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1 Introduction

Background

- There exists a close relation between meaning and structure
- Theories of Argument Projection
 - (i) Meaning of the verb determines argument structure (Jackendoff 1990, Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1986, Alsina 1993, Grimshaw 1991, Pustejovsky 1995, among others)
 - richly annotated entries
 - no interaction between the lexicon and the syntax
 - argument structure changing operations in lexicon or syntax, but determined by lexical semantics of the verb.
 - (ii) Structure determines verb meaning (Borer 1994, Ghomeshi and Massam 1994, Hale and Keyser 1993, Marantz 1997, among others)
 - lexical entry alone doesn't determine argument structure
 - event construal subject to syntactic principles
 - syntactic configuration and the meaning of the verb are derived from contribution from various constituents of the predicate

This talk

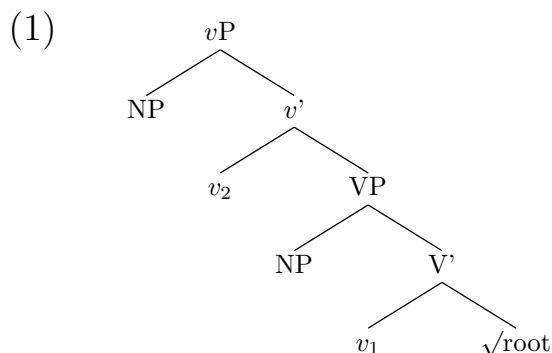
1. Case and semantic interpretation:

evidence: Properties of arguments in Eastern Armenian and relation to structure

- relation between case and specificity
- two positions for direct objects
- relation between VP aspect and cardinality of argument

→ all derived from syntactic positions / no pre-encoding

2. Tree structure configuration



- verb is decomposed into primitive components (root, categorial and functional features)
- decompose nominal element \simeq verbal predicate → project each feature in distinct projections
- correspondence between nominal and verbal features, ex. boundedness
- two parallel domains

2 Specificity and Agreement

Proposal

- There are two distinct structural positions for the direct object
- These positions correspond to different case morphology and semantic interpretations

Case morphology

- direct objects may or may not have overt accusative case

(2) Ara-n girik-ə ayr-ets (*definite*)

Ara-NOM book-ACC burnt

‘Ara burnt the book.’

(3) Ara-n girik ayr-ets (*bare indefinite*)

Ara-NOM book burnt

‘Ara burnt a book/books.’

(4) a. Ara-n mi girik ayrets (*quantified indefinite, without case*)

Ara-NOM one book burnt

‘Ara burnt a book.’

- b. Ara-n mi girk-ə ayr-ets (*quantified indefinite, with case*)
 Ara-NOM one book-ACC burnt
 ‘Ara burnt one book/one of the books.’

2.1 Adverbs

- sentential adverbs are considered to be outside of the verbal domain, generally licensed either by the Complementizer or the Inflectional heads (Potsdam 1999)
- sentential adverbs can intervene between case-marked object and verb, but not between caseless object and the verbal element

Definite

- (5) a. Ara-n *vst’ah* ays girk-ə k’-k’arta
 Ara-NOM certainly this book-ACC COND-read/3SG
 ‘Ara will certainly read this book.’
- b. Ara-n ays girk-ə *vst’ah* k’-k’arta
 Ara-NOM this book-ACC certainly COND-read/3SG
 ‘Ara will certainly read this book.’

Bare Indefinite

- (6) a. Ara-n *vst’ah* vot’anavor as-ets
 Ara-NOM certainly poem say-AOR/3SG
 ‘Ara certainly recited/said a poem/poems.’
- b. yerexa-ner-ə *havanabar* hetzaniv k’-ksh-en
 child-PL-NOM probably bicycle COND-ride-3PL
 ‘The children will probably ride a bicycle/bicycles.’
- (7) a. *Ara-n vot’anavor *vst’ah* as-ets
 Ara-NOM poem certainly say-AOR/3SG
- b. *yerexa-ner-ə hetzaniv *havanabar* k’-kš-en
 child-PL-NOM bicycle probably COND-ride-3PL

Quantified Indefinites

- (8) a. Ara-n mi piyano-n *enthanrap’es* lar-um er
 Ara-NOM one piano-ACC usually tune-IMP be-PAST/3SG
 ‘Ara usually used to tune one piano.’
 → ‘Ara usually used to tune one of the pianos.’
- b. *k’at’u-n mi muk’ *yerevi* brn-el e
 cat-NOM one mouse maybe catch-PERF be-PRES/3SG
 ‘Maybe the cat has caught a mouse.’

