

LING 696G: Lecture 2

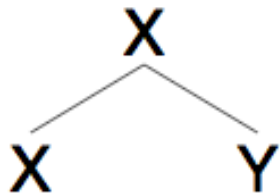
Sandiway Fong

Basics revisited...

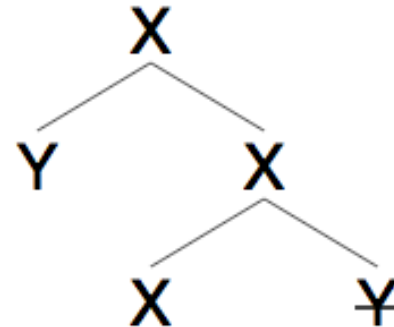
Merge

- Merge is free (Chomsky 2004, 2005, 2013, 2015)
 - no feature-driven movement
- Internal Merge (IM) and External Merge (EM) are free
 - IM and EM are both freely available*

External Merge of X with Y



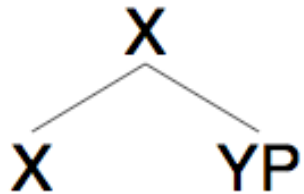
Internal Merge of Y with X



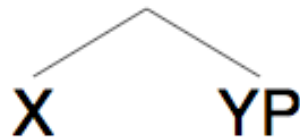
*A Chomsky 2017 lecture (University of Arizona) suggests IM is preferred over EM for minimal search reasons. Also see Shima (2000).

Set Merge: Labeling

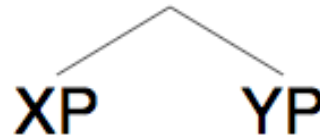
(a) Head X labels



(b) Head X is too weak to label unless strengthened

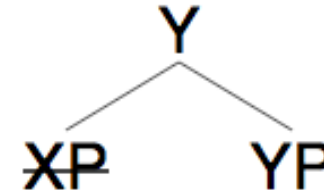


(c) No label



(d) Y labels if XP moves out

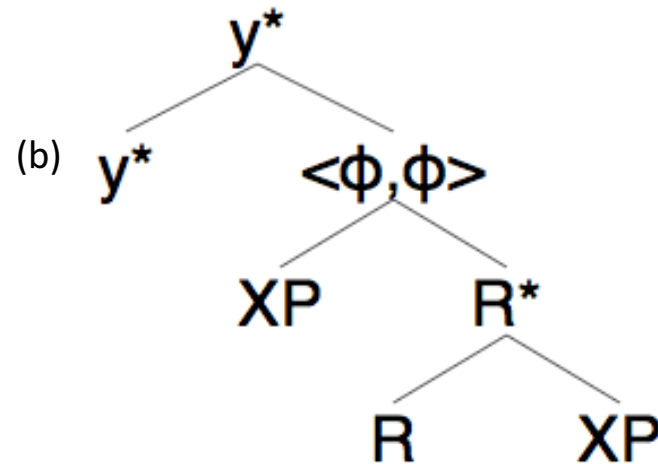
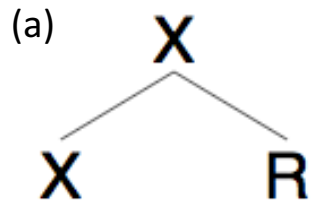
- Not all copies of XP are within this Syntactic Object (SO)
- Y is not weak



- External Set Merge is free
- Internal Set Merge is free

Strengthening

- R is weak
- In (a), categorizer X labels
- In (b), phase head y^* transmits $u\Phi$ (and Case valuing) to R.
 - Agree(R,XP) checks $u\Phi$ on R
 - $\langle\phi,\phi\rangle$ labels, as R and XP have identical ϕ -features
 - strengthened R may label {R,XP} (* represents strengthening)

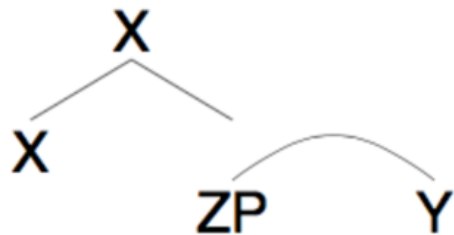


Pair Merge

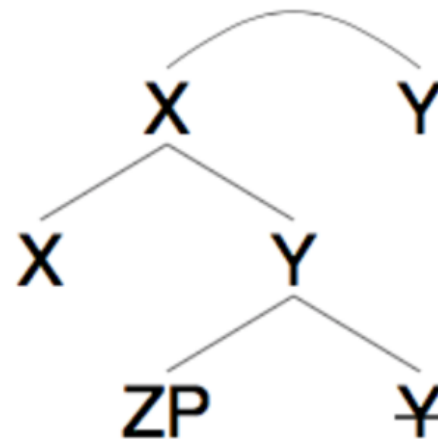
PM is asymmetric Merge

Y is on a separate plane (Y not visible to SELECT, nor AGREE, nor labeling).

