

CONFIGURATIONALITY PARAMETER REVISITED

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1. Introduction

- (1) Hale's (1982) configurationality parameter:
The phrase structure in non-configurational languages is not projected from the lexicon.
Non-configurational languages are not subject to the Projection Principle.
- (2) a. "free" word-order
b. complex verb-words or verb-cum-Aux systems
c. free or frequent "pronoun drop"
- (3) Miyagawa's (1996) hypothesis:
Japanese phrase structure is non-configurational within VP.
- (4) Kuroda's (1988) agreement parameter:
Agreement is obligatory and 1-1 in English, but is optional and can be X-1 in Japanese.
- (5) Derivational configurationality parameter:
Selectional relation (broadly construed to include feature-checking relation) is a necessary condition for Merge in English-type languages, but not in Japanese-type languages.
- (6) a. Merge applies only to satisfy selectional requirements. (Merge implies selection.)
b. Selectional requirements must be satisfied by the application of Merge.
(Selection implies Merge.)
- (7) a. scrambling
b. complex predicates (the light verb construction)
c. NP-ellipsis

2. Scrambling

(8) Japanese/Korean scrambling is an instance of “pure Merge.”
(Murasugi and Saito 1995, Saito 1994, Saito and Fukui 1998, Boskovic and Takahashi 1998)

(9) a. [Yamada-ga sono hon -o yonda] (koto)
-NOM that book-ACC read fact

‘Yamada read that book.’

b. [Sono hon-o_i [Yamada-ga t_i yonda]] (koto)
that book-ACC -NOM read fact

‘That book_i, Yamada read t_i ’

(10) a. [Tanaka-ga [Yamada-ga sono hon -o yonda to] omotteiru] (koto)
-NOM -NOM that book-ACC read that think fact

‘Tanaka thinks that Yamada read that book.’

b. [Sono hon-o_i [Tanaka-ga [Yamada-ga t_i yonda to] omotteiru]] (koto)
that book-ACC -NOM -NOM read that think fact

‘That book_i, Tanaka thinks that Yamada read t_i ’

2.1. Scrambling is not Topicalization

(11) What _{t_i} did John buy t_i : [For which x: x a thing] John bought x

(12) That book _{t_j} , Mary read t_j : [For x: x = that book] Mary read x

(13) a. Who _{t_i} t_i said that John bought that book

b. Who _{t_i} t_i said that that book _{t_j} , John bought t_j

(14) a. Who _{t_i} t_i said that John bought which book

b. *Who _{t_i} t_i said that which book _{t_j} , John bought t_j

(15) A Wh-phrase cannot be interpreted as a topic.

- (16) a. Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga dono hon -o katta to] omotteiru no
 -TOP -NOM which book-ACC bought that think Q

‘[Q [Taroo think that Hanako bought which book]]’

- b. Taroo-wa [dono hon -o_i Hanako-ga *t*_i katta to] omotteiru no
 -TOP which book-ACC -NOM bought that think Q

‘[Q [Taroo think that which book_i, Hanako bought *t*_i]]’

- (17) Sono hon -wa_i Taroo-ga *e*_i katta no
 that book-TOP -NOM bought Q

‘As for that book, did Taroo buy it’

- (18) a. Taroo-ga dono hon -o katta no
 -NOM which book-ACC bought Q

‘Taroo bought which book’

- b. Dono hon -o_i Taroo-ga *t*_i katta no
 which book-ACC -NOM bought Q

- c. *Dono hon -wa_i Taroo-ga *e*_i katta no
 which book-TOP -NOM bought Q

2.2. Radical Reconstruction

- (19) *John asked who to find out [what_i [Mary bought *t*_i]]

- (20) *Taroo-ga dare-ni [Hanako-ga nani-o katta ka] tazuneta (koto)
 -NOM who-to -NOM what-ACC bought Q asked fact

‘(the fact that) Taroo asked who [Q Hanako bought what]’

- (21) A Wh-phrase can only take scope at a CP that contains it.

(22) a. Who_i t_i knows [[which picture of whom]_j Bill bought t_j]
 (van Riemsdijk and Williams 1981)

b. ??[Which picture of whom]_j does John know [who_i t_i bought t_j]

(23) a. [_{TP}Taroo-ga [_{CP}[_{TP}Hanako-ga dono hon -o yonda] ka] siritagatteiru] (koto)
 -NOM -NOM which book-ACC read Q want-to-know fact

‘(the fact that) Taroo wants to know [Q Hanako read which book]’

b. ?[_{TP}Dono hon -o_i [_{TP}Taroo-ga [_{CP}[_{TP}Hanako-ga t_i yonda] ka] siritagatteiru]] (koto)
 which book-ACC -NOM -NOM read Q want-to-know fact

‘(the fact that) which book_i, Taroo wants to know [Q Hanako read t_i]’

(24) a. [_{TP}Taroo-ga [_{CP}[_{TP}minna-ga [_{CP}Hanako-ga dono hon -o yonda to]
 -NOM all -NOM -NOM which book-ACC read that

omotteiru] ka] siritagatteiru] (koto)
 think Q want-to-know fact

‘Taroo wants to know [Q everyone thinks [that Mary read which book]]’

b. ??[_{TP}[_{CP}Hanako-ga dono hon -o yonda to]_i] [_{TP}Taroo-ga [_{CP}[_{TP}minna-ga t_i
 -NOM which book-ACC read that -NOM all -NOM

omotteiru] ka] siritagatteiru]] (koto)
 think Q want-to-know fact

‘[That Hanako read which book]_i, Taroo wants to know [Q everyone thinks t_i]’

(25) Scrambling is not represented at LF. (It does not form an operator-variable chain.)

