

# WoSS V Barcelona 2007

## 5th Workshop on Syntax & Semantics

This Workshop aims to bring together students in Generative Linguistics from the 'neighboring' universities of EHU-University of the Basque Country, Université de Nantes, the Ph D. Program on Cognitive Science and Language (CSL) of the Catalan universities UB, UAB, URV and UPF and the universities Instituto Ortega & Gasset, UAM. The idea of the workshop is to present our work in a friendly environment as well as to provide ourselves a chance to meet other students in the area interested in Generative Linguistics.

Taking into account the already existing relationship among the students from Nantes, the Basque Country, Madrid and Catalonia, we believe that the students from these programs will suit the size and character of the intended workshop.

The basic idea of this workshop is to be the continuation of a series of rotating workshops in all aspects of Generative Grammar. This fifth workshop will focus on Syntax and Semantics (in a broad sense) and will be celebrated at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Also we are glad to announce that the invited speaker for this fifth workshop will be Jaume Mateu (UAB) and Urtzi Etxebarria (IKER-CNRS).

In this book you will find all the abstracts of the talks that will be given in the WoSS V 2007 and the program of the conference.

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**Program WoSS V 2007, March 29-30 2006**  
**Location: Faculty of Philology, Facultat de Filosofia i Lletres**  
**Campus UAB.**

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### Thursday, March 29

#### 10'00 – 10' 30

*Towards a Semantic Analysis for Roumanian MAI*  
Marta Donazzan & Alexandru Mardale  
Université Paris 7 & Université Paris 7/INALCO  
Room :B7/1058

#### 10'30 – 11'00

*Romanian Correlative Coordinations - A Contrastive Study*  
Gabriela Bilbie & Oscar Garcia Marchena  
Laboratoire de Linguistique Formelle & Université Paris 7  
Room :B7/1058

#### 11'00 -11'30

*COFFEE BREAK*

#### 11'30-12'00

*Differential Object Marking and Semantic Type in Romance*  
Alexandru Mardale  
LLF-Université Paris7 & INALCO-Département de roumain  
Room :B7/1058

#### 12'00-12'30

*On the Argument Structure of 1e-predicates*  
Ía Navarro-Ibarra  
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona  
Room :B7/1058

#### 12'30-13'30

*Aspect and the lexicon-syntax interface*  
Jaume Mateu  
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona  
*Invited Speaker*  
Room :B7/1058

#### 13'30-15'00

*LUNCH*

**15'00-15'30**

*The Articulated Structure of CP: Evidence from Polish*  
 Wojciech Lewandowski  
 Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Room: 501

**15'30-16'00**

*Denoting Symmetric Relations and Categorical Underspecification*  
 Ion Giurgea  
 Université Paris 7

Room: 501

**16'00-16'30**

*On the Morphosyntactic Competition in Catalan Compounds*  
 Susanna Padrosa Trias  
 Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Room: 501

**16'30-17'00**

COFFEE BREAK

**17'00-17'30**

*Meaning-form relation in word formation: a lexical-syntactic approach to derived words in -(V)do*  
 Irene Gil Laforga  
 UIIOG-Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

Room: 501

**17'30-18'00**

*Why' in agrammatic aphasia: evidence from Catalan and Galician*  
 Silvia Martínez Ferreiro  
 Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Room: 501

**Friday, March 30****10'00 – 10' 30**

*From Minimalism to Cartography: towards an unified account*  
 Meritxell Mata & Silvia Martínez-Ferreiro  
 Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Room :B7/1058

**10'30 – 11'00**

*The Interaction between Tense and Aspect. A Syntactic and Semantic Account.*  
 Amelia Rus  
 Université Paris 7

Room :B7/1058

**11'00 -11'30**

COFFEE BREAK

**11'30-12'00**

*Acquiring Multiple Interrogatives in Bulgarian: The Role of Multiple Move- $\alpha$ .*  
 Angelina Slavcheva Markova  
 Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Room :B7/1058

**12'00-12'30**

*The prefix re- as a degree quantifier*  
 Susanna Padrosa Trias & Yurena María Gutiérrez  
 Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Room :B7/1058

**12'30-13'30**

*On How Some Languages Restrict their Quantificational Domain Overtly*  
 Urtzi Etxeberria  
 IKER-CNRS  
 Invited Speaker

Room :B7/1058

**13'30-15'00**

LUNCH

**15'00-15'30**

*Compositional Telicity in L1 Italian: a case of early acquisition*

Paolo Lorusso  
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona  
Room: 501

**15'30-16'00**

*Syntactic constraints on agrammatic comprehension*  
Nino Grillo  
Universita' di Siena & Utrecht Institute of Linguistics OTS  
Room: 501

**16'00-16'30**

*Pre-verbal n-words in Spanish: a case of PF-deletion* Susagna Tubau  
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona  
Room: 501

**16'30-17'00**

COFFEE BREAK

**17'00-17'30**

BUSINESS MEETING  
Room: 501

**INVITED TALK** *Friday March 29, 12.30-13.30*

**Aspect and the Lexicon-Syntax Interface**

Jaume Mateu  
*Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona*

Aspect has been said to play a crucial role in argument expression (e.g., Tenny 1994) and to motivate syntactic representations of verbal argument structure (see Rosen 1999 for a review). Given this background, the main purpose of this talk is twofold: (I) more generally, I argue that aspect is not as crucial as it has often been considered (for other critical remarks, see also Baker (1997) and Levin (2000)); for example, concerning the structural/configurational part of intransitive verbs/constructions, I've been arguing for the syntactic recasting of the cognitive claim that two conceptual schemas are more basic than linguistic aspectual structure: i.e., the Figure-Ground schema for unaccusative verbs/constructions and the Source/Force schema for unergative ones (Mateu 1999f); (II) more particularly, I want to show in which sense *telicity* is (ir)relevant to auxiliary selection with intransitive verbs in some Romance and Germanic languages. As is well-known, this aspectual notion has been argued to be *the* relevant one when determining BE-selection with unaccusative verbs (e.g., cf. Zaenen (1993) and, more recently, van Hout (2004) for Dutch). Moreover, not only is this aspectual notion the relevant one when dealing with unaccusative verbs of Romance languages like French (e.g., Sorace 2000), but it has also been argued to be the most relevant one in the literature on acquisition of unaccusativity in Germanic languages like Dutch or German (e.g., Randall et al. 2004). This notwithstanding, the relevance of telicity at the lexicon-syntax interface has been called into question: on the one hand, Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995f.) point out that there are *atelic* unaccusative verbs that select BE: e.g., cf. indefinite change verbs like It. *Maria è cresciuta* 'Maria has grown'; cf. Dowty's (1979) *degree achievements*). On the other hand, Harley (2005) has shown that there appear to be some unergative verbs that are *telic*: cf. *The mare foaled in/??for two hours*. Interestingly, Harley's point wrt these telic unergative verbs is especially relevant when dealing with a language like French, where auxiliary selection with intransitive verbs has been argued to be crucially related to telicity (Sorace 2000): e.g., while atelic unaccusative verbs typically select HAVE in French (cf. *Marie a/\*est grandi* 'Marie has grown'; vs. cf. *supra*) -this fact being then consistent with the claim that telicity *is* relevant in this language-, it is the case that, despite their telicity, unergative verbs like Fr. *pouliner* 'to foal' do not select BE but HAVE (cf. *La jument a/\*est pouliné en/??pendant deux heures* 'The mare foaled in/??for two hours'; see also Lorusso (2006) for similar data from Italian).

Accordingly, the present challenge is how one should be able to cope with (i) these apparently contradictory facts briefly reviewed above (i.e., telicity is (ir)relevant wrt auxiliary selection with intransitive verbs) and (ii) the non-trivial crosslinguistic differences involved. In particular, in this talk I will show how Sorace's (2000, 2004f.) descriptive insights concerning the existence of crosslinguistic gradiency in so-called "Split Intransitivity" can be formalized in an adequate way within a syntactic theory of argument structure, which in turn will allow us to work out when *telicity* is relevant at the lexicon-syntax interface and when it is not. To advance some

conclusions, I will be arguing that *telicity* can be a semantic determinant of auxiliary selection only when dealing with *core* unaccusative verbs, i.e., those involving Hale & Keyser's (2002) *terminal coincidence relation*. By contrast, *telicity* will be shown to be irrelevant when dealing with *non-core* unaccusative verbs, i.e., those involving Hale & Keyser's (2002) *central coincidence relation*, and when it is just related to the boundedness of the root (Harley 2005). Given this background, we will also discuss the (in)compatibility of the present discussion with Hale & Keyser's (2002: 225; 2005: 41) concluding remark: "our conclusion, *in general*, is that aspect is orthogonal to argument structure. Whenever we deal with questions of interface and interaction in this domain, we observe that argument structure is *for the most part* autonomous <emphasis added: JM>".

#### Selected references

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- Levin, Beth. 2000. "Aspect, Lexical Semantic Representation, and Argument Expression". *Proceedings of the 26th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*: 413-429.
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INVITED TALK *Saturday March 30, 12.30-13.30*

### On How Some Languages Restrict their Quantificational Domain Overtly

Urtzi Etxeberria  
(IKER-CNRS)

THE PUZZLE: The standard analysis of quantification claims that the compositionality of a generalized quantifier comes from combining a quantificational determiner with an NP predicate (Montague 1973, Barwise & Cooper 1981). Despite the wide acceptance this analysis has had in the formal semantic tradition, Matthewson (2001) argues that this analysis offers little crosslinguistic comparative bite and proposes a new quantificational structure based on a two-step process where the quantifier combines directly with a DP of individual type, and not with a predicative type NP. In a recent paper, Giannakidou (2004) has shown that Matthewson's analysis can not be extended crosslinguistically and has argued that the QP internal D is a nominal domain restrictor.

