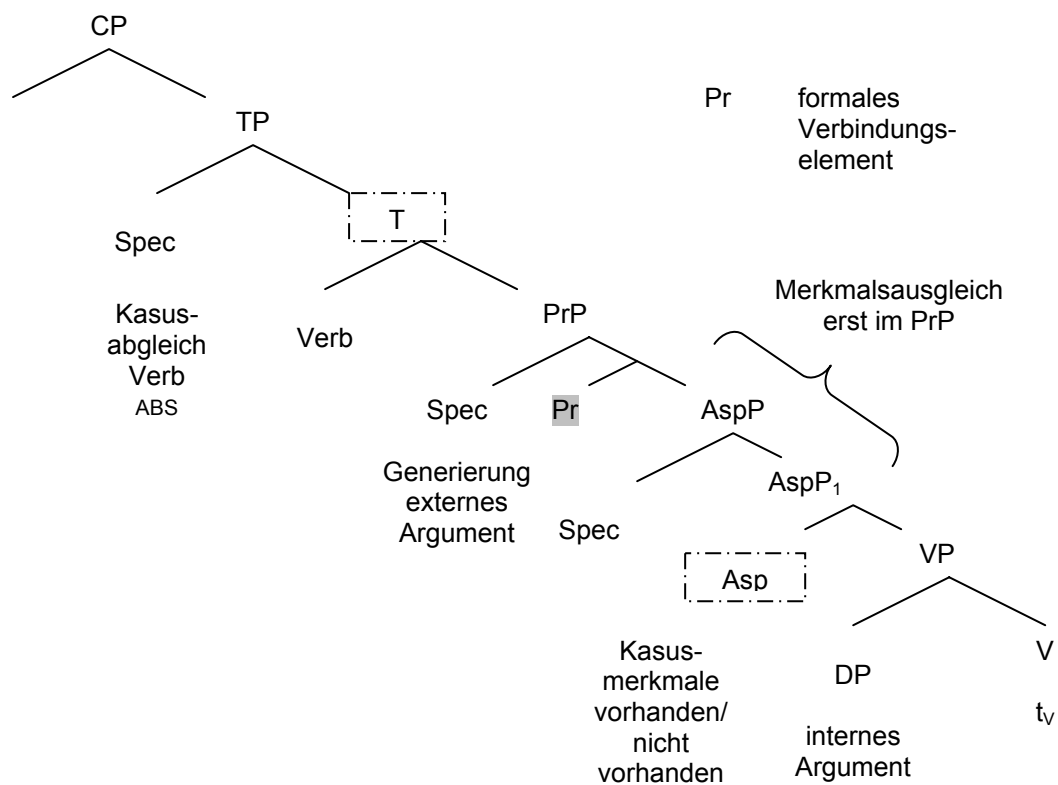


## Reference Set, Minimal Link Condition, and Parametrization

### Masanori Nakamura

Analyse des Tagalog nach Nakamura und anderen



### Topik-Morphologie im Tagalog

AT = Agent Topic Construction (=Antipassiv)

Agens ist strukturelles Subjekt

TT = Theme Topic Construction

Objekt ist strukturelles Subjekt (fraglich in wie weit unser Kategoriensystem an dieser Stelle angebracht ist)

**Reference Set**

A set of derivations that arise from the same numeration.

**Numeration**

A set of pairs  $(l, n)$  where  $l$  is an item of the lexicon and  $n$  is its index understood to be the number of times that  $l$  is selected.

**Reference Set (revised)**

A set of derivations that arise from non-distinct numerations.

**Non-Distinctiveness**

Numerations  $N$  and  $N'$  are non-distinct if and only if there is a one-to-one correspondence  $C$  between their members, such that if  $(l, n) \in N$  and  $(l', n') \in N'$  and  $(l, n)$  corresponds to  $(l', n')$  in  $C$  then  $l$  and  $l'$  have the same *interpretable* features and  $n = n'$ .

interpretierbare Merkmale	uninterpretierbare Merkmale
Zugriff auch möglich	Zugriff nur bis
nachdem Merkmale abgeglichen wurden	Merkmalsabgleich
Kategoriale Merkmale $\Phi$ -Merkmale von Nomen	phonologische Merkmale, Kasusmerkmale $\Phi$ -Merkmale von Verben Affixmerkmale

**Minimal Link Condition**

Derivation  $D$  blocks derivation  $D'$  if there exist chain links  $CL \in D$  and  $CL' \in D'$  such that  $CL$  and  $CL'$  are comparable and  $CL$  is shorter than  $CL'$   
(Vergleichbarkeit: Derivationen gehören zum selben Referenzset)

**Length of Chain Link**

Length of chain link  $CL$  is the number of maximal projections that dominate the tail but not the head.

