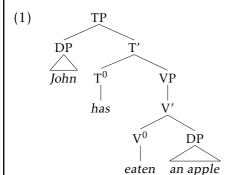
Intro to Syntax, PART FOUR

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Introducing selection

- As we have seen, verbs can take a *complement* (as in (1))
- But they don't have to (as in (2))



 $(2) \qquad \begin{array}{c|c} TP \\ \hline DP & T' \\ \hline John & T^0 & VP \\ \hline & & | \\ has & V' \\ \hline & & | \\ V^0 \\ \hline & & | \\ eaten \end{array}$

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Introducing selection

- However, not every verb can freely take or not take a *complement*
 - Compare (3a-b) essentially, what we saw diagrammed on the previous slide to (4a-b):
- (3) a. John has eaten.
 - b. John has eaten his dinner.
- (4) a. * John has devoured.
 - b. John has devoured his dinner.
 - Perhaps more strikingly (for reasons we will discuss shortly), compare (5a–b) with (6a–b):
- (5) a. * John has enjoyed.
 - b. John has enjoyed his victory.
- (6) a. John has rejoiced.
 - b. * John has rejoiced his victory.

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Introducing selection

- It seems difficult to reduce all of these facts to meaning
 - I don't know what difference in meaning would cause *enjoy* to demand a DP complement, but *rejoice* to refuse it

NOTICE

I'm not saying there is no difference in meaning between *enjoy* and *rejoice*; there probably is.

- BUT: suppose I were to claim that it is this difference in meaning that is responsible for the difference in their behavior w.r.t. complementation
 - Unless I could demonstrate that the exact same meaning difference triggers the exact same behaviors in other pairs of verbs, my claim would be an empty one
 - it would just be a fancy way of restating the facts that we have already observed regarding enjoy and rejoice

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Introducing selection

- There exist verbs that demand a complement, but will not accept DPs in that role:
- (7) a. * John depends.
 - b. * John depends [DP his sister].
 - c. John depends [PP on his sister].
- (8) a. John requested [CP that Bill pass him the salt].
 - b. John insisted [CP that Bill pass him the salt].
- (9) a. John requested [DP the salt].
 - b. * John insisted [DP the salt].

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Introducing selection

- There are verbs that demand both a DP and a PP:
- (10) a. John put [DP] the jar [PP] on the table.
 - b. * John put.
 - c. * John put [DP the jar].
 - d. * John put [PP on the table].
 - **NOTE:** We don't even have room in our current X'-schema for both the DP and the PP!
 - since there's only room for one complement to X⁰
 - o We'll address this in a couple of classes, if we have time
 - ➤ In the meantime, however since it is not clear how both selected phrases can be *complements* of the V⁰ *put* we will sometimes use the more neutral term *argument*:
 - both the DP and the PP are arguments of put

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Introducing selection

- Even though we've used **verbs** to demonstrate selectional properties, it's a phenomenon that extends to all syntactic categories
 - Let's look at some examples with adjectives:
- (11) a. John is proud.
 - b. John is proud [PP of Mary].
 - c. John is proud [$_{CP}$ that Mary won].
- (12) a. John is happy.
 - b. * John is happy [PP of Mary].
 - c. John is happy [CP that Mary won].
- (13) a. * John is fond.
 - b. John is fond [PP of Mary].
 - c. * John is fond [CP that Mary won].

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Introducing selection

Interim summary:

- We've seen that a head can impose restrictions on whether it will have an argument, and what kind of argument that will be
- These kinds of requirements are generally known as *selection*
 - o sometimes referred to as *c-selection*, where 'c' is short for *categorical*
 - which is meant to contrast with *s-selection*, where 's' is short for *semantic*
 - · which refers to those selectional facts that can be reduced to meaning
- ► the selectional requirements of a particular item/word are *idiosyncratic*(≡specific to that particular item/word)
 - ⇒ there seems to be no way for a speaker to have this linguistic knowledge except **listing**, for every item/word, what its selectional requirements are

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The lexicon

- **NOTICE:** we already need a list, somewhere in the speaker's mental representation, to tell us which words belongs to which syntactic categories
 - ⇒ we might as well list, alongside the syntactic category of each word, what its selectional requirements are
 - So we'll have something like this:
- (14) *proud*: A, ___ (PP | CP)
 - this representation means the word proud is an Adjective, and can optionally take either a PP or a CP as its argument
- The complete list of all such information, for every word in the language, is called the *lexicon*
 - o and one entry like (14) is called a *lexical entry*

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Selection: beyond *category*

- We've been speaking of selectional properties in terms of syntactic categories (DP, PP, CP)
- ➤ Is that enough?
 - For many cases, it appears that the combination of syntactic category + semantic requirements will do the job
 - For example, the PP that *put* requires can be any PP, provided it is semantically compatible with the notion of *location*

```
(15) \ a. \ John \ put \ [_{DP} \ the \ book] \ [_{PP} \ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} on \ the \ table \\ under \ the \ chair \\ in \ the \ fire \\ near \ the \ sofa \\ *after \ the \ meeting \\ *despite \ his \ misgivings \\ *because \ of \ the \ strike \\ \end{array} \right\}.
```