PROPOSAL: Assuming that quantification in natural languages must always be contextually restricted and that quantificational domain restriction is always encoded syntactically (see Neale 1990, von Stechow 1994, Stanley & Szabó 2000, Stanley 2002, Martí 2003), this paper proposes, in line with Giannakidou (2004), a compositional structure for Basque strong quantifiers where the quantifier phrase internal D is taken to act as the quantificational domain restrictor. If this is correct, the standard analysis of Generalized Quantifiers can be argued to perfectly explain quantificational facts cross-linguistically.

In Basque, Ds only appear with strong quantifiers (*guzti* 'all', *den* 'all', *gehien* 'most', *bakoitz* 'each'), combined together with the quantifier itself (1), or with strongly interpreted weak quantifiers by means of a partitive construction *-etarik* (decomposed as D.pl+of) where the D is combined with the nominal expression (2).

- (1a) [Ikasle guzti-ak] berandu etorri ziren.  
[student all-D.pl(abs)] late come aux.past.pl  
'all the students came late.'
- (1b) \* [Ikasle guzti] berandu etorri ziren.
- (2) [Ikasle-etarik asko] berandu iritsi ziren.  
[student-D.pl/of many] late arrive aux.pl.past  
'Many of the students arrived late.'

Furthermore, Basque quantificational data provides clear evidence for the fact that the domain restrictor can appear with the nominal as well as Q-det (pace von Stechow 1994, Stanley & Szabó 2000, Stanley 2002, Martí 2003). Now, contextualization can only happen once and this is why two Ds are not allowed inside a quantificational phrase, cf. (3). Note that the ungrammaticality of (3a) can be argued to be due to a type mismatch, but this is not so in (3b) where the quantifier obtains an argument of the correct type ⟨e, t⟩. The ungrammaticality of (3b) comes from the fact that if the

domain restrictor appears with the Q-det, Ds will not be allowed to appear with the nominal, and vice versa, as (3c) shows (cf. Etxeberria 2005).

- (3a) \* ikasle-ak guzti-ak (3b) \* ikasle-etatik guzti-ak  
 student-D.pl all-D.pl student-the.pl/of all-D.pl  
 ‘the all the students’ ‘the all of the students’
- (3c) \* ikasle-etatik asko-ak  
 student-D.pl/of many-D  
 ‘the many of the students’

Natural languages do also have room for non-restricted quantification, (cf. Cooper 1996). Basque is in this regard a language that overtly shows the difference between contextually restricted (by means of D) and contextually unrestricted nominal quantifiers. Basque weak-cardinal quantifiers (*asko* ‘many’, *gutxi* ‘few’, *zenbait* ‘some’, etc.) can not appear with the domain restrictor D, no matter where the D is placed, in the nominal or in the weak quantifier itself, as shown in (4b).

- (4a) [Ikasle asko] berandu iritsi ziren.  
 [student many] late arrive aux.pl.past  
 ‘Many students arrived late.’
- (4b) \* [Ikasle(-ak) asko(-ak)] berandu iritsi ziren.

Taking into consideration that natural language quantifiers must necessarily be contextually restricted, these weak quantifiers are proposed to be base generated at the predicative type  $\langle e, t \rangle$ . As a consequence, they are not to be considered (real) quantifiers (cf. Milsark 1979, Partee 1988, van Geenhoven 1998, Landman 2002). As a matter of fact, note that in opposition to strong quantifiers, they are grammatical in predicative position.

- (5a) Gonbidatuak [neska asko/batzuk/gutxi] ziren.  
 guest.D.pl girl many/some/few be.past  
 ‘The guests were many/some/few girls.’
- (5b) \* Gonbidatuak [neska guzti-ak/den-ak/gehien-ak/bakoitz-a] ziren.  
 guest.D.pl girl all-D.pl/all-D.pl/most-D.pl/each-D.sg be.past

When in argument position, the cardinal-weak quantifiers will be interpreted by means of a silent  $\exists$  quantifier, in (6). [This  $\exists$  quantifier will not be needed when in predicative position].

- (6) [ [  $\exists x$  [ ikasle asko (x) ] ] berandu etorri (x) ]

#### References

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## Coordination of Iterative Terms in Romanian – A Contrastive Study

Gabriela Bilbie & Oscar Garcia Marchena

Laboratoire de Linguistique Formelle and Université Paris 7

*Correlative coordination* (also known as conjunction doubling) distinguishes from *simple coordination* in repeating the conjunction not only before the second conjoint, but also before the first one. We prefer the term “coordination of iterative terms” to “correlative coordination” since we find cases in Romanian where adverbs can also be iterated.

After a superficial examination of the following data concerning Romance languages, we might conclude that Romanian resembles French and Italian but not Spanish, which lacks the equivalent of Rumanian *și...și*, French *et...et* and Italian *sia...sia* (esp. \*Y Juan y Maria han venido a la festa).

	Romanian	French	Italian	Spanish
Disjunctive Type	<i>sau...sau,</i> <i>ori...ori</i> <i>fie...fie<sub>c</sub></i>	<i>ou...ou</i> <i>soit...soit<sub>c</sub></i>	<i>o...o</i>	<i>o...o</i>
Negative Type	<i>!nici...nici</i>	<i>ni...ni</i>	<i>nè...nè</i>	<i>ni...ni</i>
Conjunctive Type	<i>!și...și</i>	<i>et...et</i>	<i>sia...sia<sub>c</sub></i>	—

The index *c* in the left indicates that the form is always employed in correlative structures.

A closer scrutiny of the data shows that this likeness is only apparent. The pairs *nici...nici* and *și...și* in Romanian (elements which are often interpreted like conjunctions in traditional grammars) behave exactly as adverbs. Firstly, they cannot combine with conjunctions; secondly, they can appear also outside coordinated structures; thirdly, they are semantically employed as modifiers. Furthermore, the item *și* shows a closer likeness with adverbs, since it can appear between an auxiliary verb and the past participle in a complex verbal form, which is a position exclusively reserved in Romanian for a restraint class of adverbs.

We therefore conclude that these four Romance languages have in common the type Conjunction...Conjunction, but Romanian also uses another type of iterative coordination: Adverb...Adverb. We can thus identify the opposition in Romanian between ‘legitimate’ correlative coordination (coordination with an iterative conjunction, the disjunctive type Conj...Conj: *fie...fie*, *ori...ori*, *sau...sau*) and simple coordination: *și...și* and *nici...nici*, where the iterated item is an adverb. Coordination is then achieved by means of either juxtaposition or a conjunction (Adv...{, / Conj} Adv).

Coming back to language contrast, this new perspective shows that Romanian doesn’t resemble Italian or French, but Spanish, since they both share the double nature of *și/y*, which can be conjunction and adverb in Romanian, conjunction and discursive marker in Spanish.

The final aim of this paper is then to expose and describe the properties which differentiate these structures from simple coordination phrases. They are syntactic, due to their different distribution; semantic, for their distributive reading and scope interpretation; discursive (stressing the symmetric relation between the conjuncts);

and informative, since they allow *Kontrast*: a pragmatic exclusion which is effected from a set of semantic alternatives.

We will provide the HPSG formalization of the former data.

		Romanian	French	Italian	Spanish
« NI »	simple conjunction	—	<i>ni</i>	<i>nè</i>	<i>ni</i>
	correlative conjunction	—	<i>ni...ni</i>	<i>nè...nè</i>	<i>ni...ni</i>
	simple adverb	<i>nici</i>	<i>non plus</i>	<i>neppure</i>	<i>tampoco</i>
	correlative adverb	<i>nici...nici</i>			
« ET »	simple conjunction	<i>și<sub>1</sub></i>	<i>et</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>y<sub>1</sub></i>
	correlative conjunction	—	<i>et...et</i>	<i>sia...sia<sub>c</sub></i>	—
	simple adverb	<i>și<sub>2</sub></i>	<i>aussi</i>	<i>anche</i>	<i>tambien</i>
	correlative adverb	<i>și<sub>2</sub>...și<sub>2</sub></i>			
	discourse marker				<i>y<sub>2</sub></i>

### Selected references

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## Towards a Semantic Analysis of Romanian MAI

Marta Donazzan and Alexandru Mardale

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Romanian MAI ('more') has been the subject of several syntactic analyses. Due to its constrained distribution and clitic-like properties (e.g. it is stressless and must occur in strict preverbal position within the VP), traditional grammars generally label it a 'semi-adverbial' (Ciompec 1985, DŞL 1997); recent analyses also take it to be an affix (Barbu 2004) or an 'intensifier' of the verb (Monachesi 2005). However, little attention has been devoted to its semantics so far.

Claim In this paper, we will focus on the semantics of MAI, while maintaining an analysis of it as an adverb. We will propose that MAI has the core meaning of an additive particle (König 1991); addition translates into repetition in the event domain (Rothstein 2004).

1. MAI is a VP-adverb. (i) As such, it cannot apply to DP/NP (1).

- 1) \*Ion va citi mai un roman.  
Ion AUX read MAI a novel

(ii) It suffers no constraint concerning the lexical aspect of the verb or the telicity of the predicate (2.a/b); however, (iii) when modifying AdjPs or AdvPs it shows a different distribution which correlates with semantic difference (3).

- 2.a) Ion va mai citi un roman.  
Ion AUX MAI read a novel  
Ion will read a novel again/ one more novel.

b) Ion mai e bolnav.

Ion MAI is sick  
Ion is still sick.

a) Ion e mai bolnav (decît Mihai)  
Ion is MAI sick (than Mihai)  
Ion is sicker (than Mihai).

b) \*Ion mai e bolnav decît Mihai.  
Ion MAI is sick than Mihai

c) Ion aleargă mai repede (decît Mihai).  
Ion run MAI fast than Mihai  
Ion runs faster (than Mihai).

d) \*Ion mai aleargă repede (decît Mihai).  
Ion MAI run fast than Mihai

We take MAI to occupy two distinct syntactic positions: as an AdjP/AdvP modifier (3.a/c), it is located in the Spec of the relevant projection. In its VP-adverbial use (3.b/d), it occupies the Spec of a functional projection above VP (in the spirit of Cinque 1999). Evidence for this structural distinction comes from data on bi-clausal constructions, such as embedding under a modal.

