

Remarks on the syntactification of morphology

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1. Introduction

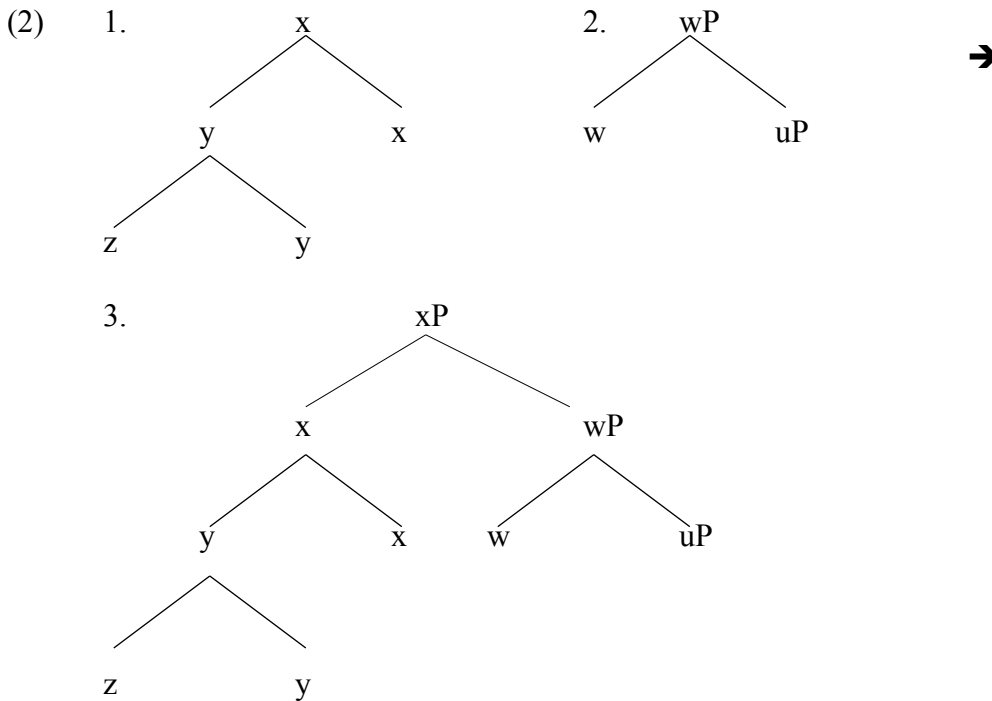
“Syntax all the way down” hypothesis → one C_{HL} for word formation and phrase formation. (Marantz 1997 i.m.a)

1. Question 1: if word formation = phrase formation then we would expect parallel computations (PC) in word formation.

Phrase formation: specs/adjuncts require PC.

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| (1) | 1. [PP of means]
[NP man [PP of means]]
[DP the [NP man [PP of means]]] | 2. [DP the painting]
[PP at [DP the painting]]
[VP look [PP at [DP the painting]]] |
| | → [VP [DP the [NP man [PP of means]]] look [PP at [DP the painting]]]
(the man of means look(ed) at the painting) | |

Proposal: PC is available in word formation too:



2. Question 2: do nominalizations include a vP? (see Alexiadou, Roeper i.m.a.)

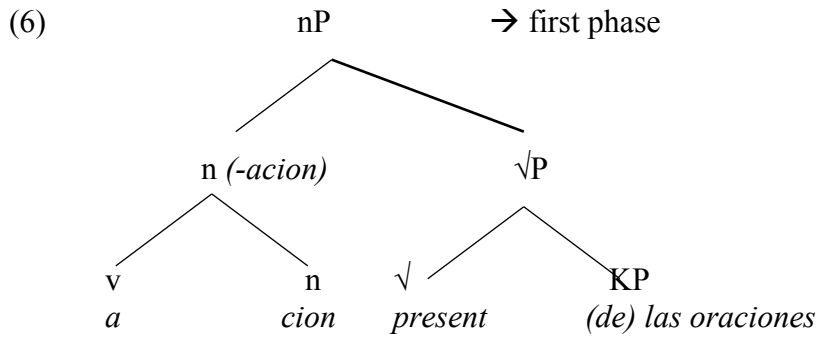
(3) La deliberada presentación de las oraciones por los lingüistas.
 ‘The deliberate presentation of the sentences by the linguists.’