- ▶ It would be redundant to stipulate this last bit syntactically
 - · since that's something that semantics needs to know, anyway

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Selection: beyond category

- But some heads impose syntactic restrictions on their argument that are more specific than just its *category*
 - We've previously seen the verb depend, for example
 - depend not only requires a PP argument, but also imposes severe restrictions on what that P⁰ will be:
- (16) The peasants depend on/*from/*by/*near the king.
 - This is not reducible to semantics
 - one can imagine a metaphor for *dependence*, where *on* (the P^0 corresponding to the spatial relation X is above Y) is relevant
 - ▶ the point is, one can imagine a dozen other such metaphors
 - · and, as any 2nd language learner will attest, different languages choose different P⁰'s for the same thing (and thus, perhaps, different metaphors?)

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Selection: beyond *category*

- o Another example, this time with adjectives:
- (17) a. John is fond of/*at/*with/*by/*from Mary.
 - b. John is angry at/*of/*with/*by/*from Mary.
 - c. John is happy with/*of/*at/*by/*from Mary.
- ⇒ heads can select not only the *category* of their complement, but the actual identity of its head
- ➤ **NOTICE:** the category of a phrase, YP, is uniquely and completely determined by its head, Y⁰

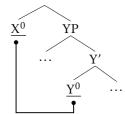
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Selection: sisterhood and the Projection Principle

 \Rightarrow the instances of *selection* we've seen so far can be understood as some head X^0 imposing restrictions on the head (Y^0) of its complement (YP)

(18)



- ➤ Are there instances of *selection* that go beyond (18)?
 - o are there instances, for example, of X^0 imposing restrictions on the *complement/specifier* of Y^0 (when YP is the sister of X^0)?

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Selection: sisterhood and the Projection Principle

- There is, for example, no verb that is like *depend*, but imposes restrictions on the D⁰ inside P⁰'s complement, rather than on P⁰ itself:
- (19) John schmepends [PP near/on/at/to/by/despite [DP a/*the stipend]].

- This is, of course, anecdotal evidence; but it's also impossible to *prove* a negative (i.e., the non-existence of something)
- ⇒ so unless and until we encounter compelling evidence to the contrary, we will assume that *selection* is indeed restricted to *sisterhood*
 - i.e., heads can impose restrictions (categorical or otherwise) on the heads of their sister(≡complement)
- (20) PROJECTION PRINCIPLE:

If a head X^0 selects for an element α , then α must be the head of the αP sister of X

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Selection: sisterhood and the Projection Principle

- Consider the following example:
- (21) a. It is surprising for a youngster to win the race.
 - b. It is surprising that a youngster will win the race.
- (22) a. * It is surprising for a youngster will win the race.
 - b. * It is surprising that a youngster to win the race.
 - \circ Let's take for granted, for now, that this for is a C^0 , just like that
 - \triangleright What we see here is that C^0 imposes selectional restrictions on the tense head, T^0
 - ⇒ which, at the very least, fits in with what we've been doing:
 - we've been assuming that TP is the complement(\equiv sister) of C⁰

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- (23) a. The dragon devoured [the villagers] (yesterday) (in Omaha).
 - b. The dragon rejoiced (yesterday) (in Omaha).
 - c. The dragon put [the peasant] [upon the plate] (yesterday) (in Omaha).
- ▶ It seems that elements like *yesterday* or *in Omaha* can be added to (almost?) any VP
- One option is to state this information as part of the *lexical entry* for each verb
 - o but that seems redundant:
 - remember, the whole purpose of the *lexicon* was to list those facts about each word that had to be memorized
 - but if *yesterday/in Omaha* can be added to **every VP**, that is not information that needs to be memorized separately for each verb
 - ⇒ in other words, elements like *yesterday/in Omaha* are not *selected* by any verb in particular

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Adjuncts

(24) DEFINITION:

phrases that aren't selected by particular X⁰s are called adjuncts

- This could have been the end of the story in which case, it wouldn't be a particularly interesting story
- ► However, it turns out that there are interesting syntactic consequences to the *argument*-vs.-*adjunct* distinction:
- (25) John wrote [a letter] [to Mary] [in the garden] [on Tuesday], ...
 - a. ... and Bill did so too.
 - b. ... and Bill did so [on Thursday].
 - c. ... and Bill did so [at his desk] [on Thursday].
 - d. * ... and Bill did so [to Susan] [at his desk] [on Thursday].
 - e. * ... and Bill did so [a note] [to Susan] [at his desk] [on Thursday].
- ⇒ do so must replace, at the very least, the verb + all of its arguments
 - o adjuncts, on the other hand, may or may not be included

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Another consequence of the argument-vs.-adjunct distinction:

- (26) a student [of physics] [from Brazil]
- It's reasonable to think [from Brazil] is an adjunct:
 - o it can be added to almost any noun:
- (27) the box [from Brazil]
 - it doesn't seem to be a specific property of *student* (as opposed to any other noun) that allows [from Brazil] to appear after it
 - ⇒ in other words, [from Brazil] is **not** selected by student
- compare this with [of physics]:
- (28) * the box [of physics]
 - \Rightarrow [of physics] is selected by student
- Now consider (26), compared to (29):
- (29) * a student [from Brazil] [of physics]

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Adjuncts

⇒ *adjuncts* cannot be ordered before *arguments*

Unlike many of the other properties we've been talking about, there are many languages for which this is not true; if we'll have time, we'll talk a little bit about what the relevant difference is between these languages and English.