- 4.a) Tu mai poţi veni?  
You MAI MOD come  
You can still come?  
b) \*Tu poţi mai veni?  
You MOD MAI come

c) Tu mai poţi iar veni?  
You MAI MOD IAR come  
You can still come again?

d) Ion poate şa mai vină.  
Ion MOD COMP MAI come  
Ion can come again.

MAI cannot occur in an infinitival clause (4.a/b), a position accessible for other adverbials (4.c); this constraint appears to be syntactical, since MAI is fully licensed if the complement clause is tensed (4.d).

2. MAI is an additive adverb. We analyze MAI as an additive particle on predicates of events: as such, it conveys the presupposition of the existence of a preceding event of the same type but distinct from the asserted one.

MAI(P(ε))

a. Assert P(P(ε))

b. Presuppose  $\exists \epsilon_2 [\lambda x[P(x)](\epsilon_1) \wedge \epsilon_1 \neq \epsilon_2 \wedge (P(\epsilon))]$

Data from negative contexts (cfr. (2.b) vs. (5)) show that presupposition is preserved under negation, differentiating MAI from phase adverbials like E. *still*.

5) Ion nu mai e bolnav.

Ion NEG MAI is sick

Ion isn't sick anymore (≠ John isn't sick yet.)

More evidence for this analysis comes from comparison with additive/aspectual adverbs in other Romance languages, such as It. *ancora*. Comparison with the Italian (Paduan) data (6) sheds light on the derivation of It. *mai* as an NPI.

6.a) Piero el dize ch'el ga sercà ancora a papaya.

Piero CL says that-CL has tried *ancora* the papaya.

Piero says that he has already tried papaya (once in the past).

b) Piero el dize che no'l ga mai sercà a papaya.

Piero CL says that NEG-CL has *never* tried the papaya.

Piero says that he has never tried papaya.

7.a) Ion spune că a mai mâncat papaia.

Ion says that has MAI eaten papaya.

Ion says that he has already tried papaya (once in the past).

b) Ion spune că nu a mai mâncat papaia.

Ion says that NEG has MAI eaten papaya.

Ion says that he has never tried papaya.

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## Meaning-form Correspondence in Word Formation: a Lexical-Syntactic Approach to Derived Words in -(V)do

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O. The relation between meaning and form is of special interest in the case of morphology where, at least, two different kinds of theories have attracted the attention of researchers: isomorphic (Hale & Keyser 1993, 1998, 2002) and non-isomorphic theories (Beard 1993, 1995). In this paper, I study a particularly complex case of word formation in Spanish and I argue that it constitutes evidence in favour of isomorphic theories where meaning and form are in a one-to-one relation.

I. The main argument on which non-isomorphic theories are based is the lack of correspondence, in some cases, between morpheme and morph. Such non-correspondence is reflected when one morphological process can be spelled out with different affixes, as in the case of the Spanish suffixes *-ción* and *-miento*: both are attached to verbal bases to form an event noun. The opposite case is also taken into account: a singular morpheme can be used to encode different meanings, as in the case of the Spanish suffix *-dor* (Rainer 2005).

The most controversial phenomenon invoked to support non-isomorphic theories is the fact that category change takes place without triggering any formal change. This process can involve words, as in (1), or affixes, as in (2).

- (1) joven]<sub>A</sub> ‘young’ - joven]<sub>N</sub> ‘young man’
- (2) a. comido]<sub>PP</sub> ‘eaten’  
b. distraído]<sub>A</sub> ‘absent-minded’  
c. chillido]<sub>N</sub> ‘scream’

In (1), we have an instance of what is known as *conversion*, where two words formally identical correspond to different categories<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, the data in (2) show that the affixation of an identical morph -DO may have different outputs. In fact, the affix produces not only derivational forms (2b, 2c) but also an inflectional form (the past participle of (2a)). Furthermore, the derived forms belong to different categories: in (2b) we have a possessive adjective whereas in (2c) we have an event noun. When we consider the suffixation of -DO, we may observe a more complicated case because it can give rise to a great variety of formations, as shown in (3):

- (3) a. *past participle*: iluminado (por una bombilla) ‘lighted (by a lamp)’  
b. *adjectival participle*: (muy) iluminado ‘(well) lit’  
c. *entity noun*: (un) iluminado ‘(a) visionary’  
d. *event noun*: (el) lavado ‘washing’

A strictly isomorphic theory would have to propose either a specific source for the different occurrences of the suffix -do, or would have to postulate a basic form from which all the others will derive by means of a *zero morph*. Both solutions are indeed problematic.

On the other hand, a theory which rejects the correspondence between form and meaning has, at least, three important disadvantages. First of all it is less economical,

in the sense that it can not code in a single rule different outputs of the same process. Consequently, it is less predictive. Finally, due to the fact that it underestimates well-established generalizations, it is also less explicative.

II. Following the isomorphic approach, we analyze here a particularly puzzling case of affixation in Spanish: the possessive suffix -(V)DO<sup>2</sup> shown in (4):

- (4) barbado ‘bearded’

In (4) we have an adjective derived from a noun by means of the suffix -Vdo while all the other cases seen in (3) derive from a verbal base. That is, we have another problem for the isomorphic proposal since the difference between all the forms in -do cannot be attributed to a difference in the class of base selected by the suffix.

Taking as a point of departure the hypothesis that there is a correspondence between form and meaning, we focus our attention on the following facts:

- a. Different languages use the same suffix for the past participle as well as for the possessive adjective. For instance, French has possessive adjectives bearing the morphological mark -é of the past participle: Fr. *denté* (adj) ‘toothed’; the same happens in some non-Romance languages, such as English, where we have *winged*. The lack of the French verb *denter* and the English verb *to wing* proves that the adjectives with the suffix -é and -ed are not deverbal forms but adjectives derived from the nouns *dente* ‘tooth’ and *wing*, respectively.
- b. The vowel that appears before -DO with possessive adjectives cannot be attributed to a verbal base since these adjectives come from nouns. Also, this vowel entails a difference in meaning, as proven by the following contrasts: *barbado* ‘bearded’ vs. *barbudo* ‘long-bearded’; *florado* ‘flowery’ vs. *florido* ‘full of flowers’.
- c. With some specific bases we get parasynthetic formations, as *A-diner-ADO* ‘wealthy’ or *A-jam-ADO* ‘renowned’. This morphological process takes place only with the suffix -ado and not with other suffixes that usually form possessive denominal adjectives, such as -oso: *\*(a)caudaloso* ‘large, wealthy’ vs. *\*(a)caudalado* ‘wealthy’.

We contend that all these facts are interrelated and can not be treated as purely accidental phenomena.

III. In our analysis, we show that isomorphic theories can relate the facts described in II in an explanatory manner. We adopt a configurational perspective and argue that -DO (-ED, in English) spells out a relational head of locative coincidence (Hale & Keyser 1993, 2002 Mateu 2002, 2005) which represents both a possessive relation ‘X with Y’ and a result ‘X in the state of Y’. Depending on the element selected by X, different outputs will be obtained. This relational head may be combined with an aspectual head, which is reflected in the different vowels (-a-, -i-, -u-) (Fábregas y Pazó 2006).

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<sup>1</sup> Fábregas (2005) contains a detailed study on Spanish conversion.

<sup>2</sup> ‘V’ stands for the vowel (a, i or u) that appears with the suffix.

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## Nouns denoting Symmetric Relations and Categorical Underspecification

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1. The problem. I discuss an interesting contrast in the complementation pattern of relational nouns in Romanian and French. As illustrated in (1)-(4), nouns denoting symmetric relations allow a *with-* construction only when they are bare in non-argumental positions (as was also pointed out by Beyssade and Dobrovie-Sorin (2005)). This contrast may also be found outside the Romance family (see (5)):

- (1) a. Ion e prieten/văr/rudă cu Maria Romanian  
       I. is friend/cousin/relative with M. "Ion is Maria's friend/cousin/relative"  
       b. Cunosc niște afaceriști veri cu primul ministru  
           I-know some businessmen cousins with the-prime minister
- (2) a. \* Ion e un prieten/văr/ o rudă cu Maria  
       I. is a friend/cousin/ a relative with M.  
       b. \* Prietenii cu Maria au telefonat să o felicite  
           the-friends with M. called to congratulate her  
       c. \* În cameră se găseau prieteni cu Maria  
           in (the) room there were friends with M.
- (3) a. %Jean est ami avec Marie French  
       J. is friend with M.
- (4) a. \*Jean est un ami avec Marie  
       J. is a friend with M.  
       b. \* Les amis avec Marie ont appelé pour la féliciter  
           the friends with M. called to congratulate her
- (5) a. Watashi wa Tarô no/to tomodachi desu. Japanese  
       I Top Tarô of/with friend Cop  
       b. Tarô (no / \*to) tomodachi ga kita.  
           T. of/with friend Nom came

On the other hand, in other languages (probably in all the others) nouns denoting symmetric relations can never take a *with-* argument:

- (6) a. \* John is a friend with Mary English  
       b. \* The friend with Mary called to congratulate her.

2. The solution consists of two major claims:

- (i) Universally, nouns expressing a symmetrical relation between an external argument and an internal one don't use the *with-* construction.  
 (ii) Non-argumental bare nouns which allow the *with-* construction in this case are categorially underspecified. Their full nominal properties arise by combination with a (covert) n head, by which they acquire the possibility of taking determiners and genitives but they lose the capacity of taking *with-* arguments.

2.1. The incompatibility between *with-* arguments and Ns can be explained using Baker's theory of lexical categories and a theory of argument structure as proposed by Grimshaw (1990).

I first show that the incompatibility only holds for the case when a symmetric relation is established between the external argument of the noun and an internal one. If the

arguments standing in a symmetric relation are both internal, the *with-* construction is allowed:

- (7) a. Prietenia mea cu Ion Romanian  
 friendship.the my with Ion  
 b. My friendship with John English

I assume that at the level of argument structure (Grimshaw (1990)), if two arguments *x* and *y* are in a symmetrical relation and *y* is introduced by *with*, they are treated on a par, this meaning that they occupy the same hierarchical level, are equally prominent. In Grimshaw (1990), a(argument)-structure encodes only hierarchical relations among arguments.