- (34) Hanako-ga [_{NP}(suugaku-no) syukudai] -o sita
 -NOM math -GEN homework-ACC did
 ‘Hanako did the (math) homework.’ (the main verb *su*)

3.1. An Argument for a Real Syntax-Semantics Mismatch (Sells 1988)

- (35) a. Taroo-ga hasiru
 -NOM run

‘Taroo runs.’

- b. Hanako-ga [Taroo-ni /-o hasir]-aseru
 -NOM -DAT/-ACC run -make

‘Hanako makes Taroo run.’

- (36) a. Taroo-ga hon -o yomu
 -NOM book-ACC read

‘Taroo reads a book.’

- b. Hanako-ga [John-ni /*-o hon -o yom]-aseru
 -NOM -DAT/ -ACC book-ACC read -make

‘Hanako makes Taroo read a book.’

- (37) a. Taroo-ga hamabe-o hasiru
 -NOM beach -ACC run

‘Taroo runs on the beach.’

- b. Hanako-ga [Taroo-ni /??-o hamabe-o hasir]-aseru
 -NOM -DAT/ -ACC beach -ACC run -make

‘Hanako makes Taroo run on the beach.’

(38) A sentence with two accusative argument NPs is hopeless, but it is only marginal when one of the accusative NPs is a non-argument.

(Harada 1973, Shibatani 1973, Kuroda 1978)

(39) a. ??Honda-ga ohaio-de akoodo-o [_{NP}seisan] -o site -iru
 -NOM Ohio -in -ACC production-ACC doing-is

‘Honda is producing Accords in Ohio.’

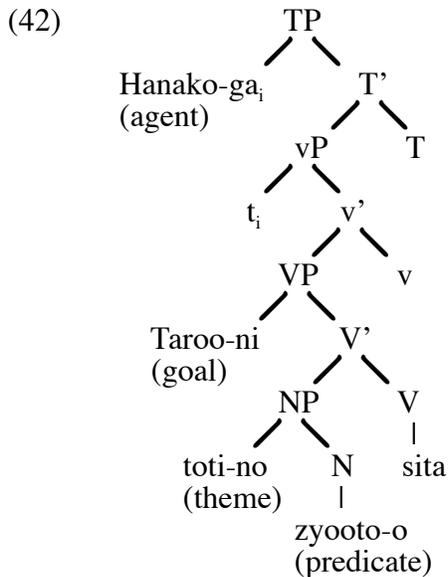
b. ??Hanako-ga Taroo-ni /-e toti -o [_{NP}zyooto]-o sita
 -NOM -DAT/-to land-ACC giving -ACC did

‘Hanako gave a piece of land to Taroo.’

(40) The second accusative NP in (38) must be a non-argument. – It is a predicate.

(41) Japanese phrase structure does not necessarily reflect the predicate-arguments structure.

3.2. The Covert Head-movement Analysis



(43) The weak “double-o effect” disappears when one of the accusative NPs is dislocated.
 (Harada 1973, Shibatani 1973, Kuroda 1978)

4. Further Extension to Argument Ellipsis

(50) a. Taroo-wa sono hon -o mottekimasita ka
 -TOP that book-ACC brought Q

‘Did Taroo bring the book?’

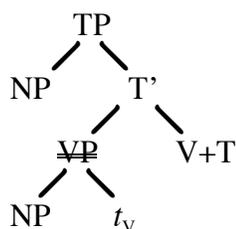
b. Hai, *e e* mottekimasita
 yes brought

‘Yes, he brought it.’

(51) Kuroda 1965: Japanese has phonetically empty pronouns.

4.1. Kim’s 1999 Argument for NP Ellipsis

(52) Otani and Whitman's 1991 VP-deletion analysis



(53) John-wa zibun-no tegami-o suteta; Mary-mo *e* suteta
 -TOP self -GEN letter -ACC discarded -also discarded

‘John threw out his letter, and Mary did too.’

- a. Mary threw out his (John's) letter, too. (strict reading)
- b. Mary threw out her (Mary's) letter, too. (sloppy reading)

(54) Peter likes his picture, and Joan likes it too.

- a. Joan likes his (Peter's) picture, too. (strict reading)
- b. *Joan likes her (Joan's) picture, too. (sloppy reading)

(55) Peter likes his picture, and Joan does too.

- a. Joan likes his (Peter's) picture, too. (strict reading)
- b. Joan likes her (Joan's) picture, too. (sloppy reading)

(56) Kim's 1999 argument ellipsis hypothesis (See also Oku 1998.)