- other constituents (PPs, instrumentals, locatives, ablatives) may also separate the case-marked object and the verb.

Intervening Instrumentals (adapted from Tamrazian (1994): examples (69) and (71))

- (9) a. Siran-ə dur-ə *banali-ov* bats-ets
 Siran-NOM door-ACC key-INST open-AOR/3SG
 ‘Siran opened the door with a key.’
- b. ?*Siran-ə dur banali-ov bats-ets
 Siran-NOM door key-INST open-AOR/3SG

Intervening Locatives

- (10) a. zinvor-ner-ə grk-er-ə *poqots-um* ayr-ets-in
 soldier-PL-NOM book-PL-ACC street-LOC burn-AOR-3PL
 ‘The soldiers burnt the books in the street.’
- b. ?*zinvor-ner-ə mi hat’ girk *poqots-um* ayr-ets-in
 soldier-PL-NOM one CL book street-LOC burn-AOR-3PL

Intervening PPs

- (11) Siran-ə t’un-ə *ays ašak’ert’-i het’* varts-av
 Siran-NOM house-ACC this student-GEN with rent-AOR/3SG
 ‘Siran rented the house with this student.’
- (12) ?*Siran-ə t’un *ays ašak’ert’-i het’* varts-av
 Siran-NOM house this student-GEN with rent-AOR/3SG

Generalization

Table 1: Objects and Intervening Adverbs

	NP-ACC	Adverb	Verb
*	NP	Adverb	Verb

- two object types occupy different structural positions (correlates with Turkish (Enç 1991), Persian (Karimi 1996), Hindi (Mahajan 1990), Urdu (Butt 1995), Dutch (Hoop 1992) data)
- accusative object can occupy a position outside the verb phrase

2.2 Stress Pattern

- with case-marked objects, the main stress falls on the verb
- with objects without overt case, the main stress is on the object

- (13) a. Ara-n girk-ə ayr-ETS
Ara-NOM book-ACC burn-AOR/3SG
'Ara burnt the book.'
- b. menk yerek' yerk'u hat' gini-n verčatsr-ets-INK
we-NOM yesterday two CL wine-ACC finish-AOR-3PL
'We finished two bottles of the wine yesterday.'
- (14) a. Ara-n GIRK gn-ets
Ara-NOM book buy-AOR/3SG
'Ara bought a book/books.'
- b. k'at'u-n norits mi MUK' brn-ets
cat-NOM again one mouse catch-AOR/3SG
'The cat caught a mouse again.'
- c. harevan-ə bak'-um vočXAR mort-ets
neighbor-NOM yard-LOC sheep sacrifice-AOR/3SG
'The neighbor sacrificed a sheep/sheep in the yard.'

- the auxiliary follows the element with main stress in the clause.

- (15) a. Ara-n hats-ə tats.a.ts.n.UM e
Ara-NOM bread-ACC wet.INCH.CAUS.ASP.IMP is
'Ara is wetting the bread.'
- b. Ara-n HATS e tats.a.ts.n.um
Ara-NOM bread is wet.INCH.CAUS.ASP.IMP
'Ara is wetting bread.'

Stress pattern correlates with syntactic structure (Selkirk 1984, Halle and Vergnaud 1987, Zubizarreta 1998).

- *Nuclear Stress Rule* (NSR):

main stress appears on the most deeply embedded constituent in the clause. (Cinque 1993)

- (16) a. They are following the lecture.
b. They are following the lecture attentively.

- Objects without overt case receive main stress → they remain inside *vP* (17a)
- Objects with overt case do not receive main stress → they are *vP*-external (17b)