(4) present – a – ción

Thematic vowel → verbal morpheme → vP

(5) * La deliberadamente presentación las oraciones
 * ‘The deliberately presentation the sentences.’

Nominalización accepts no adverbs and no accusative DP → no vP



Also PC in phrasal compounds (not discussed in this talk):

(7) I hate your don't-tell-me-what-to-do look.

Questions that this solution arises:

1. Allomorphy (not discussed in this talk)
2. Argument structure nominals.
3. Role of v in morphosyntax.

Structure of the talk

- Section 2: Theoretical assumptions
- Section 3: Nominalizations in English
- Section 4: Nominalizations in Spanish
- Section 5: Argument Structure
- Section 6: What is little v?
- Section 7: Event spells-out (bonus section)

2. Theoretical assumptions

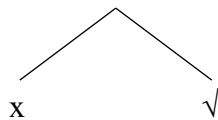
- 1. No separate word-formation module (Marantz 1997).
- 2. Phases (Chomsky 2000, Marantz 1997). Chunks of structure that constitute locality domains and where dependencies are established.

- (8) Given a phase p with a head $H(p)$, $H(p)$ determines the morphology of any modifiers merged in p .
 - If $n(p)$: modifiers will take on an adjectival morphology.
 - If $v(p)$: modifiers will take on an adverbial morphology.
- (9) Given a phase p with a head $H(p)$, $H(p)$ determines the morphological case on an argument merged in p .
 - If $n(p)$: case morphology is genitive ('of' in English, *de* in Spanish etc).
 - If $v(p)$: case morphology is accusative.

3. "Lexicon" distributed in at least two lists (Halle and Marantz 1993).
 List 1: Roots ($\sqrt{\text{man}}$, $\sqrt{\text{walk}}$...) and functional categories (T, C, D). These are the units fed into C_{HL} .

A sub-set of the functional categories – identifiable as derivational morphemes – categorize the structure being built as nominal, verbal, adjectival or prepositional:

(10) xP (where $x=\{a,n,v,p\}$)



Categorizing heads constitute also phase heads. Phase heads trigger *Transfer* of their complements to the interpretive modules.

List 2 (exponents): Rules of *vocabulary insertion* (VI)

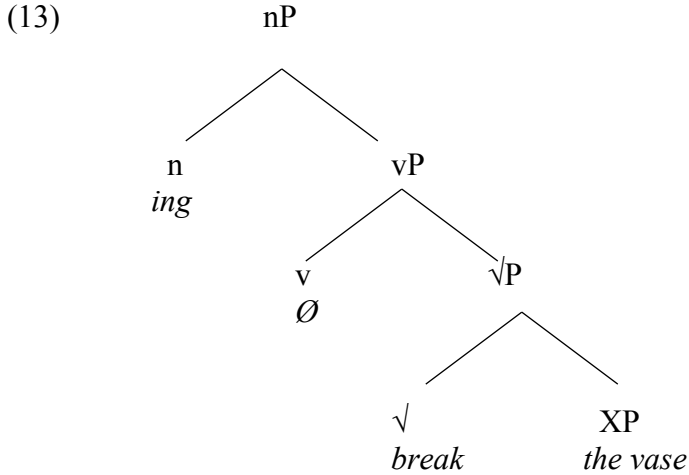
(11) VI : $[y] \leftrightarrow /a/ // \text{ ______ } C$

3. Nominalizations in English

(Embick 2010, Harley 2009a, Borer 2012 etc.)

1st type (gerundive nominals):

(12) John's breaking the vase

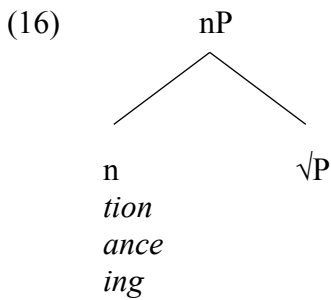


(14) VI: [n] ↔ /ing/ // ___ vP

Full vP in nP → (i) Accusative on the complement of the Root (ii) Possibility of low adverbs.

(15) John's carelessly breaking the vase (led to a bitter argument with his wife).

2nd type:



(Embick 2010)

(17) *Some allomorphs of n in English*

VI: [n] ↔ /tion/ // √ _____ List of √: {...}
 VI: [n] ↔ /ance/ // √ _____ List of √: {...}
 VI: [n] ↔ /ing/ // √ _____

No vP in nP → (i) Genitive on the complement of the Root (ii) Adjectives.

