ON THE PARAMETERS BEHIND ANALYTICITY

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1. Introduction

(1) a. argument structure
    b. radical pro-drop

- analyticity with respect to lexical and functional projections
  (the universal base hypothesis and L-syntax)

Huang 2005 (Handout #1): 1. The extensive use of light verb constructions (p.3)
  2. The absence of “virus” on functional heads (p.5)

lexical projections: possible parameters with selection (L-L-L vs. L-F-L-F-L)
functional projections: complications in the structure of DPs (Simpson 2005 (Handouts #1, #2))

2. Complex Predicates

Chinese and Japanese exhibit productive complex predicate formation in syntax.

(2) a. Baoyu xia -shu -le qi
    play-lose-asp chess
    ‘Baoyu played chess (and as a result he) lost it’

    b. Daiyu ku -zou -le henduo keren
    cry-leave-asp many guest
    ‘Daiyu cried (so much that) many guests left’
    (similar to ‘run the pavement thin’ in English)

(3) a. Taroo-ga me-o naki-harasita
    -NOM eye-ACC cry -made swollen
    ‘Taroo cried, and as a result, made his eyes swollen’
b. Hanako-ga rosiago-o /-ga yom-eru
    -NOM Russian-ACC/-NOM read-can
    ‘Hanako can read Russian’

- The light verb constructions involve covert complex predicate formation.

(4) Hanako-ga Taroo-ni /-e [xp toti -no zyooto]-o sita (= su + ta (past))
    -NOM -DAT/-to land-GEN giving -ACC did
    ‘Hanako gave a piece of land to Taroo.’ (Grimshaw and Mester 1988)

(5)

(6) *[cP Opi [TP Hanako-ga Taroo-ni /-e toti -o ti sita] no] -wa zyooto-o, da
    -NOM -DAT/-to land-ACC did COMP-TOP giving-ACC is
    ‘Lit. It is giving that Hanako did a piece of land to Taroo’

- The same analysis can be applied to the Edo resultative serial verb construction.
  (Baker and Stewart 1999, Saito 2001)

(7) Òzó ghá gbè èwé wù
    Ozo FUT hit goat die
    ‘Ozo will strike the goat dead’

(8) a. Òzó tóbórè ghá gié!gié lè èvbaré
    Ozo by self FUT quickly cook food
    ‘Ozo by himself will quickly cook the food’
b. Òzó ghá (gié!gié) tòbórè lé èvbàrè
   Ozo FUT quickly by self cook food

c. Òzó miánmián yá tòbórè lé èvbàrè
   Ozo forgot to by self cook food
   ‘Ozo forgot to cook the food by himself’

(9) *Ózó sùá ògó dé tòbórè
   Ozo push bottle fall by self
   ‘Ozo pushed the bottle down by itself’

(10) Úyi dé tòbórè
    Uyi fall by self
    ‘Uyi fell by himself’

(11)

- English resultatives exhibit distinct properties.
  (Carrier and Randall 1992)

(12) a. She painted the barn red
    b. The kids laughed themselves sick

(13) a. How flat did they hammer the metal
    b. How red did she paint the barn ... No covert incorporation (cf. (6))

(14) a. Why is it that Edo resultatives cannot be derived by NP-movement?
    b. Why is it that English resultatives do not involve overt head movement?
(15) \*L \( \rightarrow \) F \( \rightarrow \) L \quad (\text{cf. Li 1990})

(16) a. How proud of himself does John think Bill is  
    b. How proud of himself does John consider Bill \quad (\text{cf. Huang 1993})

(17) a. English verbs (and adjectives) need to be associated with functional heads.  
    b. Chinese/Edo/Japanese verbs (and adjectives) are not subject to this requirement and  
      hence, V-V incorporation (overt or covert) is possible in these languages.

3. On the Structure of DPs

- universal base for DPs: \([\text{DP} \ldots [\text{CLP} \ldots [\text{NP} \ldots]]]\) \quad (\text{Simpson 2005 (Handouts #1 and #2)})

(18) san -satu -no hon  
    three-volume-GEN book  
    ‘three books’

(19) \[ 
\begin{array}{c}
\text{QP} \\
\quad \text{#P} \\
\qquad \text{Q'} \\
\quad \text{CaseP} \\
\qquad \text{Q} \\
\quad \text{NP} \\
\quad \text{Case'} \\
\quad \text{#P} \\
\quad \text{Case} \\
\quad \text{three} \\
\quad \text{#'} \\
\quad \text{NP} \\
\quad \text{book} \\
\quad \text{volume} \\
\end{array} \]  
    (Watanabe 2005)

- Constraints on Ellipsis \quad (\text{Saito and Murasugi 1990, Lobeck 1990})

(20) \[ \text{[DP XP's } D \text{[NP --- ]] \]}
    a. I liked \([\text{DP Bill's } \text{[NP wine]]} \], but I didn’t like \([\text{DP John's } \text{[NP wine]}] \]
    b. *I wanted to read \([\text{DP a } \text{[NP book]}] \), so I bought \([\text{DP a } \text{[NP book]}] \]
    c. *I read about \([\text{DP the } \text{[NP man]}] \), but I haven’t had a chance to see \([\text{DP the } \text{[NP man]}] \]
    d. *I have \([\text{DP Bill's } \text{[NP blue } \text{[N' book]]} \], but I don’t have \([\text{DP John's } \text{[NP green } \text{[N' book]}] \]

