

Klaus Abels and Kristine Bentzen
UCL and University of Tromsø

Is there any evidence for punctuated paths?

Mittwoch/Wednesday: 14:30

The paths of long distance dependencies are construed in different ways in various modern frameworks of generative grammar. Whereas in TAG and in HPSG paths are uniform in the sense that they do not contain any distinguished points, in the frameworks proposed by Chomsky since the 1970s, long displacement is modeled as a succession of relatively local “successive cyclic” steps. This gives rise to a non-uniform notion of path since the paths of movement are punctuated by intermediate landing sites that contain intermediate traces or copies.

Most arguments supporting the view that paths are punctuated are based on reconstruction and/or morphological effects along the path of movement. However, as Abels (2003) has pointed out, a true argument for the punctuated nature of movement paths would have to rest on a demonstration that reconstruction is possible to some intermediate places but not to others or that morphological effects show up in some places but not in others. In this paper we provide data from Norwegian showing that reconstruction is available to some positions but not to others, thus supporting the claim that paths in long distance dependencies are indeed punctuated rather than uniform.

Petr Biskup
Universität Leipzig

Agreement, C-Selection, Movement, and Set-Merge

Donnerstag/Thursday: 11:30

Some non-local syntactic relations based on Agree pose a problem for Chomsky’s model with forgotten phases because according to Chomsky (2000, 2001) Agree is subject to the Phase Impenetrability Condition. In this paper, I follow Chomsky’s proposal (1995) that merger of α and β forms $\{\gamma\{\alpha, \beta\}\}$, where γ is the label and α and β sets of features. However, in contrast to the standard assumptions, I propose that for Agree the whole set information of the syntactic object is visible and relevant. Given the Phase Impenetrability Condition, when a phase is spelled out, the complement of the phase head becomes inaccessible. In fact, one can differentiate between the set information about the syntactic structure on particular nodes and the presence of elements in the structure. Although the complement of the phase head is inaccessible (it has been sent to spellout), the information about it is present on the highest node. And since non-complement nodes always stay present in the derivation after spellout, probing elements merged later in the derivation can see the history of the derivation with the relevant goal.

As to Move, although probing elements can see the set information with features of the elements in the phase complement (and in this way, they can be valued), they cannot move the appropriate elements because they are not present in the structure; they have been sent to spellout.

Miriam Butt
Universität Konstanz

Revisiting Long-Distance Agreement in Urdu/Hindi

Donnerstag/Thursday: 10:00

Butt (1993, 1995) analyzes instances of so-called Long-Distance Agreement as in (1) as a series of local agreements and also proposes to make a distinction between truly nominal infinitives vs. verbal infinitives (but both have the same surface form: e.g., *calaanii*).

- (1) naadyaa=ko [gaarii calaa-n-ii] aa-t-ii hai
Nadya.F.Sg=Dat car.F.Sg.Nom drive-Inf-F.Sg.Nom come-Impf.F.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya knows how to drive a car.'

Bhatt (2005) argues against this analysis, claiming that it is motivated by just one specific dialect (Butt's) and that a larger pattern must be accounted for. His analysis involves a disassociation between case and agreement, a new version of AGREE, and crucially invokes the notion of restructuring (Wurmbbrand 1998).

This paper revisits the argumentation, takes a closer look at "restructuring", shows that several different kinds of syntactic structures are actually involved and that the original idea of locality with respect to agreement can be maintained. The talk is accompanied by a computational implementation.

Juan Cuartero und Fabian Heck
Universität Leipzig

Long Distance Agreement in Relative Clauses

Donnerstag/Thursday: 12:00

Relative clauses and clefts that associate with pronouns bearing 1. or 2. person exhibit some cross-linguistic variation with respect to agreement: In German, the verb of the relative clause exhibits 3.-person-agreement. In French, by contrast, the verb shows what appears to be long distance agreement (LDA) with the pronominal head noun with respect to person and number. This is surprising, provided that agreement is usually prevented from applying across clause boundaries. Aims of the talk are (a) to discuss different mechanisms that could bridge the apparent gap in locality and (b) to pursue the question why some languages can resort to (one of these) mechanisms while others cannot.

