

CAS LX 422 / GRS LX 722 Intermediate Syntax

DP, pronouns, case, agreement
(6-7ish)

10

The category of pronouns

We said that bare plurals like *students* in *Students arrived* are really DPs, and have a null determiner.

[_{DP} ∅ students] arrived.

- How about pronouns, like *we* in *We arrived*?

Although you can say *The students arrived*, you can't say **The we arrived*.

You can say things like *We linguists should stick together*. Or *You syntacticians are a crazy lot*. That is, a pronoun followed by a noun.

This only seems to work with *we* and *you*, though.

The category of pronouns

We linguists looks rather like *The linguists*.

We looks rather like a D.

Also noteworthy:

1) The media always disparages us linguists.

Pronouns reflect case distinctions.

If pronouns are just Ds, then case must be a property of D.

- **Case is actually a property of D (not of N).**

Case

Recall that pronouns in English show distinctions in case:

- Subject pronouns are in nominative case
- Object pronouns are in accusative case
- How can we ensure the correlation?
 - 1) I saw her.
 - 2) She saw me.
 - 3) They saw him.

[*ucase:nom*]

Nominative subjects generally appear in the specifier of a *finite* T.

- Finite T is pretty much any kind of T except the infinitive.

We can treat case like we treated tense inflection:

- Suppose T also has a [*ucase:nom*] feature.
- Suppose nominative DPs have a [*ucase:*] feature.
- Suppose the [*ucase:nom*] on T can value [*ucase:*] on the DP, checking **both**.
- So T needs a nom DP, and a nom DP needs T.

[*ucase:acc*]

Subjects check nominative case with T. Objects have accusative case, which we can treat in the same kind of way.

- Suppose *v* has [*ucase:acc*].
- Suppose accusative DPs have [*ucase*]
- Suppose the [*ucase:acc*] on *v* can value the [*ucase:*] feature on the DP, checking both.

Nominative case is a relation between (finite) T and a DP, accusative case is a relation between *v* and a DP.

Pronouns

Nominative case is associated with *finite* T.

- She will charm snakes.
- I want her to charm snakes.
- I expect her to charm snakes
 - Non-finite T is not associated with nominative case. It's not actually associated with accusative case either, but we'll come back to that later.

Because DPs have an *unvalued* [*ucase:*] feature, we can suppose that pronouns always enter the numeration the same way, and are valued based on where they are Merged.

pronoun [D, *ucase:*, ...]

DPs need case

Although in English we only see the morphological effect of case on pronouns, we assume that all DPs have an unvalued [*ucase:*] feature.

- Plenty of languages other than English show case on all DPs, not just on pronouns. Case is something that goes with being a DP. It's just something you often don't hear in English.
- **Notational shortcuts:**
 - [nom] is used for [*ucase:nom*] (on T, or DP when checked)
 - [acc] is used for [*ucase:acc*] (on *v*, or DP when checked)
 - [case] is used for [*ucase:*] (on an DP)

Subject-verb agreement

Recall that in English, the ϕ -features of the subject have an effect on the morphology of the verb:

- 1) Fans were rioting on Comm Ave.
 - 2) A fan was rioting on Comm Ave.
- While we're here, we might as well account for this too. It is also an agreement relation, between the subject and, eventually, the verb (or auxiliary, if there is one).

Subject-verb agreement

What we're after is this:
The subject (the thing that's getting nominative case) should share/check ϕ -features with the thing that gets inflection from tense.

The ϕ -features are on the DP that checks nominative case with T.

The relevant inflection is valued by T.

Maybe it's "passed" from the DP to T, then from T to the *uInfl*: below.

- 1) Fans were rioting on Comm Ave.
- 2) A fan was rioting on Comm Ave.
- 3) Fans riot on Comm Ave.
- 4) A fan riots on Comm Ave.

Subject-verb agreement

So, the verb gets its tense inflection specified by T when, e.g., the [*tense:pres*] feature of T values the [*uInfl:*] feature of *v*.

Since the subject already agrees with T (the [*nom*] feature of T checks the [*case*] feature of the subject), we'll incorporate subject agreement into this process.

[*ucase:nom*]

[*ucase:*]

Notice that we still want this agreement to be mediated by T (sometimes it values, e.g., Perf):

- 1) They have been reading novels.
- 2) She has been reading novels.

Subject-verb agreement

Suppose then that T has a [*u ϕ :*] feature as well.

The subject has (interpretable) ϕ -features that value the [*u ϕ :*] feature of T.

- They were rioting on Comm Ave.