Our empirical generalization can now be formulated as follows: “the external argument of a noun (the R-role of Williams 1981) must be prominent with regard to all internal arguments at the level of a-structure”.

Baker (2003) provides a syntactic definition of nouns (nouns introduce referential indices) correlated to a semantic definition, according to which nouns differ from other property-denoting categories (verbs and adjectives) by having criteria of identity. This property may explain the generalization about relational nouns: if the relational noun together with its internal arguments (i.e. the whole NP) gives criteria of identity for the external argument, the external argument cannot be treated on a par with an internal argument. On the other hand, we predict the availability of the *with-* construction when both arguments are internal: in this case neither of them receives criteria of identity from the NP, so there is no problem for treating them on a par.

2.2. Bare Ns taking *with-* arguments. We still need to explain why bare nouns in non-argumental positions are special in some languages (such as Romanian and French), allowing the *with-* construction. According to my analysis, since these Ns do admit *with-* arguments, they do not have criteria of identity. I assume that the property of having criteria of identity is syntactically reflected by an N-feature which may either be lexically associated to roots or merge as an independent head *n*. This feature is responsible for the possibility of taking *of-*genitives and of being selected by Num and D. This analysis is inspired by Marantz (1997), but differs from it in an important aspect: I do not claim that all lexical words enter the derivation as roots without a categorial specification (at least in Romance, the drastic constraints on the “deverbal” and “denominal derivation” speak against this), but only that this is an option for certain roots.

In Baker’s system, it is adjectives that are underspecified, being negatively defined as non- nouns and non-verbs. However, it can be shown that bare relational nouns taking *with-* arguments don’t have the whole distribution of adjectives in Romanian and French. Although some of them allow degree arguments (see (8)), these examples have a rather marginal, marked status compared to bona fide adjectives (which I indicate by ‘!’ in the examples); more importantly, they are impossible in certain typical adjectival contexts such as the combination with indefinite pronouns (ex. (9) ; see Kupferman 1991). I conclude that, pace Baker, the categorial feature A really exists and cannot be reduced to underspecification.

- (8) a. (!) El e mai prieten cu directorul decât Lucia. Romanian  
 he is more friend with the-director than Lucia

- b. (!) Il est plus copain/ami avec Jean que ne l’est Paul

French

he is more friend with Jean than Neg it is Paul

- (9) a. \* A venit cu cineva frate/prieten Romanian  
 has come with somebody brother/friend

b. ?? quelqu’un d’ami “somebody of friend” French

The concept of categorial underspecification that I use is based on the idea that categories are “short-cuts” for bundles of features. This allows us to speak about categorial under-specification between N and A (as in this case), or between N and V (which may be useful for other cases, as shown by Rouveret (1994) for Welsh “verb-nouns”).

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## Syntactic Constraints on Agrammatic Comprehension

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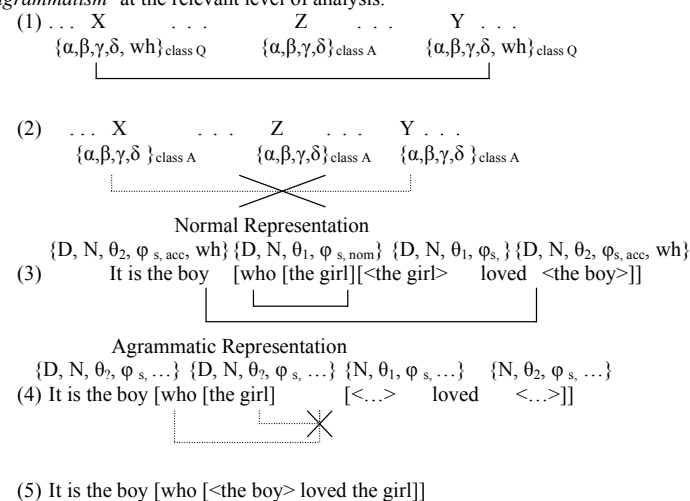
Different explanations of agrammatic comprehension patterns in Broca's aphasia have been proposed in the last three decades. Simplifying somewhat we can draw a line between *knowledge* (agrammatism as the consequence of a loss of grammatical knowledge) and *processing based* (loss of the processing capacities necessary to put in use such knowledge) approaches (see Avrutin 1999 for a review). Among the formers the Trace Deletion Hypothesis (TDH) put forward by Grodzinsky (1990, 1999) has been widely influential and one of the most debated in the field. The TDH has been criticized on theoretical and empirical grounds. Its weakest points being the inability to explain *variation* among individual performance level (see Kolk 1998 for a review but also Draai and Grodzinsky 2006) and more interestingly falsified predictions e.g. Piñango (1999) showed that agrammatics were able to understand correctly sentences containing *unaccusative* predicates predicted to be problematic by the TDH. The problem with processing based approaches arise because the basic assumption (i.e. that given a capacity limitation only *more complex sentences* should be problematic) relies on non specific theoretical definition of complexity. Recent versions of Relativized Minimality (RM) approaches to locality in syntax (Rizzi 1990, 2004; Starke 2001) combined with simple assumptions about the processing capacity limitations and the structure of language faculty could allow reaching a non trivial integration of the two approaches above.

RM states that a relation between two elements X and Y can be built over an intervening element Z *iff* Z is not a potential bearer of that same relation. Intervention is defined in terms of c-command, the nature of the relations and interveners was defined originally in terms of heads vs. specifiers and A/A' distinctions. More recent version to which I refer provide a more fine grained account in which what counts to define an intervener as an element of the same kind is the type of the set of features that is associated with the moving and the intervening elements (Argumental, Quantificational, Modifier...). We claim that a (temporal or permanent) reduction of linguistic processing capacities can affect the proper activation of the full array of features normally associated with syntactic element thus changing the type of the set itself as showed in (2). Combining this assumption with RM it is possible to derive selective deficitarian comprehension patterns in agrammatic aphasia and more specifically the well attested *canonicity effects*.

The claim is illustrated by the well-known asymmetry in aphasic's comprehension of subject vs. object clefts. RM authorizes the formation of the relevant chains between the moved NPs and their traces in virtue of the presence of the features [wh]. This feature, in fact, marks the set of features associated with <who> as a member of the Quantificational class distinguishing it from the Argumental (see Rizzi op. cit.) class to which <the girl> belongs. If a reduction of processing resources compromises the representation of the full array of features needed in these structures the subject DP becomes a potential intervener between the object DP and its trace and RM blocks the formation of the relevant chain, as a *consequence* it is impossible to assign the correct theta role to each argument. In *subject clefts* (5), on the other hand, even an

underspecified representation allows forming the relevant chain and recovering the thematic information: no potential bearer of the relevant relation intervenes between the moved element and its trace. The same explanation can be extended to comprehension patterns of the structures in the table 6.

The advantage of this explanation is that it allows reducing agrammatic comprehension to a special case of island violation. Agrammatic's problems with non-canonical structures are motivated by the fact that in these structures an element similar to the moved antecedent intervenes between the latter and its trace impeding formation of the syntactic object that is the very essence of movement by blocking chain construction. This mechanism applies in the exact same way it applies in unimpaired grammars. In a non trivial sense there seems to be difference between aphasic and normal grammar, which makes it hard to define the syndrome as 'agrammatism' at the relevant level of analysis.



Above chance performance (no DP crossing)	Chance performance (Subject DP crossing)
Subject clefts	Object clefts
Subject relatives	Object relatives
Actives	Passives
Subject Control	Object Control
Datives	Double Object
Subject wh-	Object wh-
SVO Hebrew actives	OSV-OVS Hebrew actives
Unscrambled	Scrambled
Adjectival Passives	Verbal Passives

Table 6: Comprehension patterns in agrammatic aphasia (Grodzinsky 2000, a.o.)

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## The Articulated Structure of CP: the Case of *ŻE*

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### 1. AIM

The aim of this paper is to address some syntactic phenomena in the clausal Left Periphery in Polish. Concretely, the analysis focuses on the conjunction and emphasis marker *że* (lit. *that*), which provides evidence for Rizzi's analysis of split CP (Rizzi 1997, 2001, 2002).

### 2. EMPIRICAL DATA

It is postulated that there are two different types of *że*.

#### 2.1. *ŻE* CONJUNCTION

The first one marks the modality (force) of the clause: it introduces subordinate noun clauses and materializes in the ForceP:

(1) Nie wiem, że śpiewa.

‘I do not know that he sings’

#### 2.2. *ŻE* EMPHASIS MARKER

The second one emphasizes the modality of the clause. It cannot appear as an autonomous element and is always fused with markers of clausal modality: with the verb in imperatives (2) and total interrogatives (3) and with wh-operators in exclamatives (4) and partial interrogatives (5):

(2) Śpiewajże piosenkę!

‘sing-imperative 2 pers. sing. song-ACC’

‘Sing a song!’

(3) Przyjdzieszże jutro?

‘come-future 2 pers. sing tomorrow’

‘Will you come tomorrow?’

(4) Ależ Maria jest brzydka!

‘how Maria is ugly’

‘How ugly is Maria!’

(5) Gdzież Marta idzie?

‘where Marta goes’

‘Where does Marta go?’

*Że* causes the “dragging” of these elements to the extreme of the Left Periphery. When they appear without it (*że*) they admit the appearance of other lexical elements to their left:

(6)

a. Szybko śpiewaj!

‘Quickly sing-imperative 2 pers. sing.’

‘Sing quickly’

b. Śpiewajże szybko!

c. \*Szybko śpiewajże!