Among the options that suggest themselves are 1. Head Raising (Brame 1968, Schachter 1973, Vergnaud 1974), 2. Matching (Carlson 1977, Sauerland 2003), and 3. Cyclic Agree (Adger & Ramchand 2005). Perhaps not surprisingly, these options do not come off equally well.

Hans-Martin Gärtner
ZAS, Berlin

Function Composition and the Linear Local Modeling of Extended Neg-Scope
Freitag/Friday: 11:00

This presentation reiterates arguments from Błaszczak & Gärtner (2005) in favor of an (enriched) CCG approach (cf. Steedman 2000) to extending the scope of negative quantifiers over matrix clauses. The interaction of function composition with constraints on linear adjacency, prosodic blocking, wrapping, and type shifting will be discussed.

Andreas Haida
ZAS und Humboldt Universität, Berlin

The Semantics of Successive Cyclic Wh-Movement
Mittwoch/Wednesday: 17:00

In minimalist frameworks, the theory of successive cyclic movement raises serious problems, most notably the problem of what triggers the intermediate movement steps in long-distance *wh*-questions such as (1a), given that *wh*-movement is triggered by an interrogative complementizer ($C^{[+Q]}$) and the embedded clause of (1a) is non-interrogative (see 1b).

- (1) a. Who do you think John loves?
b. $[_{CP1} \text{ who } C^{[+Q]} \text{ you think } [_{CP2} t_{\text{who}} C^{[-Q]} \text{ John loves } t_{\text{who}}]]$

Stepanov & Stateva (2006) show how to solve this problem by assuming that long-distance *wh*-questions share a common structural core with a construction for which the triggering problem has already been solved: *wh*-scope marking questions (see 2 for a German example).

- (2) Was glaubst du wen Hans liebt?
what think you who Hans loves
'Who do you think Hans loves?'

The analysis of Stepanov & Stateva (2006) is a variant of Dayal's (1994) Indirect Dependency Approach, according to which the embedded clause of (2) is interrogative (see 3).

- (3) $[_{CP1} \text{ was } C^{[+Q]} \text{ glaubst du } [_{VP} [_{NP} t_{\text{was}} [_{CP2} \text{ wen } C^{[+Q]} \text{ Hans } t_{\text{wen}} \text{ liebt}]]] t_{\text{glaubst}}]]$

Correspondingly, the sentence in (1a) is analyzed as shown in (4), where *what* is a non-overt scope marker which incorporates into the matrix verb.

- (4) $[_{CP1} \text{ who } C^{[+Q]} \text{ you } [_{VP} \text{ what+think } [_{NP} t_{\text{what}} [_{CP2} t_{\text{who}} C^{[+Q]} \text{ John loves } t_{\text{who}}]]]]$

However, this syntax is not complemented by a compositional semantics. I will fill this gap with an analysis which is based on the partition semantics of Groenendijk & Stokhof (1982). The basic idea of this analysis is that the trace of the scope marker resolves the type mismatch between the matrix verb – which selects for a semantic object of type *st* – and the embedded clause – which denotes an object of type $\langle s, st \rangle$ – by denoting a variable of type *s*. This assumption is all that is needed to interpret (3) in the original framework of Groenendijk & Stokhof (1982) (see Haida 2007). However, for interpreting (4) we must provide a semantics for incorporated scope markers. I will show that such a semantics can be easily provided if we adopt the analysis of Kratzer & Shimoyama (2002), according to which *wh*-words introduce alternatives into a semantic computation. On the basis of this assumption, (4) can be assigned an adequate meaning without making any assumptions beyond what is required for analyzing *wh*-scope marking questions of languages like Hindi and Iraqi Arabic.