T [T, *uD**, *u ϕ :*, nom] [*ucase:nom*]

they [D, ϕ :pl, case] [*ucase:*]

So, once T is in the structure, c-commanding *they* in SpecvP, we get:

T [T, *uD**, *u ϕ :pl*, nom] [*ucase:nom*]

they [D, ϕ :pl, nom] [*ucase:nom*]

Subject-verb agreement

Finally, we suppose that the (checked) [$\# \phi$:pl] feature of T, also values a [u Infl:] feature on a lower v (or Perf, or Prog).

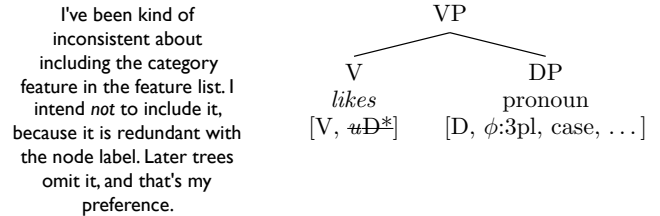
- The rules of pronunciation will tell us that a v with the verb *riot* adjoined to it sounds like:
 - “riots” if v has the feature [u Infl:pres,sg]
 - “riot” if v has the feature [u Infl:pres,pl]

Notice that T values a [u Infl:] feature all at once, with any relevant feature(s) it has (so, tense and ϕ -features both).

She likes them

So, let's walk through it.

We start by merging *like* and the 3pl pronoun.



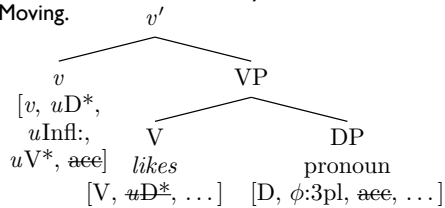
She likes them

v [v , uD^* , u Infl:, uV^* , acc]

We Merge v with VP (HoP).

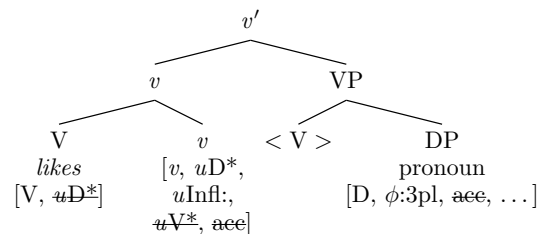
The [acc] on v matches, values, and checks the [case] on the pronoun, checking itself as well.

- Agree is lazy, we can do this without any further Merging or Moving.



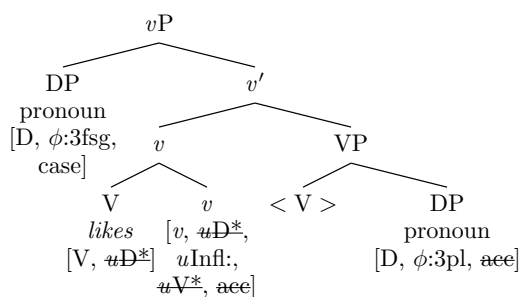
She likes them

The V moves up to adjoin to v to check the [uV^*] feature of v .



She likes them

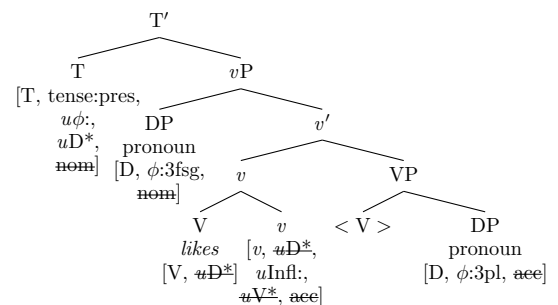
The 3sg feminine pronoun is Merged to check the [uD^*] feature of v .



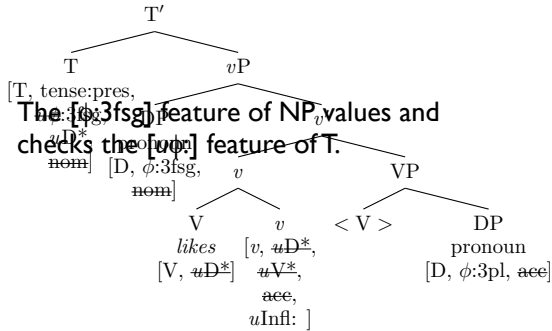
She likes them

The T is Merged with vP (HoP).

The [nom] feature of T matches, values, and checks the [case] feature of the pronoun, checking itself in the process.