- (18) a. John's careless breaking of the vase was annoying.
 b. * John's carelessly breaking of the vase was annoying.
 ('John's breaking the vase was annoying' is grammatical as a gerundive nominal).
- (19) a. John's brilliant resolution of the problem was amazing.
 b. * John's brilliantly resolution of the problem was amazing.
 c. * John's resolution the problem was amazing.
- (20) a. John's stubborn resistance to authority worries his parents.
 b. * John's stubbornly resistance to authority worries his parents.
 c. * John's resistance authority worries his parents.

2nd type (bis): [ize] + n:

- (21) a. itemization, legalization, vaporization...
 b. item] ize_{VP}] ation_{NP}] (Embick 2010)

Unexpected:

- (22) a. * His carefully itemization
 (his careful itemization)
 b. * His itemization newly arrived packages
 (his itemization of newly arrived packages)

4. Nominalizations in Spanish

- (23) a. cantar → cant] a] r
 'sing' TV [-fin]
 b. beber → beb] e] r
 'drink' TV [-fin]
 c. vivir → viv] i] r
 'live' TV [-fin]

Oltra-Massuet (1999) and Oltra-Massuet and Arregi (2005):

- (24) *cantar*
 $\sqrt{\text{cant}}$] TV_{VP}] INF_{TP}]

(25) *Some allomorphs of v in Spanish*

- VI : [v] ↔ /e/ // $\sqrt{\quad}$ _____ List of $\sqrt{\quad}$: {[beb],...}
- VI : [v] ↔ /i/ // $\sqrt{\quad}$ _____ List of $\sqrt{\quad}$: {[viv],...}
- VI : [v] ↔ /a/ // $\sqrt{\quad}$ _____

(26) *Some allomorphs of n in Spanish*

VI : [n] ←→ /dura/ // Context _____
 VI : [n] ←→ /m(i)ento/ // Context _____
 VI : [n] ←→ /cion/ // Context _____

- (27) a. tachadura → tach] a] dura → verb: *tachar* ‘cross’
 b. mordedura → mord] e] dura → verb: *morder* ‘bite’
 c. hendidura → hend] i] dura → verb: *hendir* ‘crack open’
- (28) a. salvamento → salv] a] mento → verb: *salvar* ‘rescue’, ‘save’
 b. abastecimiento → abastec] i] miento → verb: *abastecer* ‘supply’
 c. abatimiento → abat] i] miento → verb: *abatir* ‘beat’
- (29) a. separación → separ] a_v] ción_n] → verb: *separar* ‘separate’
 b. perder → perd] i_v] ción_n] → verb: *perder* ‘lost’
 c. definición → defin] i_v] ción_n] → verb: *definir* ‘define’
- (30) a. inserción → inser] ción_n] → verb: *insertar* ‘insert’
 b. moción → mo(v)] ción_n] → verb: *mover* ‘move’
- (31) a. puño → empuñar → empuñadura
 ‘fist’ ‘to hold in a fist’ ‘grip’
 b. barato → abaratar → abaratamiento
 ‘cheap’ ‘to lower the prize’ ‘lowering of prices’
 c. cárcel → encarcelar → encarcelación
 ‘jail’ ‘to incarcerate’ ‘incarceration’

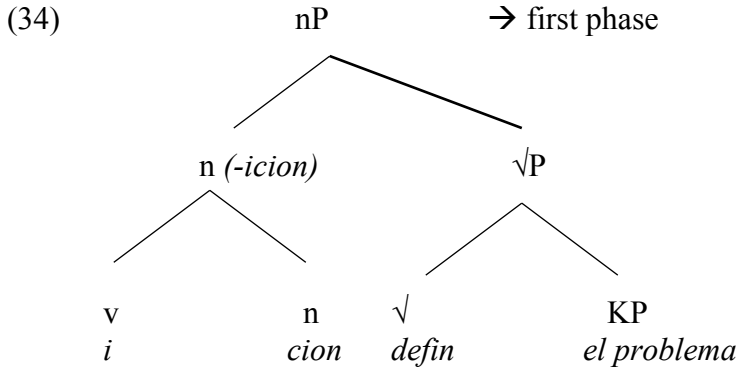
How about (8) and (9)?