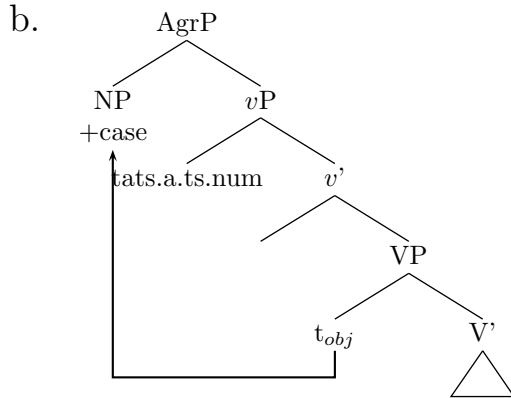
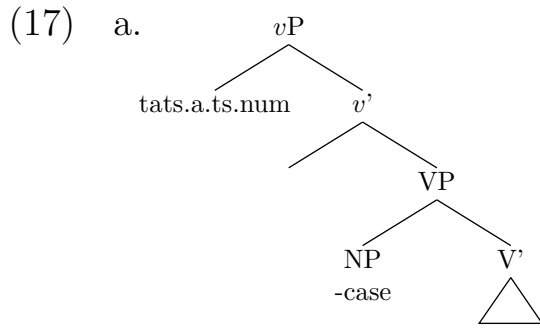


Table 2: Behavior of two object types in Eastern Armenian

	overt case	adverbs/ intervening PP	receives main prominence	followed by the auxiliary	object position
definite object	yes	yes	no	no	<i>vP</i> -external
bare indefinite	no	no	yes	yes	<i>vP</i> -internal
quantified indefinite	yes	yes	no	no	<i>vP</i> -external
	no	no	yes	yes	<i>vP</i> -internal

- correlation between case morphology and the structural position

2.3 Case and Specificity

- case-marked objects receive a strong reading (Hoop 1996) or a specific reading (Enç 1991) ⇒ referential, partitive
- bare objects receive a weak reading (Hoop 1996) or a non-specific interpretation (Enç 1991) ⇒ existential

specificity: depends on the link of the NP to the previously established domain of discourse

→ the referent of the NP is a *subset* of the already established domain of discourse.
(Enç 1991)

- (18) a. Ara-n ašxat'-um e mi hat' dzi brni
Ara-NOM tryIMP be-PRES/3SG one CL horse catch-Subj/3SG
'Ara is trying to catch a horse.'
- b. Ara-n ašxat'-um e mi hat' dzi-an brni
Ara-NOM tryIMP be-PRES/3SG one CL horse-ACC catch-Subj/3SG
'Ara is trying to catch a horse.'
→ 'There is a horse such that Ara is trying to catch it.'

- accusative case on quantified indefinites can mark a partitive reading

- (19) a. k'at'u-n mi mk'-an brn-el e
cat-NOM one mouse-ACC catch-PERF be-PRES/3SG
'The cat has caught a mouse/one of the mice.'
- b. k'at'u-n mi muk' e brn-el
cat-NOM one mouse be-PRES/3SG catch-PERF
'The cat has caught a mouse.'

- Accusative case is obligatory on:

1. partitive construction

- (20) Ara-n grk-er-its mek'-*(ə) ayrel e
Ara-NOM book-PL-Abl one-ACC burn-PERF be-PRES/3SG
'Ara has burnt one of the books.'

2. proper names, pronouns, demonstrative NPs

- (21) a. Ara-n Siran-in hampuyr-um e
Ara-NOM Siran-ACC kissIMP be-PRES/3SG
'Ara is kissing Siran.'
- b. *Ara-n Siran hampuyr-um e
Ara-NOM Siran kissIMP be-PRES/3SG
- (22) a. Ara-n iren hampuyr-um e
Ara-NOM her/him(Acc) kissIMP be-PRES/3SG
'Ara is kissing her/him.'

- b. [^]Ara-n ir hampuyr-um e
 Ara-NOM her/him(Gen) kissIMP be-PRES/3SG
- (23) a. Ara-n ays girk-ə k'artats-el e
 Ara-NOM this book-ACC read-PERF be-PRES/3SG
 'Ara has read this book.'
- b. *Ara-n ays girk k'artats-el e
 Ara-NOM this book read-PERF be-PRES/3SG

3. universally quantifying indefinites

- (24) a. Yes amen grk-er-*(ə) k'artats-el em
 I all book-PL-ACC read-PERF be-PRES/1SG
 'I have read all the books.'
- b. Yes amen mi girk-*(ə) yer k'u ankam k'artats-el em
 I all one book-ACC two time read-PERF be-PRES/1SG
 'I have read each book twice.'