(a) Y is externally PM'ed with ZP



(b) Y is internally PM'ed with XP



Internal and external PM are free (cf. Richards 2009, Epstein, Kitahara, & Seely 2016)

Demo first ...

FREEMERGMACHINE

debug: Initial # Merge steps: (1) 1 12 [friend,n3sg,@dP2

Websocket Status: 0... CONNECTED DISCONNECTED

Key: [expand](#)

Example: [friend,n!case,{{me,n},'s},n*!case,{the,d}]

SO: friend, Input: [n!case,{{me,n},'s},n*!case,{the,d}]

1 ▼ esm SO: {friend,n!case}, Input: [{{me,n},'s},n*!case,{the,d}]

1 1 ▼ epm SO: <{{me,n},'s},{friend,n!case}>, Input: [n*!case,{the,d}]

1 1 1 ▼ ism SO: {friend,<{{me,n},'s},{friend,n!case}>}, Input: [n*!case,{the,d}]

1 1 1 1 ▼ esm SO: {{friend,<{{me,n},'s},{friend,n}>},n*!case}, Input: [{{the,d}]

1 1 1 1 1 ▼ epm *end SO: <{{the,d},{friend,<{{me,n},'s},{friend,n}>},n*!case}>

1 1 1 1 2 ▶ ism SO: {<{{me,n},'s},{friend,n}>,{friend,<{{me,n},'s},{friend,n}>},n*!case}}, Input: [{{the,d}]

1 1 1 1 3 ▶ ism SO: {friend,{{friend,<{{me,n},'s},{friend,n}>},n*!case}}, Input: [{{the,d}]

1 1 1 1 4 ▶ ism SO: {{friend,<{{me,n},'s},{friend,n}>},{{friend,<{{me,n},'s},{friend,n}>},n*!case}}, Input: [{{the,d}]

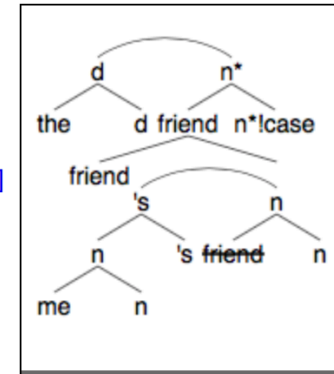
1 1 1 1 5 ▶ esm SO: {{^,n*!case},{the,d}}, Input: []

1 2 ▶ ism SO: {friend,{friend,n!case}}, Input: [{{me,n},'s},n*!case,{the,d}]

1 3 ▶ esm SO: {{friend,n!case},{{me,n},'s}}, Input: [n*!case,{the,d}]

LIs:[friend,n!case,{{me,n},'s},n*!case,{the,d}] Derivation #1			
Step	Branch	Op	SO
1	-	-	friend
2	1	esm	{friend,n!case}
3	1	epm	<{{me,n},'s},{friend,n!case}>
4	1	ism	{friend,<{{me,n},'s},{friend,n!case}>}
5	1	esm	{{friend,<{{me,n},'s},{friend,n}>},n*!case}
6	1	epm	<{{the,d},{friend,<{{me,n},'s},{friend,n}>},n*!case}>

Spellout heads: [the,friend,of,me]
Final output: [the,friend,of,me]



Notes on *The Hunt for a Label* (Oishi, 2015)

- Basic assumptions:
 - Set Merge (SM) + Pair Merge (PM)
 - Root R is visible to LA but too weak to label since it lacks categorial specification
 - Categorizer K is an affix invisible to LA
 - $\langle K, R \rangle$ Pair-Merge complex is identifiable and can label
- Verbal structure:
 - $\langle v^*, V \rangle P: \{EA, \{\langle v^*, V \rangle, \{IA, \{V, IA\}\}\}\}$
- Nominal structure:
 - follows verbal structure as far as possible
 - articles, demonstratives and Saxon genitive NPs are all instances of XP (not heads)
 - indefinites have no D