- (32) a. Juan definió el problema rápidamente.
 ‘John defined the problem quickly.’
 b. * La definición el problema rápidamente.
 The definition the problem quickly
 c. La definición rápida del problema.
 the definition quick GEN.DEF problem
 ‘The quick definition of the problem.’

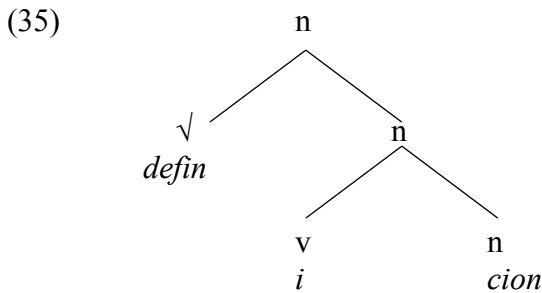
→ there is verbal morphology but no adverbs or accusative case

Let’s assume that the category *v* does not merge with the root or project a phrase; rather, let’s have it merge with the *n* in a PC forming a complex *n* head. The output merges with the root projecting a nP.

(33) definición (d)el problema
 definition (of) the problem



→ There is a *v* in the structure, but not a *vP*. The phase is *nP*. (8) and (9) determine that the modifiers will be adjectives and the case will not be accusative.



5. Argument structure

Grimshaw (1990): AS-nominals and R-nominals

- (36) a. The examination of the students took three hours.
 b. The examination is in this room.
 c. The exam is on the table.

Consensus (Alexiadou 2001, 2009, Borer 2013, Harley 2009a i.m.a.)

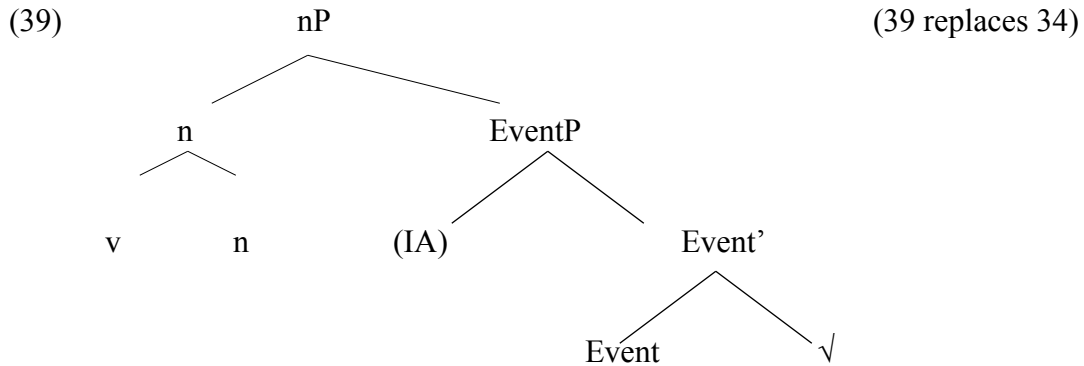
- (37) a. [DP the [NP -ation [VP v [√P √examin-]]]] AS-nominal
 b. [DP the [NP -ation [√P √examin-]]]] R-nominal

Spanish [-ción], [-dura], [-miento] can be AS/ES-nominals:

- (38) La nacionalización del gas por el gobierno fue declarada ilegal por el TC.
 ‘The nationalization of natural gas by the government was declared illegal by the constitutional court.’

If *v* is embedded in *n* in Spanish AS-nominalizations, it is unlikely that the AS/ES is projected by *vP*.

Proposal: AS/ES is independent of the category involved:



Evidence:

- AS/ES-nominalizations without a *v*
- R-nominalizations with a *v*

suffix [-azo]

- (40) a. Paraguas → paraguazo.
 ‘umbrella’ ‘blow with an umbrella’
- b. Cristina le dio un paraguazo a Iñaki.
 Cristina CL gave a “blow with an umbrella” DAT Iñaki
 ‘Cristina hit Iñaki with an umbrella.’
- c. El paraguazo de Cristina a Iñaki
 The “blow with an umbrella” GEN Cristina DAT Iñaki
 apareció en todas las portadas.
 appeared in all the covers.
 ‘Cristina’s hitting Iñaki with an umbrella appeared on the first page of every newsmagazine.’