(21) a. I left because \([\text{TP John did } \text{[v leave]}] \]
b. John bought something, but I don’t know \[_{CP} \text{what}_{TP} \text{he bought}\]

(22) John bought \[_{QP} \text{three}_{NP} \text{books}\] and Mary bought \[_{QP} \text{four}_{NP} \text{books}\] (Contreras 1992)

- There is NP-ellipsis in Japanese. (Saito and Murasugi 1990)

(23) a. the barbarians’ destruction of the city

b. yuubokumin-no tosi-no hakai
   nomad -GEN city-GEN destruction
   ‘the nomad’s destruction of the city’

(24) a. John’s trip to Europe

b. Taroo-no yooroppa-e-no ryokoo
   -GEN Europe -to-GEN trip
   ‘Taroo’s trip to Europe’

(25) a. \[_{NP} \text{the barbarians’}_{IN} \text{destruction of the city then}]\]
   b. \[_{NP} \text{the city’s}_{IN} \text{destruction}_{I} \text{then}]\] (cf. the destruction of the city then)
   c. \[^{*}_{NP} \text{then’s}_{IN} \text{destruction of the city}_{I} \text{then}]\]

(26) a. Taroo-no taido (subject)
   -GEN attitude

b. rooma-no hakai (object)
   Rome -GEN destruction

c. ame-no hi (modifier)
   rain -GEN day
   ‘a rainy day’

d. hutakire -no hamu (modifier)
   two-piece-GEN ham
   ‘two pieces of ham’

(27) a. [Taroo-no taido] -wa [Hanako-no ə]-yorimo yoi
   -GEN attitude-TOP -GEN -than good
   ‘Taroo’s attitude is better than Hanako’s’
b. [rooma-no hakai] -wa [kyooto-no ∅]-yorimo hisan datta
   Roma -GEN destruction-TOP Kyoto -GEN -than miserable was
   ‘Rome’s destruction was more miserable than Kyoto’s’

c. *(saikin -wa) [hare-no hi]-ga [ame-no ∅]-yorimo ooi
   recently-TOP clear-GEN day-NOM rain-GEN -than plentiful
   ‘Recently, there have been more clear days than rainy days’

d. *[hutakire -no hamu]-wa yuusyoku-ni naru ga, [hitokire -no ∅]-wa
   two-piece-GEN ham -TOP supper -to become though one-piece-GEN -TOP
   nara -nai
   become-not
   ‘Two slices of ham make a supper, but one slice of ham doesn’t’

- CLP in Japanese is a modifier and is not in QP Spec.

4. More on the Structure of DPs (Lin, Murasugi and Saito 2000)

- the parallelism between de and no

(28) Chinese
a. Laowang de taidu (subject)
   Laowang de attitude
   ‘Laowang’s attitude’

b. Luoma de huimie (object)
   Rome de destruction
   ‘Rome’s destruction’

c. mingtian de tianqi (modifier)
   tomorrow de whether
   ‘tomorrow’s whether’

(29) Japanese a. boku-ga kinoo mita (*no) hito
   I -NOM yesterday saw no person
   ‘the person I saw yesterday’
Chinese  b.  wo zuotian kanjian *(de) ren
    I yesterday see *de person
    ‘the person I saw yesterday’

(30) Japanese  a.  san *-satu *(no) hon
    three-CL no book
    ‘three books’

Chinese  b.  san *-ben *(de) shu
    three-CL *de book
    ‘three books’

(31) Japanese
   a.  ame *(no) hi
       rain no day
       ‘rainy day’

   b.  gakusei *(no)hito
       student no person
       ‘persons [who are] students’

(32) Chinese
   a.  *yu de tian
       rain *de day
       ‘rainy day’

   b.  *xuesheng de ren
       student *de person
       ‘persons [who are] students’

   c.  yu -tian
       rain-day
       ‘rainy day’

(33)a.  diwu-shiki de Luoma de huihuai
      fifth-century *de Rome *de destruction
      ‘the destruction of Rome in the fifth century’
b. manzu de chanku de huihuai
barbarian *de cruel *de destruction
‘the cruel destruction of Rome by the barbarians’

(33) a. Luoma de huihuai
Rome *de destruction
‘Rome’s destruction’

b. manzu de huihuai
barbarian *de destruction
‘the barbarians’ destruction’

c. *manzu de Luoma de huihuai
barbarian *de Rome *de destruction
‘The barbarians’ destruction of Rome’

d. *Luoma de manzu de huihuai
Rome *de barbarian *de destruction
‘Rome’s destruction by the barbarians’

(34) Japanese
a. John-wa san -satu-no hon -o katta
John-TOP three-CL *no book-ACC bought
‘John bought three books.’

b. San -satu, John-wa hon -o katta
three-CL John-TOP book-ACC bought
‘It is [for] three that John bought books.’

(35) Chinese
a. Zhangsan mai-le san -ben shu
Zhangsan buy-PERF three-CL book
‘Zhangsan bought three books.’

b. *San -ben, Zhangsan mai-le shu
three-CL Zhangsan buy-PERF book
‘It is [for] three that Zhangsan bought books.’
5. Tentative Conclusions

(37) F – F – F – L – L – L
   a. English: rigid lexical properties, poor syntax of lexical categories
   b. Japanese: rigid lexical properties, rich syntax of lexical categories, poor in
      Functional projections
   c. Chinese: loose lexical properties, rich syntax of lexical categories, rich in
      quasi-lexical, quasi-functional categories (light verbs, recursive D, and CLs)

References