SM and PM

- $\{n, \text{author}\} \Rightarrow \{\langle n, \text{author} \rangle, \text{author}\}$
- $\langle n, \text{author} \rangle$

(Impossible to create)

(PM prior to SM)

Case for PM of the subject of NP

- {n,Book} => {<n,Book>,Book}
- {the/that/John's, {<n,Book>,Book}} (SM)
- <the/that/John's, {<n,Book>,Book}> (PM)
- Prenominal XPs can't move:
 - *the will sell {the,{<n,book>,book}} well
 - SM: search algorithm can't target spec?
 - PM: adjunct not visible to search
- Pied-pipe {<n,R>,..} when moved:
 - which book did John read which book
 - *which did John read which book
- Label should be<n,R>: PM derivation preferred

Subject of NP

- *the enemy's destruction of the city*
 - $\langle \{\text{the enemy's}\}, \{\langle n, \text{destroy} \rangle, \{\text{destroy}, \{(of) \text{ the city}\}\}\} \rangle$
 - label is $\langle n, \text{destory} \rangle$
- *the destruction of the city*
 - $\langle \text{the}, \{\langle n, \text{destroy} \rangle, \{\text{destroy}, \{(of) \text{ the city}\}\}\} \rangle$
 - label is $\langle n, \text{destory} \rangle$
- *destruction of the city*
 - $\{\langle n, \text{destroy} \rangle, \{\text{destroy}, \{(of) \text{ the city}\}\}\}$ (no subject of NP present)
- PM works for 1st two cases
- specified subject of NP is [+definite]
- SM unlabelable if subject of NP is a non-head (assume no feature sharing)

Specificity and Extraction

Extractability of a wh-phrase from within NP

Specificity scale: indef < def < possessive

- Who did you see pictures of (indef)
- Who did you see the pictures of (def) has
- *Who did you see John's pictures of (possessive)

n^* and n

- n^* (def) selects for d ; d inherits features of n^* (crucial for labeling?)
- *the book* ($\langle n^*, D \rangle P$)
 - $\{\langle n^*, \text{the} \rangle, \{\text{Book}, \{\text{the}, \text{Book}\}\}\}$
 - *Book* stays in spec-D
 - D can't label (weak)
 - *Book* extracts; D labels $\{\text{the}, \text{Book}\}$
 - $\{\text{Book}, \{\text{the}, \text{Book}\}\} \{X, YP\}$ labeled by what? *Book* is weak. Should crash
 - why extract at all?
- $\langle v^*, V \rangle P: \{EA, \{\langle v^*, V \rangle, \{IA, \{V, IA\}\}\}\}$
- $\{V, IA\}$ no label
- $\{IA, \{V, IA\}\}$ no label
- $\{v^*, \{IA, \{V, IA\}\}\}$
 - ϕ -feature transmission v^* to V
 - V strengthened
 - $\{V, IA\}$ labeled by V
 - $\{IA, \{V, IA\}\}$ labeled $\langle \phi, \phi \rangle$
 - transfer means IA can't be extracted?

- n (indef) selects for R
- *author of the book*
 - *author* is a relational noun
 - $\langle n, R \rangle P$: $\{\langle n, \text{Author} \rangle, \{\text{Author}, (\text{of}) \langle n^*, \text{the} \rangle, \{\text{Book}, \{\text{the}, \text{Book}\}\}\}\}$ (indef)
 - *Author* raises to amalgamate with n
 - *which book did you like the author of?*
- picture of John
 - *picture* is a derived nominal
 - PM?
 - **which person did you like the picture of?*

Derivations

- *the book*
- ESM = External Set Merge, ISM = Internal Set Merge; EPM = External Pair Merge, IPM = Internal Pair Merge
- assume: *the* an XP; n categorizer; form <n,Book> complex
- {n,Book} ESM; unlabeled (affix n, root Book)
 - {<n,Book>,Book} IPM; labeled (label: <n,Book>)
 - {the, {<n,Book>,Book}} ESM; unlabeled (XP-YP)
 - <the, {<n,Book>,Book}> EPM; labeled (label: <n,Book>)
 - {the, {n,Book}} ESM unlabeled (XP-YP)
- <n,Book> EPM (label: n)
 - {the, <n,Book>} ESM; labeled (label: n)
 - <the, <n,Book>> EPM; labeled (label: n)