### 3. PROPOSAL

Due to its semantic function (emphasis), as well as to its contrastive intonation, *że* is claimed to take up the position of FocusP. According to Rizzi's proposal of Wh-Criterion, FocusP is the area of Wh-movement: modality markers such as exclamative

and interrogative operators materialize in the position of FocusP Spec. It would imply that in Polish there appear two elements in this position simultaneously: *że* and the respective *wh*-operators. A possible parallelism to this fact could be the well-known phenomenon of multiple *wh*-interrogatives in Polish (and other Slavic languages, for example Bulgarian), consisting in the appearance in the same clause of at least two interrogative operators, both attracted by FocusP. On the other hand, there exists additional comparative evidence from Romance languages of double occupation of a node. Just as demonstrate Hernanz and Rigau (2006), in clauses such as (7), where both *qué guapa* and *que* materialize in FocusP (the first element in the position of Spec. and the second one in the core position).

(7) ¡Qué guapa que es María!  
 ‘How cute that is María’  
 ‘How cute is María!’

#### 4. RELATED PHENOMENA

A related linguistic phenomenon requiring a further research is the “double-*že* construction”. In some colloquial varieties of Polish in subordinate noun clauses *že* can be reiterated. In such cases the second occurrence of *že* is fused with the morpheme of the person of the main verb:

(10) Nie wierzę, że żeś to zrobił.  
 ‘not I believe, *že* (that) *že* +ś (morphem of 2 pers. sing.) it do-Past’  
 ‘I do not believe that you have done it.’

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## Compositional Telicity in L1 Italian: a case of early acquisition

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The lexical aspect of a verb is encoded in two ways in Italian. Lexical aspect is derived compositionally: the presence of a definite internal object in the VP configuration determines the (a)telicity of a verb as the use of Dowty’s (1979) test of telicity shows in the minimal pair in (1).

- (1) a. Gianni ha dormito per ore/\* in un’ora.  
 Gianni has slept for hours/ in one hour  
 b. Gianni ha mangiato la mela ??per ore/ in un’ora.  
 Gianni has eaten the apple ??for hours/ in one hour

It can also be determined by the lexical root of the verb: the intransitive use of the verb *finire* ‘finish’ in (2)a has a telic reading due to the lexical root *fine* (end), while the intransitive use of the verb *mangiare* ‘eat’ in (2)b can have an atelic and telic reading.

- (2) a. Gianni ha finito \*per ore/ in un’ora.  
 Gianni has finished \*for hours/ in one hour  
 b. Gianni ha mangiato per ore/ in un’ora.  
 Gianni has eaten for hours/ in one hour

How do Italian children acquire aspectual meaning? We claim that the compositional lexical aspect is recognised earlier by children than lexical aspect as it results by lexical insertion. Through the analysis of a corpus of spontaneous speech and two experimental tasks we the characteristic of the appearance of verb forms marked for aspect.

We analysed the perfective grammatical aspect encoded in *passato prossimo* with different types of verbs. The *passato prossimo* is a compound tense and gives a reading of finished action to the verb. The longitudinal analysis of a corpus of 4377spontaneous sentences produced by four Italian children (18/ 36) months) shows that children do not produce the *passato prossimo* with atelic predicates. Furthermore, we analysed the occurrences of imperfective morphology and we found that the *imperfetto* is correctly used by children earlier and with all verb classes.

A production task was performed on 55 Italian children grouped for age (3-7 year) and 11 adults. The subjects had to describe 8 videos presenting 4 telic predicates (with an overt object) and 4 atelic predicates (without overt object) using the *passato prossimo*. Children till the age of 5 did not produce the *passato prossimo* with the predicates that did not involve an overt object and that consequently were atelic, while adults used perfective morphology for every situation. Children used *passato prossimo* just with telic verbs that had a natural endpoint. At 5 years they start to analyse the features of the object and they are able to assign the compositional lexical aspectual value depending on the features of the direct, as also found in van Hout (1999) in the acquisition of Dutch and English.

In the comprehension task experiment 55 Italian children and 11 adults grouped for age (3-7 year) had to watch 8 videos in which two girls performed the same action: a *completed* situation in which one of the girls terminated the action and the *uncompleted* situation in which the other girls did not. 4 videos presented atelic predicates with an overt definite object and the other 4 telic predicates. Subjects were asked to choose one situation in the video answering to a question in which the *passato prossimo* was used in order to trigger the completed reading. While adults always chose the *completed* situation, children till the age of 7 assigned the *uncompleted* reading whit atelic predicates, contrary to what happens in the production of *passato prossimo* which is used by children in an adult- like way since the age of 5.

The results strongly suggest that children may use the quantified overt object as a cue for determine the aspectual verbal information and consequently assign the grammatical aspectual values linked to the verbal morphology. In production they are able to recognise. The mismatch between the comprehension task and the production task depends on the fact that children may not be aware of lexical information resulting by the lexical item that enters in the VP configuration. Mateu (2002) argues that we have to recognize two elements at work in the configuration of verb classes in order to account for the relations between syntax and semantics:

- o The *configurational semantics* that can be read off the mere argument structures, which coincides with l-syntax postulated by Hale & Keyser (2002).
- o The *non- configurational semantics* associated to the relational heads of these structures.

The *non- configurational semantics* is developed through binary features that reside in the relational node of the configurational structure of the VPs. These features add, for example, information about the dynamics versus stativity of the relation encoded in the structure. This information could be learnt by children following different pattern, in the comprehension task we found strong individual variation depending on the single verbs used in the experiments and across children. This fact may suggest that while the compositional lexical aspect linked to the feature of the direct object is acquired uniformly as a mere grammatical process, the aspect as it results by lexical insertion or by the *non-configurational* semantics of the lexical item in the VP is acquired later and it depends on the idiosyncratic features of the verbs that are acquired.

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**Differential Object Marking and Semantic Type in Romance**

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**Introduction**

It is well known that in certain Romance languages, the D(irect) O(bject) can be introduced or not by a marker: *a* in Spanish and Sardinian, *pe* in Romanian. These markers are obligatory, optional or ungrammatical, depending on a variety of parameters (see also the tables below):

- (1) Sp a. *Vi \*(a) Juan / este señor / alguien / todos.*  
a'. *Los acidos atacan \*(a) los metales.*  
b. *Busco (a) una cocinera (que sabe inglés).*  
c. *(No) vi \*(a)l Titanic / el perro / esta casa.*
- (2) Sa a. *Appo vistu solu \*(a) Juanne / isse / Napoli / frate tuo.*  
b. *So kilkende (a) unu professore (ki appo acciappadu custu mandzamu).*  
c. *(No) appo vistu \*(a) su cane / sa makkina / nudda.*  
c'. *Sos atzidos attaccan \*(a) sos ferros.*
- (3) R a. *L-am văzut \*(pe) Ion / acesta / al meu / fratele tău.*  
b. *Caut (pe) un student (care știe engleză).*  
c. *Am văzut \*(pe) câinele tău / Napoli / casa ta / nimic.*  
c'. *Acizii atacă \*(pe) metale.*

It is commonly assumed (Bossong 1985, Lazard 1994, Aissen 2003, von Heusinger & Kaiser 2005, among others) that there are three main parameters that determine D(ifferential) O(bject) M(arking) cross-linguistically: (i) animacy, (ii) referentiality, and (iii) topicality. To each of these parameters are associated several scaled values: for animacy, human > animate > inanimate; for referentiality – often associated to definiteness (Dobrovie-Sorin 1997, Aissen 2003) –, definite > indefinite specific > indefinite non-specific; for topicality, +/- Top. I will show that verb agentivity (Torrego 1999) can be viewed as a dimension of the topicality scale.

The goal of this paper is (a) to examine the variation regarding DOM in Romance and (b) to propose an analysis correlating DOM with the denotation of the noun. Romance languages may vary depending on their sensitivity to one (or several) of these values:

Table 1

	Specific pronouns			&	proper names			Specific NPs			indefinite specific NPs			
	strong personal pronouns	deictic anaphoric pronouns	pronouns		hu	ani	inani	hum	ani	inani	hu	in/an		
	ma	ma	imat	ma	ate	imat	ma	mat	mate	an	ma	mate	ma	imat
	n	te	e	n	e	n	e	n	e	te	te	te	n	e
S	+	Ø	Ø	+	+	±	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-

P														
Sa	+	∅	∅	+	-	-	+	+	+	±	-	-	±	-
R	+	∅	∅	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-

Table 2

	Non specific NPs		Bare Quantifiers		Generic NPs		Topicalized NPs	
	human in/animate	human / in/animate	human in/animate	in/animate	human in/animate	in/animate	preverbal hum-in/animate	agentivity constraint
Sp	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Sa	-	+	-	-	-	-	±	-
R	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-

My analysis is based on the semantic type of the DO (cf. Dobrovie-Sorin 1997, Dobrovie-Sorin & Laca 2003, Bleam 2004).

The main generalizations concerning DOM in (European) Spanish, Sardinian and Romanian are:

(A) *the markers a and pe are excluded with generic DOs and with those that denote properties (type <e,t>).*

This explains why non specific NPs and bare nouns do not trigger DOM in any of the three Romance languages.

(B) *the markers a and pe are obligatory with DOs referring to specific individuals (type <e>) or with universal quantifiers (type <<e,t>,t>).*

This explains why all three languages mark: (i) strong personal pronouns; (ii) deictic and anaphoric pronouns when they have a human referent; (iii) specific definite NPs and indefinite specific NPs when they have a human referent; (iv) bare quantifiers when they have a human referent; (v) preverbal (i.e. topicalized) ODs irrespective of their referent nature. This generalization must however be considered as *a necessary but not sufficient condition for DOM* since there are certain <e> type-DOs that do not allow the markers. In these cases, the denotation of the noun does not trigger DOM and thus must be corroborated with the (human or animate) nature of its referent. The latter remark must be understood as *a second necessary condition for DOM* and it is observed differently by those languages depending on their sensitivity to the animacy

parameter: (vi) while Spanish and Romanian mark deictic and anaphoric pronouns irrespective of the nature of their referent, Sardinian marks only the ones that have a human referent; (vii) while Sardinian marks all the proper names, Spanish and Romanian do it only for those that have an animate referent. Contrary to Sardinian and Romanian, (viii) DOM in Spanish may be subject to *a third necessary condition* represented by certain properties of the verb: if the DO can only be marked by *a*, the subject of the verb must be interpreted as an Agent or a Cause.