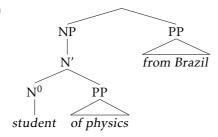
- Compare this with (30a-b):
- (30) a. the student [from Brazil] [with the short hair]
 - b. the student [with the short hair] [from Brazil]
 - ⇒ two adjuncts can be reordered w.r.t. each other
 - How might we relate these two facts?
 - (i) do so must replace, at the very least, the verb + all of its arguments
 - o adjuncts, on the other hand, may or may not be included
 - (ii) adjuncts cannot be ordered before arguments
 - o while adjuncts can be reordered amongst themselves

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• Suppose adjuncts are *Merged* as sisters to the maximal projection (XP):

(31)



- o RECALL: complements are Merged as sisters to the head
- \Rightarrow by the time the adjunct is *Merged*, the complement is already there
- ⇒ as a result, the adjunct will be **farther out** from the head (compared to the complement)
- ⇒ if both the complement and the adjunct are **to the right** of the head, then the adjunct **must follow** the complement

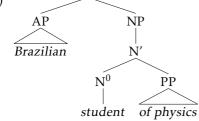
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Adjuncts

- **PREDICTION:** an adjunct **can** precede the complement, so long as it also precedes the head
 - if we introduce the adjunct via *Merge*(<adjunct>, XP), rather than *Merge*(XP, <adjunct>)
- \Rightarrow this prediction is borne out:

(32)



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Adjuncts

- In fact, **both** the adjunct and the complement can appear *pre-nominally* (i.e., before the noun)
 - ▶ in that case, however, the adjunct must **precede** the complement:
- (33) a. a Brazilian physics student
 - b. * a physics Brazilian student
- NOTICE:
 - o our *structurally*-based characterization of adjunct positions ("farther away from the head than complements") gets (33a–b) right
 - whereas a *linearly*-based characterization of adjunct positions ("following/to the right of complements") does not

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- How about the label of the resulting constituent (when an XP and an adjunct *Merge*)?
 - REMINDER: our original motivation for the existence of *syntactic categories* was **distributional**

(i.e., where a set of constituents can and can't appear)

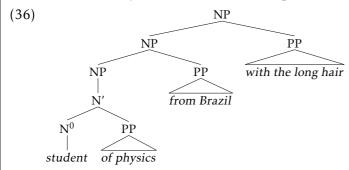
- o it's pretty clear that (34b) or (34c) can appear in whatever syntactic environments (34a) can appear in:
- (34) a. [NP student of physics]
 - b. [? [NP student of physics] [PP from Brazil]]
 - c. [? [AP Brazilian] [NP student of physics]]
- \Rightarrow it stands to reason that the category of (34b–c) is the same as the category of (34a) namely, NP:
- (35) a. [NP [NP student of physics] [PP from Brazil]]
 - b. [NP [AP Brazilian] [NP student of physics]]

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Adjuncts

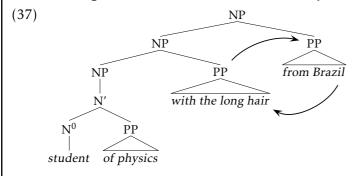
- If so, then the addition of an adjunct unlike the addition of a complement does not change the category of a constituent
 - o e.g., the result of Merging an adjunct to an NP is another NP
- \Rightarrow **PREDICTION:** the output of one *adjunction*(\equiv *Merge* of an adjunct) should be able to serve as input for another *adjunction*
- We have already seen, in fact, that this prediction is borne out:



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- This also captures the fact that, modulo semantic/pragmatic constraints, adjuncts can *Merge* in any order
 - o because the adjunct always *Merges* to an XP (e.g., an NP, as in (36))
 - regardless of whether it is the first adjunct, the second adjunct, etc.

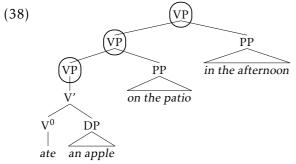


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Adjuncts

- Finally, consider the do so facts:
 - we saw that *do so* must replace at least the verb + all of its *arguments*
 - adjuncts, on the other hand, may or may not be included



- ▶ do so can replace VP nodes, and only them!
 - ⇒ our hypothesis about how adjuncts are *Merged* into the structure gives rise to a very elegant characterization of *do so*'s behavior

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This is svn-revision 1082.

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