- (41) Bastón → bastonazo
 ‘stick’ ‘blow with a stick’
- Mano → manotazo
 ‘Hand’ ‘slap’
- Guante → guantazo
 ‘Glove’ ‘smack(ing)’

- (42) Brocha → brochazo.
 ‘Brush’ ‘brushstroke’
- carpeta → carpetazo.
 ‘Folder’ ‘closing (a case, a lawsuit, a complaint)’

- (48) a. La reparación del coche por Juan...
 the fixing GEN.the car by Juan
 ‘Juan’s fixing the car...’
 b. La reparación de Juan...
 c. *La reparación por Juan...

Analysis: The affix [-azo] is a spell-out of Event incorporated into *n*:

- (49) [_{nP} EA n [_{EventP} IA E [_{nP} paraguas]]]

suffix [-ada]

- (50) diente → dentellada
 ‘tooth’ ‘bite’
 puñal → puñalada
 knife ‘stab’
 (Cf.: apuñalar → ‘to stab’ // *apuñalada)
- (51) chiquill-] → chiquillada
 ‘child’ ‘childish action’
 español → españolada
 ‘Spanish’ ‘stereotypical acting out one’s Spanishness’
 novill-] → novillada
 ‘young bull’ ‘training for a bullfight with young bulls’

AS:

- (52) La puñalada/dentellada de Juan a Pedro asustó a todos los presentes.
 The stabbing/biting GEN Juan DAT Pedro frightened ACC all the present
 ‘Juan’s stabbing/biting Pedro frightened everybody present.’

Agent-oriented adjective:

- (53) La deliberada españolada de la alcaldesa de Madrid irritó a muchas personas.
 the deliberate *españolada* GEN the mayor GEN Madrid irritated ACC many people
 ‘Madrid’s mayor deliberate *españolada* irritated many people.’

Agent or event control:

- (54) La [puñalada]_i *pro*_j a Iñaki para PRO_{i/j} asustar al público
 the stabbing DAT Iñaki for frighten.INF acc.DEF public
 was very effective
 fue muy efectiva.
 ‘The stabbing of Iñaki to frighten the public was very effective.’

(A)telic temporal modifiers:

- (55) La novillada de tres horas agotó las fuerzas de los mozos.
 the novillada of three hours exhausted the strength GEN the men
 ‘The *novillada* for three hours exhausted the men’s strength.’

puñalada and *dentellada* are semelfactive → no event modifiers

root+word marker

- (56) a. Root: √compr-
 Verb: comprar ‘to buy’
 Noun: compra ‘buying’, ‘shopping’ or ‘purchase’
 b. Root: √cosech-
 Verb: cosechar ‘to harvest’
 Noun: cosecha ‘harvesting’ or ‘harvest’ or ‘crop’
 c. Root: √rechaz-
 Verb: rechazar ‘to reject’
 Noun: rechazo ‘rejection’
 d. Root: √retras-
 Verb: retrasar ‘to postpone’
 Noun: retraso ‘delay’

AS:

- (57) a. La compra de las acciones X por el banco Y es muy sospechosa.
 the purchase GEN the stocks X by the bank Y was very suspicious
 ‘Bank Y’s purchase of X stocks is very suspicious.’
 b. La cosecha de trigo por Juan empezó en octubre.
 the harvest GEN wheat by Juan started in October
 ‘Juan’s wheat harvest started in October.’
 c. El rechazo de María a las acciones innobles del banco
 the rejection GEN Maria DAT the actions ignoble GEN.DEF bank
 la puso de patitas en la calle.
 cl.acc put.past of legs in the street
 (Also: el rechazo de las acciones innobles del banco por María...)
 ‘María’s rejection of the bank’s ignoble actions had her fired.’
 d. El retraso del banco Y en los pagos desequilibró los mercados.
 the delay GEN.DEF bank Y in the payments unbalanced the markets
 ‘Bank Y’s delay in the payments unbalanced the markets.’

Grimshaw’s tests:

- (58) a. La compra deliberada de las acciones X por el banco Y ...
 ‘Bank Y’s deliberate purchase of X stocks...’
 b. La compra de las acciones X por el banco Y en tres días ...
 ‘Bank Y’s purchase of the X stocks in three days...’
 c. La constante compra de acciones X por el banco Y ...
 ‘Bank Y’s constant purchasing of X stocks...’
 d. La compra de las acciones para animar a los inversores ...
 ‘The purchasing of stocks to encourage investors...’