...  $[_{XP} \alpha_i X [_{YP} UP Y [_{ZP} t_i Z WP]]]$  ...

CL: 2

## Implikationen

ECP kann durch globale Ökonomie ersetzt werden

dafür Modifizierung der Definition eines Reference Sets

MLC ist nicht lokal sondern global

⇒ Ökonomiebedingung, welche zwischen verschiedenen Derivationen auswählt

Vorschlag:

inter- und intralinguistische Variation innerhalb der Extrahierbarkeit

Argument/Adjunkt-Asymmetrien entstehen durch Unterschiede in Asp

➔ mit Kasus - in AT-Konstruktion

➔ ohne Kasus - in TT-Konstruktion

Falls eine Sprache keine kasuslose Asp besitzt (wie Niuean) dann gibt es keine derivationalen Alternativen und Argument-Extrahierung kann frei erfolgen

1a.	B-um-ili bought (AT)	si Juan ABS-Juan	ng isda INH-fish	para kay Maria. for OBL-Maria		
	'Juan bought fish for Maria'					
1b.	B-in-ili bought (TT)	ni Juan ERG-Juan	ng isda ABS-fish	para kay Maria. for OBL-Maria		
	'Juan bought the fish for Maria'					
2a.	Sino ang who ANG	b-um-ili bought (AT)	ng damit? INH-dress			
	'Who is the one that bought the dress?'					
2b.	*Ano ang what ANG	b-um-ili bought (AT)	si Juan? ABS-Juan			
	('What is the thing that Juan bought?')					
3a.	*Sino ang who ANG	b-in-ili bought (TT)	ang damit? ABS-dress			
	('Who is the one that bought the dress?')					
3b.	Ano ang what ANG	b-in-ili bought (TT)	ni Juan? ERG-Juan			
	'What is the thing that Juan bought?'					
4a.	*Sino ang who ANG	b-um-ili bought (AT)	si Juan ABS-Juan	ng kotse? INH-car		
	('Who is the one that Juan bought t car?')					
4b.	Sino ang who ANG	b-in-ili bought (TT)	ni Juan ERG-Juan	ng kotse? ABS-car		
	'Who ist he one that Juan bought t car?'					
5.	Sino ang who ANG	kabibili buy (RP)	lang just INH-cloth	ng tela?		
	'Who is the one that has just bought cloth?'					
6a.	Nag-sabi said (AT)	si Pedro ABS-Pedro	na COMP	b-um-ili bought (AT)	si Linda ABS-Linda	ng kotse. INH-car
	'PEDRO sagte, dass LINDA ein Auto kaufte.					
6b.	Nag-sabi said (AT)	si Pedro ABS-Pedro	na COMP	b-in-ili bought (TT)	ni Linda ERG-Linda	ang kotse. ABS-car
	'PEDRO sagte, dass Linda DAS AUTO kaufte.					
6c.	S-in-abi said (TT)	ni Pedro ERG-Pedro	na COMP	b-um-ili bought (AT)	si Linda ABS-Linda	ng kotse. INH-car
	'Pedro sagte, DASS LINDA EIN AUTO KAUFTE.					
6d.	S-in-abi said (TT)	ni Pedro ERG-Pedro	na COMP	b-in-ili bought (TT)	ni Linda ERG-Linda	ang kotse. ABS-car
	'Pedro sagte, DASS LINDA DAS AUTO KAUFTE.					
7a.	Sino ang who ANG	nag-sabi said (AT)	na COMP	b-in-ili bought (TT)	ni Linda ERG-Linda	ang kotse? ABS-car
7b.	*Sino ang who ANG	s-in-abi said (TT)	na COMP	b-in-ili bought (TT)	ni Linda ERG-Linda	ang kotse? ABS-car
8a.	*Ano ang what ANG	sag-sabi said (AT)	si Pedro ABS-Pedro	na COMP	b-um-ili bought (AT)	si Linda? ABS-Linda
	('What is the thing that Pedro said that Linda bought?')					
8b.	*Ano ang what ANG	nag-sabi said (AT)	si Pedro ABS-Pedro	na COMP	b-in-ili bought (TT)	ni Linda? ERG-Linda
	('What is the thing that Pedro said that Linda bought?')					
8c.	*Ano ang what ANG	s-in-abi said (TT)	ni Pedro ERG-Pedro	na COMP	b-um-ili bought (AT)	si Linda? ABS-Linda
	('What is the thing that Pedro said that Linda bought?')					
8d.	Ano ang what ANG	s-in-abi said (TT)	ni Pedro ERG-Pedro	na COMP	b-in-ili bought (TT)	ni Linda? ERG-Linda
	'What is the thing that Pedro said that Linda bought?'					

