. John graduated before Bill graduated
- (26) a. Dulles suspected everyone Angleton did [_{VP} --] >> infinite regress
b. Dulles suspected everyone Angleton suspected
- (27) Tancredi (1992): deaccenting/deletion of the ‘focus related topic’ (FRT)
 - a. (25) focus set = { John, Bill }, FRT = ‘x graduated’
 - b. (26) focus set = { Dulles, Angleton }, FRT = ‘x suspected y’
- (28) how is the distinction focus/FRT made? arguably at LF
- (29) *nonconstituent FRT*
JOHN wrote A PAPER about ellipsis and BILL A BOOK (= x wrote y about ellipsis)
- (30) *additional condition of identity*
Biden believes in himself, even if Harris doesn’t <believe in him>

Binding

- (31) *realizations of reflexivity* (Geniušienė 1987, Schladt 2000)
- reflexive marking on the verb
 - pronominals
 - body part noun phrases
 - dedicated *self*-markers
 - dedicated auxiliaries
 - directional prepositional phrases
 - repetition of the antecedent
- (32) binding theory is not about the distribution of pronominals, but about how to express reflexivity >> where in the model does reflexivity marking belong?
- (33) *Dutch*
Kim was-t haar / zich
Kim wash-3SG 3SG:OBJ / 3SG:REFL
'Kim washes her / herself.'
- (34) *Frisian*
Kim waske-t har
Kim wash-3SG 3SG:OBJ
'Kim washes her/herself.'
- (35) syntax has just an unspecified pronoun (PRON), spellout picks the right form >> reflexivity marked at LF (arguably)

sensitivity to topic status

- (36) a. * He flunked when John cheated (he ≠ John)
b. He usually flunks when John cheats (he = John)
- (37) Bolinger (1977): violate Principle C to re-establish NP as a topic >> topicality marked at LF (arguably)

Scope

- (38) *Dutch*
- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. Het kan niet WAAR zijn | b. Het kan NIET waar zijn |
| it can:SG NEG true be:INF | it can:SG NEG true be:INF |
| 'It can't be true.' (neg > can) | 'It can be false.' (can > neg) |
- (39) a. What did everyone buy? (all > wh)
b. What did EVERYONE buy? (wh > all)
- (40) focusing of neg/QP > narrow scope
>> no syntactic difference: focus feature marked at LF, feeding prosody at PF
- (41) *Kukuya* (Li 2024:160)
- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| a. ndé á-dzwí mi-féme | b. ndé mí-féme ká-dzwí |
| he SU:1.PAST-kill 4-pig | he 4-pig SU:1.PAST-kill |
| 'He killed some pigs.' | 'He killed some PIGS.' |
- (42) (41b) arguably different derivational history > is there ever syntactic focus mvt? (cf. Fanselow 2006)

Wh-movement

- (43) *Bijection principle*
There is a bijective correspondence between variables and operators.
- (44) where do operators and variables come from?
>> internal merge > Form Copy > copy 1 = operator, copy 2 = variable
- (45) a. John read **the book** b. **Which book** did John read **e**
(i.e. *for which x, x a book, John read that book*)
- (46) alternative: merge variable in syntax, add operator at LF
- (47) syntax: John read *x* LF: < [which book], [John read *x*]>
- (48) if so, obviously PF should be after LF

second position phenomena

- (49) periphrastic past = spell-out of VERB (with its features) at PF (Zwart 2017)
>> auxiliary undergoes verb-second, verb movement must be PF
- (50) Welk boek **heef-t** Jan **ge-lez-en** ?
which book AUX:3SG John GE-read-PART
'Which book did John read?'
- (51) *wh-operator triggers verb second*
Welk boek **lees-t** Jan?
which book read-3SG John
'Which book does John read?'

Conclusion

- (52) a. syntax is just merge
b. > LF is the component dealing with
 - focus
 - quantification
 - operator/variable (wh)
 - scope
 - information structure
 - participant features (incl. honorificity)
 - ad sensum phenomena
c. these can all be shown to have an impact on spell-out
d. >> LF must feed PF
- (53) no need to expand clause structure at the left periphery for the stuff in (52b)