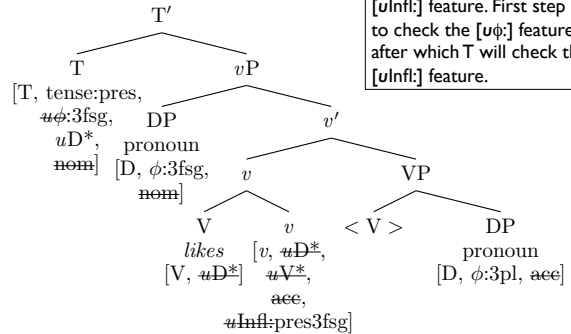
She likes them



She likes them

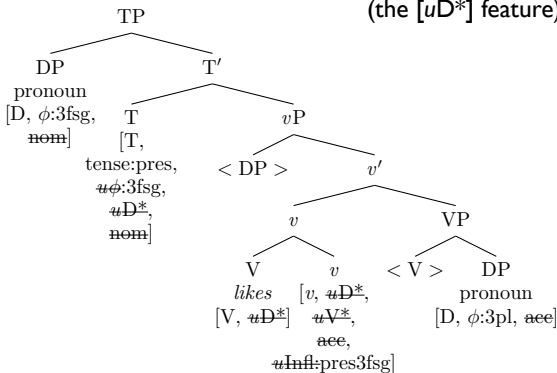
The $[u\phi:3fsg]$ and $[tense:pres]$ features of T value and check the $[uInfl:]$ feature of v.

From now on: (Finite) T can only value a lower $[uInfl:]$ feature once T itself has a value for $[\phi]$. Both $[tense]$ and $[\phi]$ value the lower $[uInfl:]$ feature. First step is always to check the $[u\phi:]$ feature on T, after which T will check the lower $[uInfl:]$ feature.



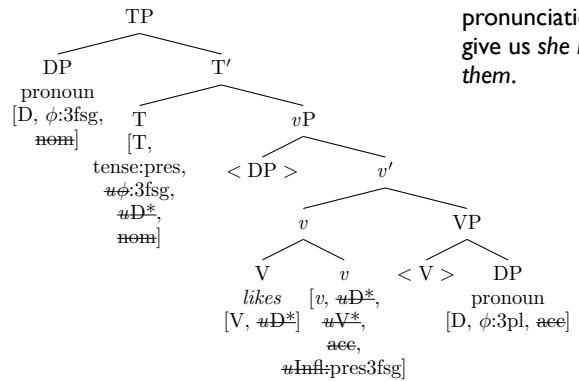
She likes them

Finally, the DP is moved up and Merged with T' in order to check the EPP feature (the $[uD^*]$ feature) of T.



She likes them

All uninterpretable features are checked, the pronunciation rules give us *she likes them*.



Passives

The **passive construction** is one where:

The original subject disappears (or becomes a *by*-phrase)

The original object becomes the subject.

The verb appears as *be*+passive participle.

- The passive participle in English sounds just like the perfective participle.

- Pat took pretzels. **active**
- Pretzels were taken (by Pat). **passive**

Passives

- Pat stole books.
- Books were stolen (by Pat).

In both cases, *books* is getting the Theme/Patient θ -role. By UTAH, it must be originally Merged as DP daughter of VP, in both the active and the passive.

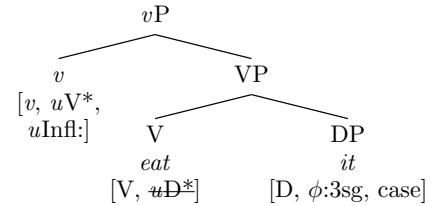
- In fact, the passive is a lot like the unaccusative. An “underlying object” becomes the subject.

Passives

- All we need is the passive auxiliary Pass.
 - be* [Pass, uInfl:] selects a $v_{\text{unaccusative}}$.
- By selecting for $v_{\text{unaccusative}}$, the passive auxiliary “removes” an Agent.
 - Not allowed for intransitives, an open mystery.
 - *It was danced (by Pat)
- The passive auxiliary works like other auxiliaries: Pass can value a lower [uInfl:] feature, if Pass’ own [uInfl:] feature is valued by a [tense] feature, it is strong.
 - Lunch was not eaten.
- Pass is the last auxiliary in the HoP:**
 - Lunch may not have been being eaten.
- $T > (\text{Neg}) > (\text{M}) > (\text{Perf}) > (\text{Prog}) > (\text{Pass}) > v > V$

It was eaten

For *It was eaten*, we Merge *eat* and *it* to build the VP, then Merge an unaccusative v ...