Daniel Hole
Universität Potsdam

Locality and Complementarity in Dative Binding
Freitag/Friday: 9:00

This paper discusses issues of locality and complementary interpretation in the domain of ‘beneficiary’ and ‘possessor’ datives in German. I will defend four interrelated claims. (i) The analysis of ‘beneficiary’ and ‘possessor’ datives can be unified, with the differences between the two interpretations mainly following from different types of bindees bound by the dative, and only secondarily by different types of binder datives. (ii) Each ‘beneficiary’ or ‘possessive’ dative must bind a variable. (iii) The bindee in the case of a ‘possessor’ dative is a – frequently implicit – possessor variable in the left periphery of a more deeply embedded argument within the same tense domain (occupying the trace position of competing possessor raising analyses). (iv) The bindee in the case of a ‘beneficiary’ dative is a beneficiary in the left periphery of a more deeply embedded purpose phrase within the same tense domain. (iii) and (iv) entail that the dative DP itself never has a possessor or beneficiary interpretation (*pace*, e.g., Pylkkänen 2002 or Lee-Schoenfeld 2006). Instead, the thematic relation borne by the referent of the dative DP – this is presupposed for the current talk – amounts to the LANDMARK role and/or the P-EXPERIENCER role (with P-EXPERIENCER being a modalized EXPERIENCER role).

The structure in (1) summarizes claims (i)-(iv).

- (1) The structure of (obligatory) dative binding:
[DP_{DAT.LANDMARK/P-EXPERIENCER_i} ... [(*T) ... [*(PRON_i) ...]_{POSSESSEE/PURPOSE_j}]]

Four kinds of data are used to support the claims: (i) the absence of strict-identity readings with possessor and beneficiary datives, (ii) the binding behavior of reflexive and pronominal internal arguments in complex DPs, (iii) patterns of *wh*-binding in questions and, (iv), the availability of bridging interpretations for definites under dative binding, which is restricted to the local tense domain.

Lee-Schoenfeld, Vera (2006). ‘German possessor datives – raised and affected’. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Syntax* 9, 101-142.

Pylkkänen, Liina (2002). ‘Introducing arguments’. *PhD Dissertation*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA.

Dalina Kallulli
Universität Wien

Local Modelling of Allegedly Local but Really Non-Local Phenomena: Unifying Lack of Superiority and Principle C Effects

Freitag/Friday: 9:30

This paper is an attempt towards a uniform analysis of lack of superiority and Principle C effects across several construction types, which crucially relies on and provides further support for Kratzer’s (2006) view that although the locality constraints for bound variable pronouns are often hard to detect because of spell-out forms that obscure the presence of agreement chains, the relation between a bound variable pronoun and its antecedent is necessarily subject to locality constraints. The central claim that I would like to put forth is

that the lack of superiority and/or Principle C effects in these constructions is due to the existence of a phonetically null (object) pronoun (*pro*) in a concealed relative clause, which is (d-)linked with a c-commanding constituent (either a *wh*-phrase or an R-expression, depending on the construction), which in turn is (externally) merged in the upper clause. I contend further that the linking of the null pronominal in the concealed relative clause and the *wh*-phrase/R-expression in the upper clause is mediated by an elided (or silent) DP in a phonetically null copular structure with which the *wh*-phrase/R-expression in the upper clause stands in a part-whole relationship.

Jong-Bok Kim

Kyung Hee University, Seoul

Non Local Dependencies in the Three Different Types of Korean Relative Clauses: A Construction Based Approach

Mittwoch/Wednesday: 15:30

In terms of truth-conditional meanings, there is no clear difference among (Korean) IHRCs (internally headed relative clauses), EHRCs (externally headed relative clauses) and PSRC (pseudo-relative clause). This paper tries to spell out the similarities and differences among these constructions all together. It claims that the shared properties as well as constructional idiosyncrasies can be captured only when we recognize the tight interactions among constructions in the multiple inheritance hierarchy.

Tibor Kiss

Universität Bochem

Locality: Ontology or Description?

Freitag/Friday: 11:30

Locality is a distinctive trait of current grammar theories. Yet, it remains unclear whether locality should be considered as a constraint on grammar design or whether locality reflects an underlying property of universal grammar itself. Current proposals sometimes tacitly assume prerequisites of computational grammars, as e.g. the idea that operations should apply to local structures, or should make use of locally available information only. Imposing such constraints over operations may lead to more efficient computational grammar processing, but it does not reveal anything about the processed entities itself. Nor does it reveal anything about the structure of the human mind. Similarly, ontological locality cannot be justified by recourse to compositionality.