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1a. [<sub>TP</sub> Juan<sub>i</sub> bought (AT) [<sub>PrP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* Pr [<sub>AspP</sub> Asp [<sub>Vp</sub> the fish *t<sub>V</sub>* [<sub>PP</sub> for Maria]]]]]

1b. [<sub>TP</sub> the fish<sub>i</sub> bought (TT) [<sub>PrP</sub> Juan Pr [<sub>AspP</sub> Asp [<sub>Vp</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* *t<sub>V</sub>* [<sub>PP</sub> for Maria]]]]]

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2a. [<sub>CP</sub> *OP<sub>j</sub>* [<sub>TP</sub> *t'<sub>j</sub>* bought (AT) [<sub>PrP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>AspP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>V</sub>* the dress ]]]]]]

2b. \* [<sub>CP</sub> *OP<sub>j</sub>* [<sub>TP</sub> Juan<sub>i</sub> bought (AT) [<sub>PrP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>AspP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>V</sub>* *t<sub>j</sub>* ]]]]]]

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3a. \* [<sub>CP</sub> *OP<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>TP</sub> the dress<sub>j</sub> bought (TT) [<sub>PrP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>AspP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>V</sub>* *t<sub>j</sub>* ]]]]]]

3b. [<sub>CP</sub> *OP<sub>j</sub>* [<sub>TP</sub> *t'<sub>j</sub>* bought (TT) [<sub>PrP</sub> Juan [<sub>AspP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>V</sub>* *t<sub>j</sub>* ]]]]]]

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4a. \* [<sub>CP</sub> *OP<sub>k</sub>* [<sub>TP</sub> Juan<sub>i</sub> bought (AT) [<sub>PrP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>AspP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>V</sub>* [<sub>DP</sub> *t<sub>k</sub>* car ]]]]]]]]

4b. [<sub>CP</sub> *OP<sub>k</sub>* [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> *t<sub>k</sub>* car ]<sub>j</sub> bought (TT) [<sub>PrP</sub> Juan [<sub>AspP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>V</sub>* *t<sub>j</sub>* ]]]]]]

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5. [<sub>CP</sub> *OP<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>TP</sub> the bought (RP) [<sub>PrP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>AspP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>V</sub>* cloth ]]]]]]

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7a. [<sub>CP</sub> *OP<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>TP</sub> *t'<sub>j</sub>* said(AT) [<sub>PrP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>V</sub>* [<sub>CP</sub> ... bought (TT) ... ]]]]]]

7b. [<sub>CP</sub> *OP<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> ... bought (TT) ... ]<sub>j</sub> said(AT) [<sub>PrP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>V</sub>* *t<sub>j</sub>*]]]]]

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8a. \* [<sub>CP</sub> *OP<sub>k</sub>* [<sub>TP</sub> Pedro<sub>i</sub> said(AT) [<sub>PrP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>V</sub>* [<sub>CP</sub> *t'<sub>k</sub>* [<sub>TP</sub> bought (AT) ... *t<sub>k</sub>* ]]]]]]]]

8b. \* [<sub>CP</sub> *OP<sub>k</sub>* [<sub>TP</sub> Pedro<sub>i</sub> said(AT) [<sub>PrP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>V</sub>* [<sub>CP</sub> *t''<sub>k</sub>* [<sub>TP</sub> *t'<sub>k</sub>* bought (TT) ... *t<sub>k</sub>* ]]]]]]]]

8c. [<sub>CP</sub> *OP<sub>k</sub>* [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> *t'<sub>k</sub>* [<sub>TP</sub> bought (AT) ... *t<sub>k</sub>* ]]<sub>j</sub> said(TT) [<sub>PrP</sub> Pedro [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>V</sub>* *t<sub>j</sub>*]]]]]

8d. [<sub>CP</sub> *OP<sub>k</sub>* [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> *t''<sub>k</sub>* [<sub>TP</sub> *t'<sub>k</sub>* bought (TT) ... *t<sub>k</sub>* ]]<sub>j</sub> said(TT) [<sub>PrP</sub> Pedro [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>V</sub>* *t<sub>j</sub>*]]]]]