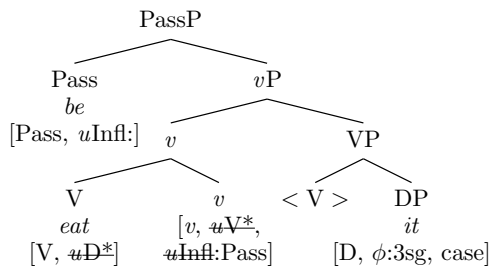


It was eaten

The V moves up to adjoin to v to check the [uV*] feature of v .

The Pass auxiliary is Merged (HoP).

[Pass] matches, values, checks [uInfl:] on v .



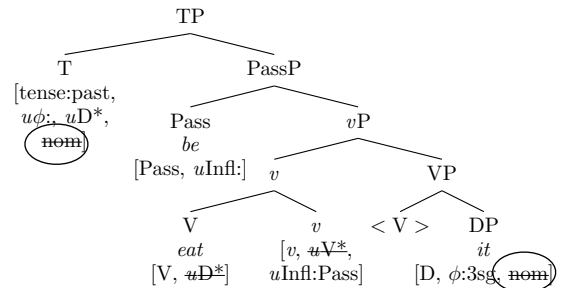
It was eaten

T is Merged (HoP).

[nom] on T matches, values, checks [case] on *it*.

[phi:3sg] on *it* matches, values, checks [uphi:] on T.

[past] on T matches, values [uInfl:] on Pass.



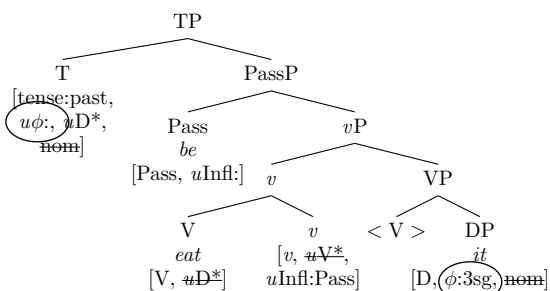
It was eaten

T is Merged (HoP).

[nom] on T matches, values, checks [case] on *it*.

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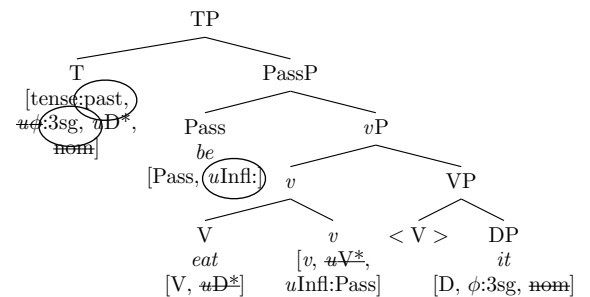
It was eaten

T is Merged (HoP).

[nom] on T matches, values, checks [case] on *it*.

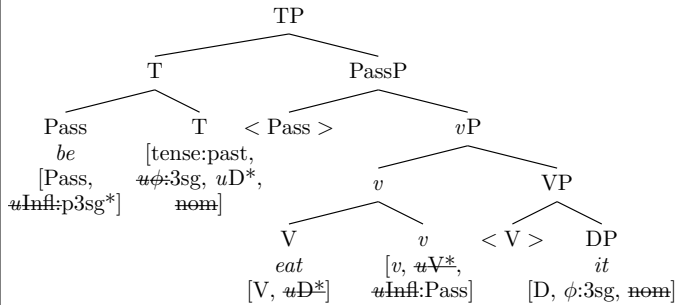
[phi:3sg] on *it* matches, values, checks [uphi:] on T.

[past] on T matches, values [uInfl:] on Pass.



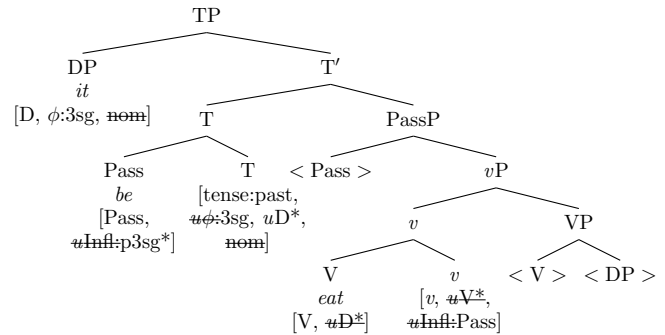
It was eaten

Pass moves to T (checks [*uInfl:past**] on Pass).



It was eaten

It moves to SpecTP (checks [*uD**] on T).