An alternative, agnostic view would assume that locality is *always* a property of grammar design, hence a descriptive characteristic. But is it a useful one? While annotation schemata have been very successful on the level of the word, annotations at sentence level (which could form an empirical basis for future generalizations) are quite often awkward due to their non-locality. From the perspective of annotation and search of linguistic phenomena, linguists would like to see revealed as much as possible in as little structure as needed. It seems, however, that such a requirement can only be met by annotating local structures with non-local information. Typical examples of such annotations can already be found in grammatical description, if e.g. local topological properties of clauses are translated into features of intervening heads that do not show the relevant property.

Udo Klein
SFB 732, Universität Stuttgart

Long-distance dependencies, locality and discontinuous constituents

Mittwoch/Wednesday: 16:30

First I will show that if syntactic and semantic rules/constraints are local in the sense that they cannot operate on proper parts and subparts of the immediate constituents (but only on the immediate constituents as a whole), then a direct compositional analysis of longdistance dependencies (LDD) requires that the syntactic rules operate on discontinuous constituents.

Secondly, I will sketch an analysis of LDDs based on discontinuous constituents. The analysis will be expressed within a framework based on the notion of sign grammar proposed in Kracht (2003) and the notion of Simple Literal Movement Grammar proposed in Groenink (1997). The basic idea is to combine a “dislocated” sign with a verbal sign locally, while at the same time deferring the concatenation of the their exponents, so that the resulting exponent is not a string of words, but a pair (or more generally a tuple) of strings.

Finally I will discuss two important differences between this analysis of LDD and the HPSG analyses proposed in Sag and Wasow (1999), Müller (2004) and Sag (to appear). First, HPSG postulates a difference in syntactic categories in order to analyse the difference between a dislocated and a non-dislocated sentence. Here only a difference in exponent functions but not in syntactic categories is postulated. Thus the tectogrammatical structure of dislocated and nondislocated sentences is different in HPSG, whereas here it is (almost) the same. Secondly, in the present framework the relation between syntactic and semantic structure is exhaustively characterised by associating syntactic and semantic rules. In HPSG the relation between syntactic and semantic structure cannot be exhaustively characterised by associating syntactic and semantic constraints.

Gregory Kobele
Humboldt Universität zu Berlin

Deriving the A, A-bar Distinction in the Minimalist Program

Mittwoch/Wednesday: 15:00

It seems a fact that movement dependencies come in two flavours: "A" and "A-bar". Over the years, a number of apparently independent properties have been shown to cluster together around this distinction. However, the basic structural property relating these two kinds of movement, the ban on improper movement ('once you go bar, you never go back'), which attempts toward explaining the properties these two movement types have, has always been simply a descriptive stipulation. Here, I propose a timing-based account of the A/A-bar distinction, which derives the ban on improper movement, and allows for a simple account of some of their differences. In this account, "A" dependencies are those which are entered into before an expression is first merged into a structure, and "A-bar" dependencies are those an expression enters into after having been merged. The resulting system is mildly context-sensitive, which means that it provides a restrictive account of possible human grammars, while remaining expressive enough to be able to describe the kinds of dependencies actually attested.

Chiyo Nishida

University of Texas at Austin

**Extended Categorical Grammar Analysis of Restructuring
and Clitic Climbing in Romance**

Donnerstag/Thursday: 12:30

This paper demonstrates that the local treatment of the so-called ‘restructuring’ (RS hereafter) and ‘clitic climbing’ (CC hereafter) phenomenon in Romance using extended categorical grammar (Moortgat 1989, ECG hereafter) has empirical advantages over its comparable minimalist analysis (Cinque 2004).

In some Romance languages, certain verbs taking a non-finite clausal complement allow the pronominal clitic that belongs to the embedded verb (1a) to climb and attach to the matrix verb (1b). (Exx. from Spanish)

1a. José quiere leer=**LO**. b. José **LO**=quiere leer. ‘John wants to read IT’

Cinque (ibid.) proposes that RS verbs be generated as the head of various functional projections like ModP, AspP, MoodP, etc., which form a universal template; the clitic may optionally climb out of the non-finite clause to attach to a functional head. Cinque’s templatic analysis of RS and CC runs into some empirical problems for Spanish, the most serious one being that in Spanish, non-functional, object control verbs allow CC, as in 2b and 3b.