Straw-man analysis 1: the nP includes a vP that introduces the AS/ES and the v terminal is deleted before VI:

- (59) a. *syntax*:
 √retras] v] n
 b. *delete v*:
 √retras] n
 c. *VI*:
 √retras+o

→ Look-ahead

Straw-man analysis 2: nP includes a vP and the thematic vowel is deleted after VI:

- (60) a. *syntax*:
 √retras] v] n
 b. *VI*:
 √retras+a+o
 c. *Delete thematic vowel*:
 √retras+o

→ why?

The most parsimonious approach to these noun/verb pairs is to take it that they are derived directly from the root → abandon the notion that AS-nominals necessarily receive the AS/Event-structure from a verbal structure dominated by the nP.

R-nominals with verbal morphology

- (61) a. *ampliación* : ‘expansion’
 Este barrio se construyó como una ampliación al casco antiguo.
 ‘This neighborhood was built as an expansion of the old town.’
 b. *separación* : ‘separation’
 Entre el punto X y el punto Y hay una separación de 20 metros.
 ‘Between point X and point Y is a distance of 20 meters.’

- c. *definición* : ‘definition’
 La definición de “Inercia” se encuentra en la página 20.
 ‘The definition of “inertia” can be found in page 20.’

AS-nominal version.

- (62) a. La constante ampliación de la deuda por el gobierno...
 ‘The constant expansion of the debt by the government...’
 b. La ampliación de la deuda en tres días ...
 ‘The expansion of the debt in three days...’
 c. La ampliación de la deuda para animar a los inversores ...
 ‘The expansion of the debt to encourage investors...’

Thus, the presence of a verbal morpheme in the structure does not guarantee the presence of an AS/ES. Maintaining the assumption that AS/ES structures grow out of a *v* would force us additionally to claim that this AS/ES can be excised from a *v* - but only if that *v* is the complement of a nominalizing affix.

6. The role of *v*

What does *v* do?

Chomsky (1995):

(i) dependency with DO, (agreement, case) → object shift (Chomsky 2001)
 If González-Vilbazo and López (2012) are right: prosody, word order.

(ii) introduces external argument. This was abandoned (Kratzer 1996, Pirkänen 2008 etc).

(iii) categorizes the structure (Marantz 1997).

If embedded in *n*: just a piece of morphology without a syntactic function.

Have an effect on output condition (Chomsky 2001): a condition on List 1 features, not on syntactic structures. Context may prevent a feature from having an effect on output.

7. *Event* spells out

Yet another type of AS/ES-nominal:

- (63) a. Bomba ‘Pump’
 Bombeo ‘Pumping’
 Bombear ‘To pump’

- | | | |
|----|-----------|--------------|
| b. | Gato | ‘Cat’ |
| | Gateo | ‘Crawling’ |
| | Gatear | ‘To crawl’ |
| c. | Blanc- | ‘White’ |
| | Blanqueo | ‘Laundering’ |
| | Blanquear | ‘To launder’ |

Grimshaw’s tests:

- (64) El deliberado [blanqueo]_i de dinero por los bancos para PRO_i
 the deliberate laundering GEN money by the banks for
 proteger a los inversores excitó la ira del público.
 protect.INF ACC the investors aroused the anger GEN.DEF public
 ‘The deliberate money laundering by the banks to protect investors aroused the public’s anger.’

Straw-man analyses: just as before

My analysis:

- (65) a. *gateo* ‘crawling’ $\sqrt{\text{gat-}}] e]_{EP} o]_{nP}$
 b. *gatear* ‘to crawl’ $\sqrt{\text{gat-}}] e]_{EP} a]_{vP} r]_T$

Fábregas 2011:

- (66) a. Canturrear ‘to sing softly’
 (*cantar* ‘to sing’)
 b. Besuquear ‘to kiss repeatedly’
 (*besar* ‘to kiss’)

My analysis:

- (67) a. Canturrear ‘to sing softly’
 cant-] [urr] e]]_E a]_v r]_T
 b. Besuquear ‘to kiss repeatedly’
 bes-] [uqu] e]]_E a]_v r]_T

Conclusions

PC in word formation: natural consequence if there is only one computational system.

Analysis of nominalizations requires PC.

AS/ES is independent of syntactic category

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