Postsyntactic Feature Insertion

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Distributed Morphology – WS 2009/2010

Feature Disjointness (Embick 2000)

Features that are phonological, or purely morphological, or arbitrary properties of vocabulary items, are not present in the syntax; syntacticosemantic features are not inserted in morphology.

Case (Marantz 1991)

Case is Independent of Syntactic Subject Properties

a. **Jóni**   líkuðu   þessir sokkar

   Jon.DAT like.PL   these socks.NOM

   'Jon likes these socks.'   (JGJ, 143)

b. Það   líkuðu   **einhverjum** þessir sokkar

   EXPL   liked.PL **someone.DAT** these socks.NOM

   'Someone liked these socks.'   (JGJ, 153)

Case is Independent of Syntactic Subject Properties

a. Jón   vonast   til   [að   ___   líka   þessi bók]

    Jon.NOM hopes   for   to   PRO.DAT   like   this book.NOM

    'Jon hopes to like this book.'   (JGJ, 115)

b. * María   vonast til [að   ___   líka   Jóni]

    Maria.NOM hopes   for to   PRO.NOM   like   Jon.DAT

    'Maria hopes that John likes her.'   (JGJ, 116)

Case in Government & Binding Theory

Case Filter:

Every NP must be asigned case to be licensed

The Case Filter in GB

- a. *It arrived the man.

- b. *It was sold the porcupine.

- c. *It seems the porcupine to have danced.

- d. He believed the porcupine to have danced.

Case is Independent of Licensing

a. María   óskaði (Ólafi)   alls   goðs.
   Mary-Nom wished (Olaf-Dat) everything-Gen good-Gen
   'Mary wished Olaf everything good.'

b. Þess   var óskað.
   this-Gen was wished
   'This was wished.'

c. Henni var óskað þess.
   her-Dat was wished this-Gen
   'She was wished this.'

Marantz' Explanation for Apparent Case Effects in Syntax

- ▶ **The EPP** accounts for movement of NPs to subject position

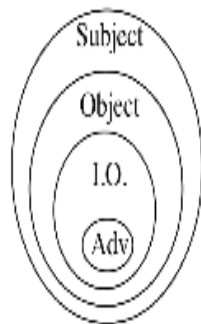- ▶ **The Residue of Case Theory:** Overt NPs must be governed by a lexical item or [+tense INFL]

Deriving the Case Filter by the EPP

a. e arrived the man.

b. e was sold the porcupine.

c. e seems to me the porcupine to have danced.

Agreement (Bobaljik 2008)

The Moravcsik Hierarchy

Moravcsik (1974) Universals:, (cf. revisions Moravcsik 1978)

If in a language the verb agrees with anything, it agrees with some or all (1978 intransitive) subjects.

If the verb agrees with anything other than subjects, it agrees with some or all direct objects

If the verb agrees with anything other than S, DO, it agrees with some or all indirect objects.

• *Stated over* **languages**, *not sentences.*

Agreement with Nominative, not Subject (Hindi)

(2) Raam-ne   roTii   khaayii   thii.   [Hindi]

Ram-ERG   bread-**NOM**.FEM   eat(perf, fem)   be(past,fem)

'Ram had eaten bread.'   (Mahajan 1990, 73)

(3) Siitaa-ko   laRke   pasand   the.   [Hindi]

Sita-DAT   boys-**NOM**,MASC   like   be(past,masc.pl)

'Sita likes the boys.'   (Mahajan 1991 (7))

Agreement with Nominative, not Subject (Icelandic)

a. **Jóni** líkuðu þessir sokkar

   Jon.DAT like.PL these socks.NOM

   'Jon likes these socks.' (JGJ, 143)

b. Það líkuðu **einhverjum** þessir sokkar

   EXPL liked.PL **someone.DAT** these socks.NOM

   'Someone liked these socks.' (JGJ, 153)

Bobaljik's Argument

- ▶ Agreement is parasitic to case

- ▶ If case is postsyntactic, so is agreement

Voice (Embick 1998,2000)

Feature Disjointness

Features that are phonological, or purely morphological, or arbitrary properties of vocabulary items, are not present in the syntax; syntacticosemantic features are not inserted in morphology.

Active and Passive in Latin

Present indicative active
am-ō 'I love'
am-ā-s 'you love'
am-a-t 'he/she loves'
am-ā-mus 'we love'
am-ā-tis 'you love'
am-a-nt 'they love'

Present passive
am-or 'I am loved'
am-ā-ris 'you are loved'
am-ā-tur 'he/she is loved'
am-ā-mur 'we are loved'
am-ā-minī 'you are loved'
am-a-ntur 'they are loved'

Latin Deponent Verbs

Present of deponent

hort-or 'I exhort'

hort-ā-ris 'you exhort'

hort-ā-tur 'he/she exhorts'

hort-ā-mur 'we exhort'

hort-ā-minī 'you exhort'

hort-a-ntur 'they exhort'

Latin Deponent Verbs

Puer   mīlitem   sequi-tur.
boy-NOM soldier-ACC follow-PASS.3SG
'The boy is following the soldier.'

Puer   mīlitem   sequi-tur.
boy-NOM soldier-ACC follow-PASS.3SG
'The boy is following the soldier.'

Perfect of Deponent Verbs

(3) *Perfect indicative active*[9]

1sg. am-ā-v-ī
'I have loved'

2sg. am-ā-v-istī
'you have loved'

3sg. am-ā-v-it
'he/she has loved'

1pl. am-ā-v-imus
'we have loved'

2pl. am-ā-v-istis
'you have loved'

3pl. am-ā-v-ērunt
'they have loved'

(4) *Perfect indicative passive*

1sg. am-ā-t-us/-a/-um sum
'I was/have been loved'

2sg. am-ā-t-us/-a/-um es
'you were/have been loved'

3sg. am-ā-t-us/-a/-um est
'he/she was/has been loved'

1pl. am-ā-t-ī/-ae/-a sumus
'we were/have been loved'

2pl. am-ā-t-ī/-ae/-a estis
'you were/have been loved'

3pl. am-ā-t-ī/-ae/-a sunt
'they were/have been loved'

Perfect of Deponent Verbs

*hort-ā-v-ī 'I (have) exhorted'; compare (3)

hort-ā-t-us sum 'I (have) exhorted'

Syntactic Freedom of Aux + Participle in Passives

a. Ea   *adhibi-t-a*   doctrīna   *est* ...
   such-FEM add-to-PART-FEM instruction-NOM be-PRES.3SG
   'Such instruction has been given ...'
   (Q., Fr.i.1.7; Allen and Greenough 1931:304)

b. Ut ex   unō quondam in duōs populōs *dīvī-s-a*   Albana rēs
   as out-of one once   into two peoples divide-PART-FEM Alban nation
   est ...
   be-PRES.3SG
   'As formerly from one people the Alban nation was divided into two ...'
   (L., I.28.7)

Syntactic Freedom of Aux + Participle in Deponents

a. Lex   Terentilia ... novōs   *adgres-s-a*

law-NOM Terentilian ... new-ACC.MASC.PL menace-PART-FEM

cōnsulēs   *est.*

cōnsul-PL.ACC be-PRES.3SG

'The Terentilian law ... menaced the new consuls.'

(L., III.X.5)

References

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