4. D-linked wh-elements (Pesetsky 1987)

- (25) a. Ara-n vor girk-ə k'art-ats
 Ara-NOM which book-ACC read-AOR/3SG
 'Which book did Ara read?'
- b. *Ara-n vor girk k'art-ats
 Ara-NOM which book read-AOR/3SG

- On non-D-linked wh-phrases, case is optional but correlates with specificity

- (26) a. Ara-n inč k'art-ats
 Ara-NOM what read-PERF
 'What is Ara reading?'
- b. Ara-n inč-ə k'ar-tats
 Ara-NOM what-ACC read-AOR/3SG
 'What did Ara read?' (i.e., 'Which part did Ara read?')

Generalization

- Overt case on object leads to specific interpretation in Eastern Armenian

Analysis

- specificity is obtained when D^o is present in the nominal configuration (see Karimi 1996, Ghomeshi 2001 for proposals positing a null determiner head in specific quantified indefinites in Persian)

⇒ Presence of D^o triggers movement to AgrP

- specificity corresponds to Agreement:

In Hindi, the specific direct object triggers overt agreement on the verb (Mahajan 1990).

3 Case and Aspect

• Case and verb phrase aspect correlate in Finnish (Kiparsky 1998) and Scottish Gaelic (Ramchand 1997)

- accusative case appears with bounded (telic) VP aspect and partitive with unbounded (atelic) aspect

- (27) a. Matti luk-i kirja-t (tunni-ssa)
Matti-SG/NOM read-PAST/3SG book-PL-ACC (hour-INESS)
'Matti read the books (in an hour).'
- b. Matti luk-i kirjo-j-a (tunni-n)
Matti-SG/NOM read-PAST/3SG book-PL-PART (hour-ACC)
'Matti read books (for an hour).'

• case-marking in Finnish does not depend on the specificity, definiteness or strength of the object (contra Belletti 1988).

- (28) a. Hän kirjoitt-i kirjeet [bounded]
He/she write-PAST/m/3SG letters-ACC
'He wrote the letters.'
- b. Hän kirjoitt-i kirje-i-tä [unbounded]
He/she write-PAST/m/3SG letter-PL-PART
(i) 'He wrote letters.'
(ii) 'He was writing (the) letters.'

• Verb phrase aspect correlates with *quantitative determinacy* (Kiparsky 1998), *quantization* (Krifka 1992) or *specific quantity of A (+SQA)* (Verkuyl 1993).

→ An event is bounded if the direct object refers to a specific quantity (i.e., is +SQA)

- (29) a. They ate cheese. [*unbounded*]
 b. They ate sandwiches. [*unbounded*]
 c. They ate from the cheese. [*unbounded*]
 d. They ate three sandwiches. [*bounded*]
 e. They ate a sandwich. [*bounded*]

Table 3: Correlation between case and aspect in Finnish

	Verb	Object	vP Aspect	Object Case	example
1	+result	+SQA	+bounded	Accusative	<i>Matti luki kirjat</i> ‘Matti read the books’
2	+result	-SQA	-bounded	Partitive	<i>Matti luki kirjoja</i> ‘Matti read books’
3	-result	+SQA	-bounded	Partitive	<i>etsin karhuja</i> ‘I am looking for the bears’
4	-result	-SQA	-bounded	Partitive	<i>etsin karhuja</i> ‘I am looking for bears’

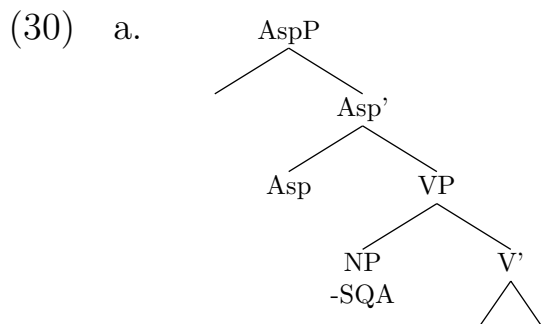
(see Kiparsky 1998 and Megerdooimian 2001 for more details)

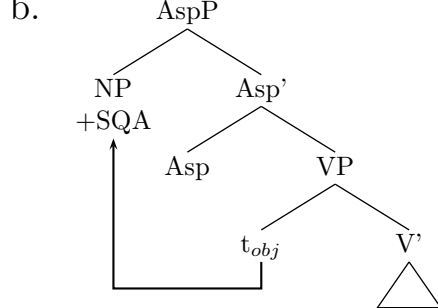
Generalizations

- Accusative case correlates with bounded *vP* aspect
- When direct object represents a specific quantity (+SQA) then it can “delimit” the event represented by the verb \Rightarrow bounded *vP* aspect