(57) a. Mike-nun James-lul tali-lul ketechassta
 -TOP -ACC leg-ACC kicked

‘Mike kicked James on the leg.’

b. *Mike-nun tali-lul James-lul ketechassta

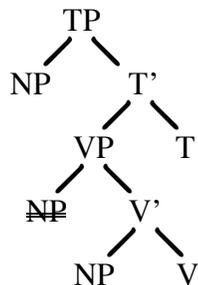
(58) a. Jerry-nun caki-uy ai -lul phal-ul ttayliessta
 -TOP self-GEN child-ACC arm-ACC hit

‘Jerry hit his child on the arm.’

b. Kulena Sally-nun e tali-lul ttayliessta
 but -TOP leg-ACC hit

- i) ‘Sally hit his (Jerry's) child on the leg.’ (strict reading)
- ii) ‘Sally hit her (Sally's) child on the leg.’ (sloppy reading)

(59)



(60) Null objects must result from deletion, but not VP-deletion. They involve NP-ellipsis. The analysis extends to the Chinese data discussed in Xu 1986 and Huang 1987.

- (61) Zhangsan da le *e*
hit Perf
- a. *‘Zhangsan hit himself.’
b. ‘Zhangsan hit someone else.’
- (62) Meigeren piping le ziji ma? Bu, John mei piping le *e*
everyone criticize Perf self Q no not criticize Perf
- ‘Did everyone criticize himself? No, John did not criticize himself.’
- (63) Then, why is it that Chinese/Japanese/Korean allow NP ellipsis and English does not?
- (64) The covert head-movement analysis of the light verb construction suggests that selectional requirements can be satisfied by means other than Merge in Japanese.

4.2. A Restatement of Oku’s 1998 Analysis

- (65) Boskovic and Takahashi’s 1998 analysis of Japanese scrambling:
- a) Scrambled phrases are directly merged at their surface positions and then undergo covert lowering to pick up their θ -roles.
b) θ -features are weak in Japanese. English does not have scrambling because the feature is strong in the language.
(cf. Kitagawa 1990)
- (66) Oku’s 1998 account for argument ellipsis:
Since θ -features are weak in Japanese, selectional requirements of verbs can be satisfied by the LF copying of arguments. Hence, a unified account for “free word-order” and “free or frequent pronoun drop” is achieved.
- (67) In Japanese, selectional requirement can be satisfied by means other than Merge: covert head-movement in the case of the light verb construction and LF copying in the case of argument ellipsis.

5. Conclusion

- (68) a. If Merge (pure Merge or Merge as part of Move) applies to α and β , there is a selectional relation between α and β . (Merge --> selection)
- b. If there is a selection relation between α and β , Merge applies to α and β . (selection --> Merge)
- (69) Chinese is subject to (66a), and English is subject to both (66a) and (66b).
- (70) a. Since Chinese is not subject to (66b), it can have argument ellipsis. (Another possibly relevant factor is the lack of agreement.)
- b. Since Japanese is not subject to (66a-b), it can have scrambling, the light verb construction and argument ellipsis.
- (71) This is a derivational restatement of Hale's original configurationality parameter that incorporates Kuroda's parameterization on agreement.

APPENDIX: SYNTACTIC ANALYTICITY AND COMPLEX PREDICATES

1. Introduction

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

Are the "light verbs" functional heads?

Chinese and Japanese exhibit productive complex predicate formation in syntax.

- (73) 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)

- (74) 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 seem to involve covert complex predicate formation.

2. The Japanese Light Verb Construction (Saito and Hoshi 2000)

Refer to the main text.

3. The Edo Resultative Serial Verb Construction (Baker and Stewart 1999, Saito 2001)

- (75) Òzó ghá gbè èwé wù
Ozo FUT hit goat die

‘Ozo will strike the goat dead’

- (76) a. Òzó tòbòrè ghá gié!gié lé èvbàré
Ozo by self FUT quickly cook food

‘Ozo by himself will quickly cook the food’

- b. Òzó ghá (gié!gié) tòbòrè lé èvbàré
Ozo FUT quickly by self cook food

- c. Òzó miànmián yá tòbórè lé èvbàré
Ozo forgot to by self cook food

‘Ozo forgot to cook the food by himself’

- (78) *Òzó sùá ògó dé tòbórè
Ozo push bottle fall by self

‘Ozo pushed the bottle down by itself’

- (79) Úyi dé tòbórè
Uyi fall by self

‘Uyi fell by himself’

4. The English Resultatives (Carrier and Randall 1992)

- (80) a. She painted the barn red
b. The kids laughed themselves sick
- (81) a. How flat did they hammer the metal
b. How red did she paint the barn ... No covert incorporation (cf. (46b))
- (82) NP-movement like Japanese ni-direct passives. (cf. Whitman 2001)
- (83) Edo vs. English: covert head movement vs. overt NP movement
- (84) *L – F – L (cf. Li 1990)
- (85) a. How proud of himself does John think Bill is
b. How proud of himself does John consider Bill (cf. Huang 1993)

5. Tentative Conclusions

- (86) Chinese/Edo/Japanese vs. English
- (87) English verbs (and adjectives) need to be associated with functional heads.

- (88) 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.

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