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## Acquiring Multiple Interrogatives in Bulgarian: The Role of Multiple Move- $\alpha$ .

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### Abstract

This paper argues that, at the age of four, the wh-parameter is set correctly for both of its values: (i) overt wh-movement, and (ii) multiple wh-movement, in a language, Bulgarian, that presents an obligatory fronting of all of the Wh-constituents to SpecCP

(1) (examples by Rudin, 1988):

- (1) a. Koj kogo vižda?  
Who whom sees  
Who sees whom?  
b. Koj kakvo na kogo koga e dal?  
Who what to whom when has given  
Who has given to whom what and when?

Additionally, the paper further suggests that other syntactic phenomena related to multiple wh-movement are also acquired at early stages. These include the obligatory obeying of superiority effects with the corresponding hierarchy in (2), as claimed by Krapova and Cinque (2004), and the child's syntactic knowledge of the fact that all of the WHs form one constituent in Bulgarian, the language under investigation, and thus cannot be separated by other intervening material (3):

- (2) a. [+Human] WHs > [-Human] WHs  
b. [+D-linked] WHs > [-D-linked] WHs  
c. [+Subject] WHs > [-Subject] WHs  
d. kogo > na kogo > koga > kŭde > na kolko N > kak  
'whom' 'to whom' 'when' 'where' 'to how many' 'how'

- (3) a. Koj kakvo ti e kazal?  
Who what you (Dat.Cl) has told  
Who told you what?  
b. \*Koj ti e kakvo kazal?  
Who you (Dat.Cl) has what told

As far as the semantics of multiple wh-questions is concerned I follow Grebenyova's (2004a) claim that there are two possible interpretations of multiple questions, the Pair-List reading (PL) and a Single-Pair reading (SP). When non-D-linked, or bare, multiple wh-constructions are used, the only reading available in Bulgarian, and also in English, is the PL one (5a). Yet, when D-linked, multiple wh-questions have SP reading in both languages as in (5b):

- (5) a. PL Reading:  
Koj kogo pokani na večerja?  
Who invited who to the dinner?  
*Answer: Mr. Smith invited Mr. Jones; Ms. Black invited Mr. Green, etc.*

b. SP Reading:

- Koj diplomat koj žurnalist pokani na večeria? BG  
Which diplomat invited which journalist to the dinner? ENGL  
*Answer: Ms. Black invited Mr. Smith.*

Thus, the paper further argues that the semantics of multiple wh-questions are also acquired from early stages of acquisition.

The paper is, in fact, a pilot study on the acquisition of multiple Wh-movement in Bulgarian as there is just one subject investigated aged 4;4. Yet, in the near future I hope to be able to check the outcomes of the experiments with more subjects.

In order to show that the subject has full competence of both syntactic and semantic properties of the multiple wh-interrogatives in Bulgarian there are six experiments undertaken. In accordance with the acquisition theories adopted in this study such as the Continuity Hypothesis (Pinker 1984, 1989; Crain 1991), Poeppel and Wexler's (1993) Full Competence Hypothesis, together with Crain and Pietroski's (2001) claim that anyone above the age of four knows much more about language than s/he could have learned on the basis of experience, the results show the outcomes previously expected, i.e. the fact that the child has yet acquired the properties relevant to the multiple wh-questions. Yet, the presence of errors such as leaving an element in-situ, also found in Grebenyova (2005), is explained by the fact that due to the high syntactic and computational complexity of the structure, the child tries to reduce the computational load on the production systems (Rizzi, 2006c) by opting for a permissible economy strategy. And leaving an element in-situ could be, in fact, found in echo-questions in Bulgarian. Similar errors are found when D-linked WHs are involved. In this case, due to the high processing load of the D-linked elements (Goodall, 2004), the child again opts for permissible strategies such as leaving an element in-situ, the pro-drop strategy or the adjunction strategy, in order to obtain a more economic structure, that is, one that involves least movement (Zuckerman, 2001; Soares, 2003, among others).

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## **Why in agrammatic aphasia: evidence from Catalan and Galician**

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### Abstract

Problems in the production of complex structures in agrammatic populations have been already documented for many languages (Menn and Obler 1990, Friedmann 2001, 2002). Structures such as interrogative sentences constitute an area of great difficulty for these patients nevertheless the deficit seems to be narrowly constrained. The present paper aims to characterize the abnormal behaviour of yes/no questions in agrammatic Catalan and Galician. To fulfil this aim, elicited production data from 10 mild agrammatic speakers have been analyzed focusing on the production of *why* questions as a substitution strategy for total questions. An example from the question elicitation task has been included in (1).

- (1) Potser toco el piano, pregunta-m'ho.  
*Maybe I play piano, ask it to me*  
*Expected question: Toques el piano?*  
*Do you play piano?*

The peculiarities manifested by the interrogative element *why* have been already documented in the literature (Rizzi 1990, 2001). Contrary to other wh-operators, S-V inversion is not compulsory with *why* as can be seen in the example from Catalan included in (2).

- (2) a. Per què la nena menja pa?  
 'Why the girl eats bread'  
 b. Per què menja pa la nena?  
 'Why eats bread the girl'

In addition in some languages such as French, it cannot appear in situ. This can be easily attested in example (3) where question marks correspond to the original source. While in (3a) the wh-element can appear in situ, in (3b) this possibility is not available. Further evidence of the distinction is provided by the impossibility of stylistic inversion (3c).

- (3) a. Il a parlé comment  
 'He spoke how'  
 b. \*?Il a parlé pourquoi  
 'He spoke why'  
 c. \*?Pourquoi a parlé Jean  
 'Why spoke Jean'

(Rizzi 1990 : 47)

According to Rizzi (2001), the interrogative element *why* is directly base-generated in the position of Int (4). This stands in opposition to other wh-operators which are moved to the left periphery from a lower position.

(4) Force (\*Top) Int (\*Top) Focus (\*Mod) (\*Top) Fin IP

For the 50% of our sample (5/10 subjects), questions headed by the interrogative element *why* seem to enter into competition with y/n questions. Out of the errors produced with total questions (n = 46), 18 were substitutions for a partial question of this type while only 5 were substitutions by another wh-operator.

Therefore, it seems plausible to claim that in order to enter into competition, both *why* and the null operator in y/n questions (according to Suñer 1994) should occupy the same position in the syntactic representation, i.e. they should be base-generated in Int.

A framework combining structural position and movement operations as the causes for language disruption would account for these data in the following terms:

- a) Agrammatic subjects tend to avoid the projection of the higher nodes of the syntactic tree.
- b) Nevertheless, once the left periphery is compulsory activated, those utterances involving movement will add an extra cost to the representation not present in the case of base-generated elements (partial questions vs. y/n questions and ‘*why*’ questions). Therefore, agrammatic speakers, whose resources are limited, would choose the option with no movement involved on the basis of its less costly nature.

Since both y/n questions and questions headed by *why* depend on high structures of the syntactic representation and have no moved operator, their apparition would be interchangeable in terms of cost according to the previous statements. Therefore, it is the contrast between null and overt material what seems to underlie the observed deficit. Agrammatic subjects that show this phenomenon seem to prefer the overt interrogative operator involved in the partial question than the null form in total questions.

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## From Minimalism to Cartography: towards an unified account

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#### Abstract

The present paper aims to provide an unitary account for Chomsky’s (1995ss) Minimalist program and Cinque’s (1999), Belletti’s (2002) and Rizzi’s (2004) cartographical approach. These two currents, apparently contradictory, are in fact easily reconcilable since the material inserted in a cartographical tree structure is interpretable in Chomskian terms. In addition, interfaces and economy considerations underlie both programs (Rizzi 2004).

We go further away with commonalities and claim, contrary to the traditional dissociation, that both theories can be accommodated into one single account. The departure point will be that of the Minimalist Program. There is a minimal structure compulsory activated for syntactic processing that includes the core categories C, T, (v) and V (in line with Rizzi’s Axiom of clausal representation (*apud* Guasti 2002)). This structure is always present in every derivation.

- (1) *Axiom on clausal representation*  
CP is the root of all clauses (finite and infinitive)  
(Guasti 2002: 142)

Nevertheless, in some cases, such a reduced structure seems not to be enough. Chomsky (2001) points out the fact that, for some constructions, the schema is shorthand to articulate all the elements for the production of the utterance. Multiple specifier positions are therefore required in the Minimalist Program. Contrary to this, we claim that the elements that enter the numeration activate the projection of additional structure when the minimal representation is not enough. The order of insertion of the additional nodes corresponds to the cartographical map.

Therefore, the apparent contrast between the two models is in fact reduced to a matter of minimal vs. maximal representation. In an initial stage, the minimal projection will be activated and enriched until a maximum possible structure (at least from a theoretical perspective) which is contemplated in Cinque’s (1999), Belletti’s (2002) and Rizzi’s (2004) work. Such a developed structure would only be fully projected under requirement. If we assume that operations such as for example merge (in line with the Complexity Hypothesis (Pancheva & Ullman 2001)) have a cost, this optional activation of functional nodes would derive from an economical principle.

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## The Argument Structure of *le*-predicates

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We will propose an analysis for the argument structure of the complex *le*-predicates, these are Mexican Spanish complex predicates composed by a *verbal base* and a non co-referential *le* clitic that canonically is a 3rd Person, Singular, Dative Pronoun, but in *le*-predicates is a formally defective syntactic argument (cf. (1)-(3)). We affirm that *le*-predicates involve both event modification and unergative complex predicate formation that occur at the syntactic-semantic and the lexical-syntactic interface.

Our proposal concerns two main assumptions: the first assumption is linked to the following three linguistic facts, (i) *le* has suffered a weakening of its referential and anaphoric status (Torres Cacoullós 2002, Company Company 2004), (ii) this weakening is concomitant to the grammaticalization of a (*locus*) thematic role (Company Company 2004), and (iii) these processes result in a very productive formation of both idiomatic expressions and complex predicates with *le* (Kany 1951, Torres Cacoullós 1999, 2002, Copampany Company 2004). The second assumption is that *le* is a syntactic argument  $\phi$ P (Dechaine & Wiltschko 2002) but semantically defective, i.e. it does not denote an individual but a thematic *locus* property, that is, *le*'s semantic type is  $\langle e, t \rangle$ , and therefore *le*-predicate formation results from a pseudo-incorporation process (Dayal 2003, Espinal 2006, Espinal & McNally *in press*), in which a non instantiated argument  $\langle e, t \rangle$  becomes part of the predicate by event modification.