- 2 a. José me=enseñó a leer=**LO**. ‘José taught me (how) to read it’ (both)
b. José me=**LO**=enseñó a leer.
- 3 a. José me=permitió a leer=**LO**. ‘Joe permitted me to read it’ (both)
b. José me=**LO**=enseñó a leer.

ECG include a type-changing rule, DIVISION ($X/Y: f \rightarrow (X/Z)/(Y/Z): \lambda v_1 \lambda v_2. f(v_1(v_2))$), besides the combinatory rule, FUNCTIONAL APPLICATION ($X/Y: f \ Y: a \rightarrow A: f(a)$). These two rules make it possible to concatenate the CL, the matrix verb, and the embedded verb, as in $[[CL=V] V]$, yielding the correct semantics, where the climbed CL is linked to the embedded verb.

Our ECG analysis also provides a straightforward account of the coordinate structure, as shown in 4, whereas the minimalist counterpart lacks one.

4. José **LO**=puede y **LO**=debe leer. José IT can and IT must to.read
‘Jose can and must read it’

Eric Potsdam and Maria Polinsky
University of Florida and Harvard University

**Real and Apparent Long-Distance Agreement in Subject-to-Subject Raising
Constructions**

Donnerstag/Thursday: 9:00

This paper documents and analyzes instances of agreement in which a non-thematic predicate agrees with the subject of its complement clause. We show that this agreement patterns corresponds to two constructions. In one, illustrated with data from Greek, there is real long-

distance agreement between the predicate and the embedded subject. Such constructions provide evidence for non-local agreement relations in syntax. In the second, represented with data from the Caucasian language Adyghe, there is only apparent long-distance agreement. The embedded subject has a silent syntactic representation in the matrix clause and the agreement is actually local.

Omer Preminger
MIT

Long Distance Agreement in Basque, Locally Speaking
Donnerstag/Thursday: 10:30

It has been well-established in the syntactic literature of the last few decades that the syntactic computation privileges certain boundaries, in such a way that establishing dependencies across multiple boundaries of this sort is impossible, or at least relatively cumbersome. In this respect, the phenomenon of *L(ong)D(istance)A(greement)* seems quite problematic, since prima facie, LDA constitutes a counter-example for such generalizations. I show that for the case of LDA in dialectal Basque (as discussed by Etxepare 2005), there is independent support for an analysis that breaks up the seemingly long-distance relation into multiple local relations, each of which is well-behaved with respect to the aforementioned boundaries.

Marc Richards
Universität Leipzig

Probing the Past: On reconciling LDA with PIC
Donnerstag/Thursday: 9:30

The phenomenon of non-local or long-distance agreement (LDA) poses a specific problem under the phase-cyclic minimalist framework of Chomsky 2000 *et seq.*, where the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) sets strict limits on the search space of a probe. An apparent case of illicit LDA that involves “searching into a phase already passed” (Chomsky 2005:16) is agreement that holds between a matrix-clause predicate (probe) and an embedded-clause argument (goal), as is attested across a diverse range of languages. The challenge from the minimalist perspective is to keep a distant, in-situ goal accessible to a higher, matrix probe whilst maintaining PIC.

This paper considers and assesses the various analytical options that are open to us for achieving this goal within a minimalist architecture. Essentially, there are two available strategies for localizing LDA: either Agree between PIC-separated probe and goal proceeds incrementally, in smaller, local, cyclic steps (phase-sized or smaller), as is proposed by Bhatt 2005, Legate 2005 and others; or the PIC-separation of probe and goal is only apparent, with no intervening phase boundaries after all (see, e.g., the ‘invisible topicalization’ of Polinsky & Potsdam 2001). I argue that the latter type of approach is the preferable one, on conceptual, technical and empirical grounds, and that attempts to develop unified analyses of LDA are misguided. Rather, at least three main types of LDA can and must be distinguished, each with a different set of properties depending on the structures involved: LDA with nonfinite, restructuring infinitives (Hindi, Itelmen), LDA across finite TPs (Tsez, Algonquian), and LDA across finite CPs (e.g. Chukchee). I show that none of these provides clear evidence of PIC-violating Agree, and that PIC and LDA are thus already reconciled without the need to abandon or weaken PIC or to introduce new technology.