Analysis

- A +SQA direct object moves to the specifier of *AspP* where it delimits the event \Rightarrow bounded *vP* aspect (see Borer 1994 for details)





3.1 Specified Quantity in Eastern Armenian

- Accusative case does not correlate with *v*P aspect

- definite object gives rise to bounded VP aspect

- (31) a. Sirun-ə xndzor-ə mi ĵam-um k'er-av
 Sirun-NOM apple-ACC one hour-LOC eat-AOR/3SG
 'Sirun ate the apple in an hour.'
- b. #Sirun-ə xndzor-ə mi ĵam k'er-av
 Sirun-NOM apple-ACC one hour eat-AOR/3SG
 '#Sirun ate the apple for an hour.'

- bare indefinites give rise to unbounded VP aspect

- (32) a. ?*Sirun-ə mi ĵam-um xndzor k'er-av
 Sirun-NOM one hour-LOC apple eat-AOR/3SG
 '?*Sirun ate apples in an hour.'
- b. Sirun-ə mi ĵam xndzor k'er-av
 Sirun-NOM one hour apple eat-AOR/3SG
 'Sirun ate apples for an hour.'

- quantified indefinites: both indefinites with overt accusative case (specific reading) and without overt case (nonspecific reading) give rise to bounded predicates.

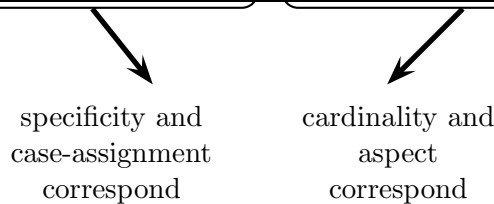
- (33) a. lezvaban-ner-ə yerku šiš gini-n mi ĵam-um xm-ets-in
 linguist-PL-NOM two bottle wine-ACC one hour-LOC drink-AOR-3PL
 'The linguists drank the two bottles of wine in an hour.'
 'The linguists drank two of the wine bottles in an hour.'
- b. #lezvaban-ner-ə yerku šiš gini-n mi ĵam xm-ets-in
 linguist-PL-NOM two bottle wine-ACC one hour drink-AOR-3PL
 '# The linguists drank the two bottles of wine for an hour.'
 '# The linguists drank two of the wine bottles for an hour.'

- (34) a. lezvaban-ner-ə mi jam-um yerk'u sis gini xm-ets-in
 linguist-PL-NOM one hour-LOC two bottle wine drink-AOR-3PL
 ‘The linguists drank two bottles of wine in an hour.’
- b. #lezvaban-ner-ə mi jam yerk'u šiš gini xm-ets-in
 linguist-PL-NOM one hour two bottle wine drink-AOR-3PL
 ‘# The linguists drank two bottles of wine for an hour.’
- presence or absence of case does not correspond to completion or resultativity either

- (35) a. Ara-n yerk'u hat' garejur-ə mi jam-um xm-ets
 Ara-NOM two CL beer-ACC one hour-LOC drink-AOR/3SG
 verč-a-ts-r-ets
 finish-INCH-CAUS-ASP-AOR/3SG
 ‘Ara drank up the two beers/two of the beers in an hour.’
- b. Ara-n mi jam-um yerk'u hat' garejur xm-ets
 Ara-NOM one hour-LOC two CL beer drink-AOR/3SG
 verč-a-ts-r-ets
 finish-INCH-CAUS-ASP-AOR/3SG
 ‘Ara drank up two beers in an hour.’

Table 4: Specificity, Aspect and Case in Eastern Armenian

	overt case	specificity	+SQA	aspect	object position
definite object	yes	yes	yes	bounded	vP-external
bare indefinite	no	no	no	unbounded	vP-internal
quantified	yes	yes	yes	bounded	vP-external
indefinite	no	no	yes	bounded	vP-internal




Summary

- D^o triggers movement to [Spec, AgrP] \Rightarrow Specificity + Case in Eastern Armenian
- +SQA triggers movement to [Spec, AspP] \Rightarrow Bounded vP aspect + Case in Finnish