We will propose a preliminary classification of Spanish predicates based on the relevant characteristics that are related with the complex *le*-predicates. These are: a) the type of subject, internal or external (Levin & Rappaport 1995) and the parallel distinction between internal control 'pure' accusative (cf. (4)) and agentive external control accusative types of predicates (cf. (3), Demonte 2002), b) the event structure of the predicates as composed by *state* (statives) or *process* (activities) subevents (Pustejovsky 1995), and having simple or complex event structure (Levin & Rappaport 1995); and finally, d) the type of abstract predicate 'Do', 'Become' or 'Be' for the argument structure of the predicates (Halle & Keyser 1998, 2002; Mateu 2002).

Based on our preliminary classification we say that the formation and the semantic composition of *le*-predicates depend on four argument structure requirements and on two constraints. The requirements include: (i) the presence of an abstract predicate 'Do' in the argument structure, (ii) an internal argument available for syntax saturation (an Accusative, a Cognate or PP locative), (iii) an Agentive subject, and (iv) a process subevent involved in the event structure. The two constraints are: (a) the ditransitive verbal bases cannot derive *le*-predicates since they have Dative selection lexicalized (then *le* it is always instantiated), and (b) the *locative* predicates (but not *locatum*) have already a *locus* incorporated (*a la* Halle & Keyser), then *locative* verbs cannot derive *le*-predicates either. Hence the possible *le*-predicate verbal bases are (mono) transitive (cf. (1)), unergative (cf. (2)) and agentive unaccusative verbs (cf. (3)), and the impossible *le*-predicate verbal bases are 'pure'

unaccusative (cf. (4)), stative (cf. (5)), ditransitive (cf. (6)), locative (cf. (7)) and all no Agentive verb's variants.

Our analysis argues that *le-predicates* involve event modification of the syntactic argument *le* ( $\phi P$ ) that is legitimated by a unergative argument structure. The unergative argument structure satisfy the requirements of *le-predicates* formation in the next way: in the unergative argument projection there is an abstract predicate 'Do' that ensures the argument position for *le* (cf. requirements (i) and (ii) above), also 'Do' triggers the external subject interpretation for the Agent (cf. (ii)), and finally, this abstract predicate involves the necessary process subevent that is the target of the *locus* modification in the semantic derivation (cf. (ii)). Furthermore, in the case of *change of state* transitive verbs (with an abstract predicate 'Become' subordinated to 'Do'), *le* pseudo-incorporation causes both intransitivization and the blocking of a semantic argument for the change of state subevent (corresponding to the 'Become' argument projection). We take the right dislocation of the erstwhile Accusatives as syntactic evidence of this blocking (cf. (1)).

We will demonstrate that *le-predicates* argument structure is similar to the unergative argument structure, even if the verbal base is either transitive, unergative or (agentive) unaccusative. *Le-predicates* are similar to unergative predicates in that they have an Agentive external subject, they denote processes (activities) and they have a (*le*) syntactic argument that is not an affected object (but an event modifier).

Examples:

- (1) Te dije que no *le*<sub>i</sub> abrieras a la puerta<sub>ij</sub> (Transitive base)  
 You.DAT (I)-told that NEG LE open to the door.OBL.  
 "I told you not to open-*there* at the door."
- (2) Hoy quiero bailar*le* con las más guapa. (Unergative base)  
 Today (I)-want danceLE with the most handsomeFEM.  
 "Today I want to dance-*on* with the most handsome one"
- (3) *¿Le* sales tú o *le* salgo yo? (Unaccusative base)  
 LE go-out you or *le* go-out I  
 "Are you going out-*there* or do I?"
- (4) \*Los claveles no *le* florecen. ('Pure' unaccusative base)  
 The carnations NEG *le* flower  
 \*"The carnations does not flower-*on*"
- (5) \**Le* estoy cansada (Stative base)  
 LE I-am tired.  
 \*"I am being tired"
- (6) \*<sub>i</sub>A regalar*le*! (Ditransitive base)  
 To gift*le*

\*"Let's do gifting"

(7) \*Ayúdame a enjaularle.

Help-me to cageLE

\*"Help me to cage-*on*"

(Locative base)

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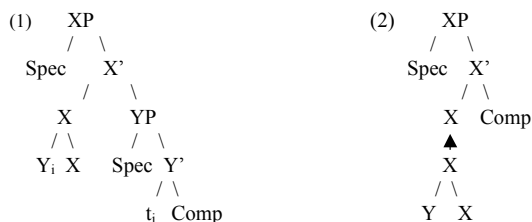
## On the Morphosyntactic Competition in Catalan Compounds

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1. Introduction I first reconsider the derivation and productivity of Catalan synthetic compounds of the type  $[NV]_V$  in which the N indicates inalienable possession (e.g. *alatrencar* (to-wing-break) ‘to break the wings (of an animal)’ (cf. Mascaro 1986, Gavarró 1990, a.o.). Secondly, I explore the validity of the competition analysis between syntax (S) and morphology (M) as put forward by Ackema & Neeleman (AN) (2004), by looking at some types of Catalan compounds.

2. Two types of word formation and predictions I present two different views of word formation: (i) complex words are formed by syntactic movement (cf. Roeper & Siegel 1978, Baker 1988, Hale & Keyser 1993) (1) and (ii) complex words are generated by an independent morphological system (cf. Selkirk 1982, Di Sciullo & Williams 1987, Gràcia & Fullana (GF) 1999, 2000, AN 2004) (2).



The two different views make opposite predictions with respect to stranding and the elements which can surface in the first position of the compound. I show that the syntactic account cannot explain the ungrammaticality of the syntactic material left behind, after the N has incorporated into the V (3). Similarly, the syntactic account has no explanation for the incorporation of the head of adjuncts, these being islands for extraction (4).

(3) a. En Joan trençà les ales llargues dels ocells ‘John broke the birds’ long wings’

The John broke the wings long of-the birds

b. \*En Joan *alatrencà* les t llargues dels ocells

(4) a. En Joan porta la Maria a coll

The John carries the Mary on neck

‘John carries Mary on his shoulders’

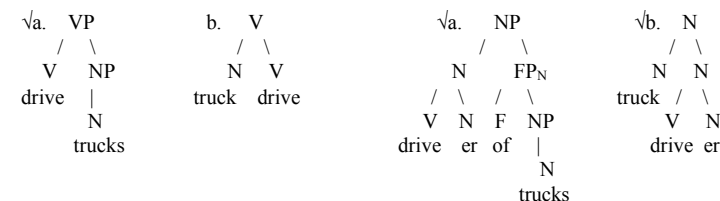
b. En Joan *coll*porta la Maria

3. Competition analysis: S vs. M (cf. AN 2004) S and M can be seen as two competitive generative systems since two lexical items can be combined either

morphologically or syntactically. AN propose that all else being equal in languages like Catalan syntax takes precedence, although morphological merger is also possible in certain circumstances. That is, there is competition between S and M when there is merger of the same categories, and the semantic relation between the categories is the same in the syntactic and morphological structure (5). Morphological merger is possible when there is no syntactic competitor, i.e. when different categories merge or the semantic relation between them is different in the two structures (6). Whereas in (6a) *truck* is the internal theta-role of *drive*, in (6b) it is a modifier of the verb.

(5) √They drive trucks vs. \*They truckdrive

(6) √driver of trucks vs. √truck driver



Given this competition, if two lexical items can be combined both syntactically and morphologically, they must have different semantics or different merger of categories. (7) shows that in Catalan the syntactic and morphological structures have different semantics, which explains why both constructions are possible, as predicted by the M-S competition. However, I argue that the competition analysis cannot be really tested with this type of compounding ( $[NV]_V$ ), due to its low productivity in the language (contra GF 1999, 2000; cf. Adelman 2002).

(7) a. El doctor va glaçar la sang de la Maria (only literal reading)

‘The doctor froze Mary’s blood’

b. Aquella notícia terrible va *sang*glaçar la Maria (only metaphorical reading)

‘Mary was scared stiff by that terrible piece of news’

With the V in past participial form, however, NV compounds are quite productive ((8), cf. Booij’s 2006 study on Dutch verbal compounds). The study of this type of compound (8) and other productive types of compounding, i.e.  $[AdvV]_V$  (9) and  $[NA]_A$  (10), allows us to see that the morphological constructs constitute counterexamples to the competition theory unless a very fine-grained semantic analysis is used.

(8) a. una persona *colltorta* (a person neck-twisted)

b. una persona *torta de coll*

(9) a. *malinterpretar* (badly+interpret)

b. *interpretar malament*

(10) a. un noi *camallarg* (a boy leg-long)

b. un noi *llarg de cames*

4. Conclusion Catalan [NV]<sub>v</sub> compounds are generated by an independent morphological system, and not by syntactic movement. A fine-grained semantic analysis is needed for the morphosyntactic competition to work.

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### The prefix *re-* as a degree quantifier and "comparable" syntactic structures in Romance

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This talk focuses on the behaviour of the Catalan and Spanish prefix *re-* as an intensifier of the adjectival base to which it attaches (cf. Martín 1998; Gràcia et al 2000), resulting in words like Catalan *rebò* and Spanish *rebueno* (re+good) 'very good'.

- (1) a. rebò (re+good) (2) a. rebueno (re+good)

These morphologically derived synthetic words can be compared to some syntactic structures of the type illustrated in (3), which get the intensifier reading by having the quantifier *molt/muy* 'very' (3a) or by repeating the adjective twice (3b).