Florian Schäfer
Universität Stuttgart

Local Case and Cyclic Agree

Freitag/Friday: 10:00

(i) Standard accounts of structural case claim that nominative is checked by Tense while accusative is checked by little *v* introducing an external argument. This stipulates Burzio's Generalization (BG) as a property of little *v*.

(ii) Alternative accounts (Marantz 2000, McFadden 2003, Sigurðsson 2003) propose that nominative and accusative should be seen as standing in a dependency relation (thereby trivially deriving BG) and that morphological case is a mere Spell-Out-phenomenon read off at PF from a local configurational relation.

(iii) I argue for an alternative that combines ideas of (i) and (ii). Morphological case is a PF-phenomenon and accusative depends on the presence of nominative within the same local domain. However, the information evaluated at PF is not configurational (higher vs. lower NP) but PF evaluates syntactic Agree-relations: unmarked case is determined locally within the vP-phase via Agree between a verbalizing head *v*/Voice and the most local NP; dependent case is realized by any further NP without lexical case within the phase. Cases of apparent long-distance case result from cyclic agree between *v*/Voice and higher functional heads.

The main argument that neither (i) nor (ii) suffices comes from German anticausatives with a nominative theme and an accusative reflexive pronoun. This structure is syntactically transitive (Steinbach 2000) which means that an external argument is present. This must be the reflexive pronoun because the theme can be shown to be base-generated below the reflexive (the relative order of the theme and the reflexive is free due to scrambling (1a, b), the orders differ in their possible interpretations; bare plural or indefinite themes get a weak reading only if they follow the reflexive.) In a nom/acc system, the external argument gets nominative and the internal argument gets accusative unless the external argument is a reflexive. In the latter case, the system switches to a kind of ergative/absolute frame. I argue that this deviation from the nom/acc pattern can be derived if case is realized post-syntactically on the basis of syntactic Agree.

- (1) a. weil sich Türen öffnen und schließen sollten (*generic, existential*)
b. weil Türen sich öffnen und schließen sollten (*generic, *existential*)

Chris Worth
Ohio State University

Towards a CVG Account of Gap Agreement in Chamorro

Mittwoch/Wednesday: 17:30

Chamorro is an Austronesian Language spoken primarily in Guam, which is generally taken to have VSO word order. It displays an interesting pattern of agreement in unbounded dependency constructions, whereby verb agrees via infixation with the grammatical relationship between each verbal head and the constituent from which the element has been extracted, be it subject, object, or oblique. Convergent Grammar (CVG) is a relational, multi-modal, type-theoretic, resource sensitive grammatical framework which "can be seen as a coming together of ideas of widely varying provenances, be they transformational, phrase-structural, or categorial." (Pollard 07) The question of how a verbal head can agree with an extracted element can be accounted for using a combination of lexical specification and rules

of natural deduction. Embedded constructions are of particular interest, as each verb's agreement morphology varies with the corresponding variance in the role of the extracted element within the verb's arguments or adjuncts.

Masaya Yoshida & Angel J. Gallego
University of Edinburgh & Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Phases and Ellipsis
Mittwoch/Wednesday: 18:00

We investigate the so-called *Antecedent Contained Sluicing* (ACS) as in (1) (see Yoshida 2006). Based on the properties of ACS, i.e., (i) the correlation between the positions that the elided site is incorporated into (which restricts the possible antecedent for IP-ellipsis), and (ii) antecedent containment. We explore the idea that ellipsis resolution depends on the cycle/phase where the ellipsis site is incorporated.

- (1) John must not kiss anyone [_{PP} without [_{CP}[_{IP} PRO knowing [_{CP} who [_{IP} Δ]]]]].
*... without knowing who he must not kiss.
 (= if he does not know who he must not kiss)
 ... without knowing who he is kissing.