Table 5: Nominal and Verbal Correspondence

	instantiation	boundedness
nominal	D	Num
verbal	Agr	Asp



accusative case
in Armenian

accusative case
in Finnish

Conclusion

- Languages assign Accusative case at different nodes
- There is a direct correspondence between verbal and nominal features/nodes:
 - specificity and agreement (*instantiation*)
 - cardinality and aspect (*boundedness*)

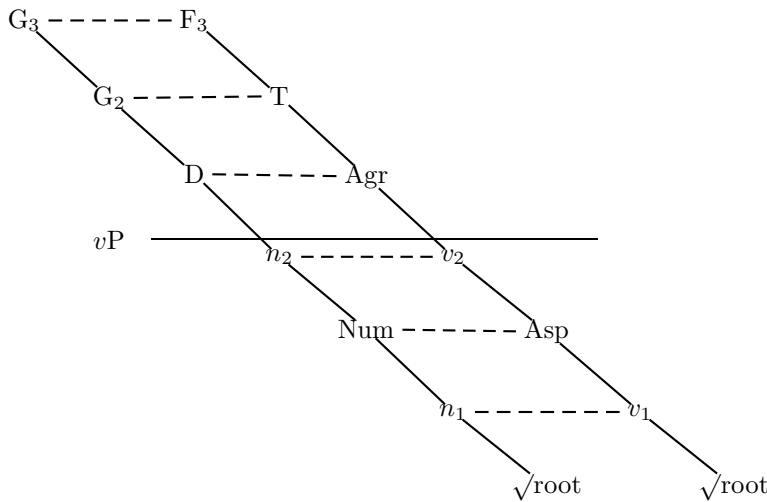
4 Parallel Nominal and Verbal Domains

Proposal

Project nominal features into distinct nodes in parallel to the decomposition of the verbal element. (e.g., Abney 1987, Tang 1990, Valois 1991, Ritter 1992, Bhattacharya 1999, Borer 2000)

- parallel architecture of nominal and verbal domains

(36)



- nominal and verbal predicates are composed of a fixed set of primitive elements consisting of a root, a category feature, and features denoting *boundedness* and *instantiation*.

- feature representing boundedness corresponds to aspect in the temporal or verbal domain and to the classifier or count system in the physical or nominal domain.

- n represents an entity and v denotes eventive information

4.1 Checking Relations and Structural Case

Proposal

- the noun phrase becomes an argument of the verb when the primitive elements in the nominal structure form a *specifier-of* relation with their verbal counterparts (Vergnaud 2000, Vergnaud and Zubizarreta 2001)

- The resulting interpretation and case-marking depend on the level in the structure at which the checking relation is formed.

Generalization

- *bare nouns*: no case, not specific, vP -internal, main stress, unbounded aspect, -SQA

- *quantified indefinite without case*: no case, not specific, vP -internal, main stress, bounded aspect, +SQA

- *quantified indefinite with case*: case, specific, vP -external, no main stress, bounded aspect, +SQA

- *definite nouns*: case, specific, vP -external, no main stress, bounded aspect, +SQA

Analysis

- bare noun

n_1-v_1 relation is the highest checking level in the construction \Rightarrow aspect remains unbounded and the bare noun appears low within the vP structure

- quantified indefinites

Num-Asp is highest specifier-of relation formed \Rightarrow Num feature in the nominal domain forms a count noun argument, and Aspect node on the verbal domain provides 'result-orientedness' of the event.

\Rightarrow bounded aspect when the two corresponding nodes enter into a checking relation

- case marked object

When the noun projects a D, highest relation is at D-Agr (outside of vP domain)

\Rightarrow nominal predicate receives a specific interpretation.

5 Implications

• Case marking and Agreement

Case-assignment is a *specifier-of* relation between corresponding nodes in nominal and verbal domains

- Realization of accusative Case is a post-syntactic phenomenon since overt accusative case is realized after all syntactic projections and checking relations have been formed.

Case is not:

- an uninterpretable feature of a noun phrase that needs to be checked by LF
- listed as a feature in the lexical entry
- represented as a functional projection in syntax

• A-Movement

A-Movement corresponds to the *extension* to the highest structural level at which a nominal argument is interpreted

- an argument is interpreted at the highest level in the verbal structure at which it is checked.
- structure of the noun phrase determines the corresponding verbal projection at which it is licensed or checked

(37) *Prinzhorn's Law*:

The “height” to which a nominal category will scramble within the verbal category is equal to the “height” of the highest specified feature within N.

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