- (3) a. molt bo / muy bueno (very good)  
 b. bo bo / bueno bueno (good good)

The main goal of this talk is to specify the semantics of each construction and the contexts in which the prefix *re-*, the quantifier *molt/muy* 'very' and the duplication of adjectives are licensed. Consider the following contrasts:

- (4) a. una nena *remaca*/una niña *reguapa* (a girl re+pretty)  
 b. \*una acció *rematerna*/\*una acción *rematerna* (an action very motherly)  
 c. \*viatges *reocasionals* a Califòrnia/viajes *reocasionales* a California (trips reoccasional to California)
- (5) a. un cabell *molt sedós*/un pelo *muy sedoso* (a very silky hair)  
 b. \*indústria *molt sedera*/\*industria *muy sedera* (industry very silky)  
 c. \*l'assassí *molt presumpte*/\*el asesino *muy presunto* (the murderer very alleged)
- (6) a. un edifici *alt alt*/un edificio *alto alto* (a building high high)  
 b. ?\*una reunió *estudiantil estudiantil*?\*una reunión *estudiantil estudiantil* (a meeting student student)  
 c. \*l'assassí *presumpte presumpte*/\*el asesino *presunto presunto* (the murderer alleged alleged)

The previous contrasts can be accounted for by looking at the adjectival predicates on which each construction is based. We claim that the base must denote a scalar quality. That is, the predicate must project a scale which may manifest different degrees of the gradable property at different times. Degrees can be seen as a set of points along the scale (e.g. BEAUTY) which can be intensified, resulting in a higher or lower degree

(cf. Hay et al. 1999, Croft & Cruse 2004). The type of adjectives that best fit the requirement of having a scalar quality in their inherent semantics are the qualificative adjectives, although relational and adverbial adjectives can also be used as input but only under very restricted conditions (cf. Demonte 1999, Picallo 2002).

Apparently it looks like the morphological construction (*re*-prefixation) has a counterpart in syntax (*molt/muy*+*A*, *A*+*A*). However, as we will show, they are not exactly identical semantically. The features present in each structure and the notion of competence will be used to distinguish among the different constructions. We will claim that the meaning of each expression is derived compositionally. For example, *bo bo* cannot be simply treated as a single instance of the adjective, *bo*. In other words, the value on the scale of GOODNESS is higher in the case of *bo bo* than simply *bo*. The same reasoning applies to the other constructions under study (cf. Uriagereka 2005).

In addition, we will also show that there is a contrast in usage between the three processes. The processes of adjective duplication and modification of an adjective by *molt/muy* do not seem to be subject to as many restrictions as *re*-prefixation does. We argue that although the prefix can, in principle, attach to all bases denoting a scalar quality, their actual coming together is constrained by several factors (i.e. competitive, pragmatic, competitive factors, among others).

The iteration of adjectives resulting in a higher value of the property denoted by the adjective can also be found in other languages like French (7). However, French contrasts with Catalan/Spanish in that the negation of the sentence implies the opposite quality of the adjective in French (8a), but not in Catalan/Spanish, for which the quality of the adjective is between the adjective alone and the duplication of adjectives (8b,c).

- (7) a. Un monde fou fou fou fou (title of a film; Riegel et al. 1994) ‘It’s a Mad Mad Mad Mad World’ (original title)  
 b. Belles, belles, belles comme le jour (title of a song, Riegel et al. 1994) (beautiful, beautiful, beautiful like the day)
- (8) a. C’est pas joli joli (this is not nice nice) ‘This is very ugly’  
 b. Això no és maco maco (this is not nice nice) ‘This is more than nice (but does not reach the quality of being very nice)’  
 c. Esto no es bonito bonito (same as (7b))

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## The Interaction between Tense and Aspect. A Syntactic and Semantic Account- a general point of view

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This article deals with the temporal and aspectual system from the point of view of the minimalist perspective. But we have to take into consideration the linguistic theories on the syntax and semantics till today. In order to develop a theory on the temporality and aspect, we have to take into consideration the morphology, syntax and semantics. The article provides a comparison between the three languages: English, French and Romanian.

Tense- some theories

Reichenbach (1947) represented the semantics of the tense in the following manner: the perfect is studied by the intermediate of present and past. There are the three points: S, R, E. The Speech Time (S), the Reference Time (R) and the Event Time (E). There are several relations between these three entities: - coincidence (';', '''), precedence (''\_''). The past is represented by: E, R, S and the Present Perfect by E, R, S. Dowty(1982), Nerbonne(1984) give some precise references on this system. Alexiadou, Rathert, Von Stechow (2003) find that the Reichenbach's representation could solve the problem of Present Perfect Puzzle (Klein 1992), because Reichenbach assumes that the temporal adverbials can specify the action time and the event time. But this system needs the additional rules.

Alexiadou, Rathert, Von Stechow (2003) decompose the Perfect in: Present, Past and Future.

Aspect- some theories

Viewpoint

Klein (1992) there are some relationships between the event point of view and the reference. Smith (1991) talks about viewpoint aspect, Kamp and Reyle (1993) about temporal localisation. For Klein, Paslawska / Stechow the Perfect is an aspect.

Aktionsarten / Situation Aspect

Smith (1991) introduces the notion of situation aspect. Vendler(1957), Taylor(1977), Dowty (1972)- temporal feature of VP (state, achievement, accomplishment).

Tense and Aspect

The very important constructions are with *have* – perfect and *be*-perfect, *be* and *have* being or not the auxiliaries.

HAVE - perfect

Taking into consideration the studies of Alexiadou, Rathert, Von Stechow(2003) on Perfect Exploration, they introduce the notions of Universal, Experiential and Resultant.

a) Universal

English (1) *Since 2005, Mary has written a novel.*

The action of this verb started in a past moment. The reference moment is 2005. The span time is the period between 2005 and the moment of speech.

French (2) *Depuis 2005, Marie écrit un roman.*

Adverbial Mary write- Pres a novel

Romanian (3) *Din 2005, Maria scrie un roman.*

Prep 2005 Mary write-Pres a novel

In Romance languages like French and Romanian present is used instead of perfect to express the Universal.

b) Experiential

English (4) *Marie has studied Japanese (before).*

The experiential perfect should be interpreted using also un past: 'Mary studied Japanese before.'

French (5) *Marie a étudié le japonais avant.*

Mary studied- Past japanese before.

Romanian (6) *Maria a studiat japoneza inainte.*

Mary studied – Past before

c) Resultant

English (7) *Mary has just found her keys.*

French (8) *Marie vient de trouver ses clés.*

Mary has just found her keys

Romanian (9) *Maria tocmai si- a gasit cheile.*

Mary just her has found-Perf keys

The action takes place before the moment of speech, but very closed to this moment. And may be there are some consequences. For French, the expression 'vient de + Inf' is used and for Romanian the adverbial 'tocmai'+ Perf (perfect compus). Pancheva, Iatridou, Rathert (2003) tried to represent the Perfect using only a uniform structure. The debate between Universal and Experiential should be solved using The Present Perfect Puzzle (Klein, 1992). (

BE- perfect

Alexiadou, Rathert, Von Stechow (2003) be – perfect has a resultative interpretation. They use the adverbial 'still' to show that the action lasts on the period of time and it is not irreversible.

English	(10)	<i>The shop is still opened.</i>
French	(11)	Le magasin est encore ouvert. The shop is-Pres still open
Romanian	(12)	Magazinul este inca deschis. The shop is -Pres still open.

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### Pre-verbal n-words in Spanish: a case of PF-deletion

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It is well-known that Spanish pre-verbal n-words cannot co-occur with the sentential negative marker (SNM) without yielding a double negation reading. This is illustrated in (1).

- (1) Nadie \*(no) nos dio nada para cenar  
N-person not us gave.3<sup>rd</sup>.SG n-thing for dinner  
'Nobody gave us anything for dinner'

I propose that such a restriction in Spanish results from the application of an allomorphy rule that deletes the SNM at PF. Ackema and Neeleman (2004) discuss a number of cases where the content of syntactic terminals is altered or deleted, with consequences for their Spell-Out. For such rules to apply, two elements which share some feature(s) must occur in the same prosodic phrase ( $\Phi$ ).

Since Spanish and Catalan are head-initial languages, the right edges of XPs correspond to  $\Phi$ s. In addition, traces are assumed to trigger  $\Phi$ -closure (Ackema and Neeleman 2004). For a sentence such as the one in (2), the prosodic phrasing would be (3b). Notice that the SNM and the trace of the n-word in Spec, NegP are in the same  $\Phi$  at one stage of the derivation. The right environment is thus created for the application of the allomorphy rule in (4).

- (2) Nadie jugó al fútbol  
N-person played.3<sup>rd</sup>.SG to-the football  
'Nobody played football'

- (3) a. [<sub>TP</sub> Nadie<sub>i</sub> [<sub>T</sub> [<sub>NegP</sub> *t*<sub>i</sub> [<sub>Neg'</sub> [<sub>Neg</sub> (no) [<sub>VP</sub> *t*<sub>i</sub> [<sub>V'</sub> [<sub>V</sub> jugó [<sub>PP</sub> al fútbol]]]]]]]]]]  
b. { $\Phi$  Nadie *t*} { $\Phi$  (no) *t*} { $\Phi$  jugó al fútbol}

- (4) {... A [Neg, phi-features] ... B [Neg] ... }  $\rightarrow$  {... A [Neg, phi-features] ... B [ ] ... }  
Spell-Out: B [Neg]  $\rightarrow$  /no/  
B [ ]  $\rightarrow$  no phonological realisation

The claim is that if two terminals with negative features occur in the same prosodic phrase, (4) applies and one of the two elements is devoid from its [Neg] feature. When the element whose [Neg] feature is deleted is the sentential negative marker, the outcome is that the latter is not phonologically realised. This is indicated by the empty square brackets in (4).

In certain accounts, n-words are assumed to move to Spec, NegP (Haegeman and Zanuttini 1991; Zanuttini 1991) for feature-checking purposes. However, in another analysis (Zejlstra 2004), Agree is claimed to take place between the negative marker, which carries an interpretable negative feature, and one or various n-words, which bear [uNeg] features. While I will assume that the latter account is the licensing