The focus of our study is on the contrast shown by (1) and (2), i.e., if the PP containing the IP-ellipsis is attached to the TP, functional categories get recovered into ellipsis site:

- (2) John must not kiss anyone today [_{PP} without [_{CP}[_{IP} PRO knowing [_{CP} who [_{IP} Δ]]]]]
... without knowing who he must not kiss.
 (= if he does not know who he must not kiss)
 ... without knowing who he is kissing.

Assuming that the extraposed PP is attached to the TP, this suggests that there is a correlation between the PP's position and the possible antecedents for the elided site. If the PP is attached to the vP, vP is the antecedent (and higher functional elements are unavailable); however, if the PP is attached higher up, TP is selected as an antecedent (and the functional elements become available). Such an asymmetry falls into place if one capitalizes on the privileged status of vP and CP (Chomsky's 2001; to appear *phases*).

Our proposal raises technical problems concerning the base position of external arguments, the nature of Transfer, and the semantic identity between the elided domain and its antecedent.

REFERENCES (selected)

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Alternates

Yo Sato
King's College London

A Linearisation-Based Account of Unbounded Dependency

First alternate

In this paper I present a linearisation-based account of unbounded dependency constructions (UDCs) that uses the non-standard SLASH mechanism proposed by Penn (1999) but does not rely on non-local LP conditions either, which are considered to be a characteristic of a linearisation account. Under the proposed analysis the potential left-dislocation is marked with a combination of local LP and partial compaction conditions. The marked constituent percolates up the tree until it reaches the top node where it can be linearised, again with local LP and compaction conditions. The traditional constructs such as gap and filler are dispensed with, but the Locality Principle is maintained.

This account of UDCs will benefit from the advantages of both a linearisation grammar and the traditional locally bound HPSG. First, by extending linearisation to a construction that has been considered to require a different structure to its 'non-extracted' counterpart, the grammar becomes simpler and more portable, thereby rendering the syntax-semantics interface more transparent. Second, as this account is nevertheless locality-respecting, it is more straightforward to embed into the classical form of HPSG and computationally more efficient to process.

Antje Lahne
Universität Leipzig

Local Modelling of Long-Distance Agreement

Second alternate

The main goal of this talk is to propose a new analysis of LDA which is based on the idea that LDA is the result of ordered operation application at an extremely local level conditioned by a specificity condition on syntactic derivation.

Background assumptions made in the new analysis are that heads are bundles of unordered features, and head movement is an operation by which the features of the goal are added to the feature set of the probe. Several features can be dealt with simultaneously, while Agree only takes place under c-command. The syntactic constraint relevant to the local decisions made is a version of Maximise Matching (cf. Chomsky 2001). The syntactic derivation proceeds in such a way that the set of phi-features H of the embedded object are "handed on" to the highest head in the embedded clause (presumably I) by verb-object agreement and subsequent V-to-I movement. The matrix verb then agrees with the most specific goal (according to Maximise Matching) in its search space, which is H.

The new analysis accounts for a number of properties of LDA. Firstly, it captures the parasitic nature of the construction: matrix V can only show LDA if embedded V shows local agreement. Secondly, the analysis accounts for the observation that in Tsez LDA is obligatory when the embedded absolutive argument is interpreted as a topic, and disallowed when the argument has no such interpretation. Thirdly, by avoiding a raising-to-object scenario, the analysis correctly predicts that embedded arguments cannot take scope over the matrix subject (Potsdam and Polinsky 2001:619).

Antonio Fábregas
CASTL-Universitetet i Tromsø

Non-local dependencies in word-internal syntax
Third alternate

In this presentation we address the problem that parasynthesis, as a morphological operation, presents for locality in a word-internal syntax. Apparently, parasynthesis implies a derivational morphology process which requires the co-occurrence of two different affixes in order to turn an adjective or a noun into a verb.

We will show that the right analysis of parasynthesis preserves the locality of word internal relationships. In the analysis that I argue for, the verbal affix selects a structure headed by the prefix, which is independently needed for semantic reasons which have to do with specific semantic properties of the base.