Ditransitive passives

Consider again *Pat gave Chris books*.

- Chris was given books.
- *Books were given Chris.

Pat gave books to Chris.

- Books were given to Chris.
- *Chris was given books to.

Adverbs

Before today, we'd mostly drawn adjuncts as adjoined to vP. This explains why *sloppily* can be either to the left or to the right of vP:

- 1) Pat sloppily ate lunch.
- 2) Pat ate lunch sloppily.
- 3) Pat has sloppily eaten lunch.
- 4) Pat has eaten lunch sloppily.

Sloppily also seems to be able to adjoin to PerfP or ProgP, at least marginally.

- 5) ?Pat might sloppily have eaten lunch.
- 6) ?Pat should sloppily be eating lunch.

But it can't be between a subject and T:

- 7) *Pat sloppily might eat lunch.

Manner vs. propositional adverbs

sloppily, slowly, quickly—all describe the *manner* in which an action takes place. These are **manner adverbs**. They adjoin to vP.

There are other kinds of adverbs as well, however. One such kind are propositional adverbs: *perhaps, fortunately, interestingly*. These express a kind of attitude on the part of the speaker toward the content of the sentence.

Propositional & temporal adverbs

- **Propositional adverbs** seem to adjoin to TP.

- 1) Fortunately, Pat ate lunch.
- 2) Pat ate lunch, fortunately.
- 3) ?Pat fortunately ate lunch.
- 4) ?Pat might have fortunately eaten lunch.

- **Temporal adverbs** also seem to adjoin high.

- 5) Today Pat ate lunch.
- 6) Pat ate lunch today.

Adverb positions

Generally speaking, where an adverb attaches depends on its meaning.

vP for manner adverbs, TP for temporal adverbs, ...

Notice that we predict this now:

- 1) Yesterday [Pat completely [finished lunch]].
- 2) Yesterday [Pat [finished lunch] completely].
- 3) Pat [[finished lunch] completely] yesterday.
- 4) Pat [completely [finished lunch]] yesterday.
- 5) *Pat [[finished lunch] yesterday completely].

Later, perhaps, we'll consider additional complexity in adverb placement.

Where does the by-phrase attach?

Adverb tests can give us a hint...

The sandwich was eaten by Pat today at noon
 The sandwich was eaten by Pat at noon today
 The sandwich was eaten today _ by Pat _ at noon
 The sandwich was eaten at noon _ by Pat _ today

The dishes were washed by Pat _ poorly _ yesterday
 The dishes were washed poorly by Pat yesterday
 The sandwich was eaten by Pat _ sloppily _ at noon
 The sandwich was eaten sloppily by Pat at noon

- Conclusion?

Possessors

Consider the genitive (possessive) 's in English:

- 1) John's hat
- 2) The student's sandwich
- 3) The man from Australia's book
- 4) The man on the hill by the tree's binoculars

The possessor can be a full DP (inside another DP).

The 's attaches to the whole possessor *phrase*—it's the man's book and binoculars, not Australia's or the tree's, after all.

This is not a noun suffix. It seems more like a *little word* that signals possession, standing between the possessor and the possessee. (it's a *clitic*).

Possessors

It seems to be impossible to have both a 's and a determiner.

- *The building's the roof
- The roof of the building
- *The hurricane's the eye

Determiners like *the* and the possession marker 's seem to be in complementary distribution—if one appears, the other cannot.

- Compare:

1) The big fluffy pink rabbit	3) *The my rabbit
2) *The that rabbit	4) *Every my rabbit

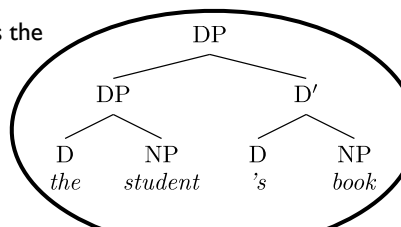
Possessors?

This suggests a structure like this for possession phrases:

The possessor DP is in the specifier of DP. And of course, this can be as complex a DP as we like, e.g., *the very hungry student of linguistics by the tree with the purple flowers over there... 's book*

- The possessed NP is the complement of D.

Not actually this, wait for the next slide



Possessors and the null D

But what then to do about DPs like *his book?* Or *their book?*

Here the possessor DP is the genitive case pronoun, and there's no 's.

- 1) *Their's book
- 2) *Them's book
- 3) *They's book

Accordingly, we will instead suppose that there is a **null D**, \emptyset_{gen} , that checks genitive case. The genitive case form of a non-pronominal DP is audible in English, as DP's.

