

Lecture 20: Determiner Phrase.

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LIN 311: Syntax

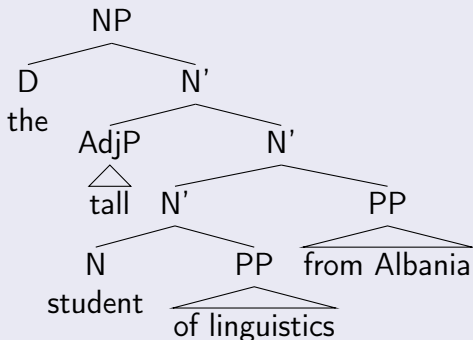
November 1, 2018

Outline

- ① Determiner phrases
 - Reminder about NPs and the Plan of Action
 - Types of Ds and Their Properties
 - DP-Projection
 - Pronouns
 - Possessors
 - Argument structure in DP
 - Deriving Internal DP Structure
 - N-Movement

Noun phrase

- Recall the structure of NPs:

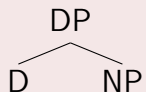


- The status of D is a **theoretical problem**:
 - It is very different from all other specifiers.
 - It is the only category without its own phrase.

DP-Hypothesis

In this lecture, we will pursue the **DP-Hypothesis**:

- Noun phrases are really **determiner phrases**, and they have the following structure:



At most one determiner

- Determiners usually **do not co-occur**:
 - (1)
 - a. *the this man
 - b. *each a man
 - c. *some those letters
 - d. *every this man
- There is a single slot available for determiners in the structure.

Hierarchy of projections

- Determiners care about what comes after them:
 - **a** needs a singular noun;
 - **every, each** need a singular noun;
 - **most, all** need a plural noun;
 - **a** cannot be combined with mass nouns: **a water*;
 - etc.
- This should remind us of the hierarchy of projections:

(2) CP > TP > NegP > PerfP > ProgP > VP

Each projection only cares about what comes after it. Also, verbs care about what kind of embedded clause can come after them:

- (3) a. I want [Sally to leave].
 b. *I want [that Sally leaves].

DP projection

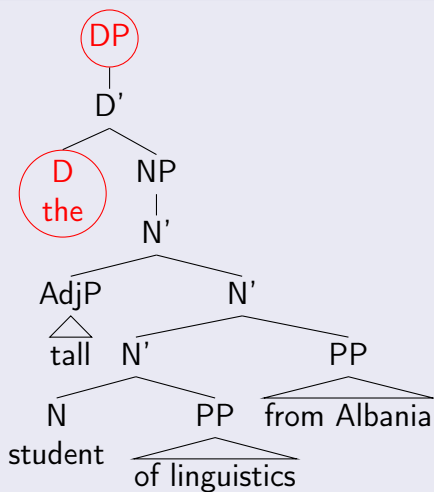
- To summarize, heads “care about” what comes after them, i.e. about their complements.
- We can push this idea of projection hierarchy to nominal phrases:

(4) DP > NP

- This way, nominal phrases are actually DPs – Determiner Phrases.
- D “cares about” what kind of NP comes after it.
- NPs still exists, they are complements of Ds.

Determiner phrase: example

Updated structure of nominals



Pronouns

- **Pronouns** cannot be combined with the determiners and behave differently than other nouns:

- (5) a. *the she (6) a. *the hungry he
 b. *this he
 c. *every you b. *Sue's he with purple hair
 c. *he of Scotland

- We conclude that **pronouns are determiners**, which sometimes can take NP complements (like other determiners):

DP
 |
 D'
 |
 D
 she

DP
 |
 D'
 / \
 D NP
 we linguists

DP
 |
 D'
 / \
 D NP
 you friends of the King

Null determiners

- We revised NP to DP; now we have to say that **verbs select DPs** and not NPs.

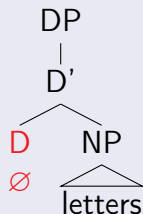
- What happens if there is no D?

- (7) a. I wrote letters.
b. We ate jellyfish.

- We assume that there is a **null determiner**.

- Some languages don't allow them at all:

- (8) a. *J'ai écrit lettres. (French)
I've written letters
'I have written letters.'
b. J'ai écrit **des** lettres.
I've written **some** letters
'I have written letters.'



Possessors

There are two main ways to express possessor relation in English:

- (9)
- a. an idea of Evan's
 - b. Evan's idea

Saxon Genitive

Saxon Genitives

- Saxon Genitives are **incompatible with articles**:

- (10)
- a. *the Evan's idea
 - b. *Evan's the idea

- What does it tell us about the structure of possessives?

Possessors

Hypothesis 1

- Can possessor phrases be Ds?
- Probably **not**: heads are words, not phrases. Possessor can be a DP itself:

(11) [my best childhood friend's] idea

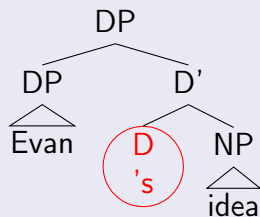
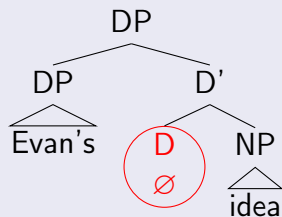
Possessors

Hypothesis 2

- Possessor phrases occur in **Spec,DP** position. *Note that Possessor is itself a DP!*
- What is D in this case?

Analysis 1: Empty (or contains just some [+poss] feature)

Analysis 2: 's is in D position, and the Spec,DP contains just the possessor without the suffix.



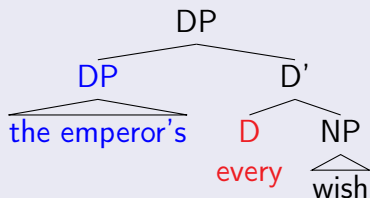
Possessors

Choosing between two analyses

- It is not trivial to choose between these two analyses. Carnie argues for **Analysis 2**, where $D='s$.
- However, there are problems:
 - Constituency of **possessor+'s**: Is *Evan's* a constituent in *Evan's idea*?
 - Also, some determiners are compatible with possessors:

(12) a. *Evan's every* idea was insane.
b. *The Emperor's every* wish was immediately carried out.

Possessors



Hungarian

Hungarian allows Ds to follow possessors much more than English:

- (13) a. Peter minden kalap-ja
 Peter's every hat-DEF
 'All Peter's hats'
- b. Peter ezen/azon kalap-ja
 Peter's this/that hat-DEF
 'This/that hat of Peter's'

Genitive case

- If we follow the analysis where the entire Saxon Genitive with 's is in Spec,DP, we can say this is just a special case on the noun: **Genitive case**.
- Many languages have special form for it, similar to having separate forms for other cases. English marks it with 's:

- (14) a. korov-a (Russian)
cow-NOM
- b. korov-u
cow-ACC
- c. korov-y
cow-GEN

More null determiners

Null determiners occur with:

- ① **Plural nouns**: *I have sent [∅ letters] to the White House.*
- ② **Possessors**: *[Evan's ∅ idea] is crazy.*
- ③ **Mass nouns**: *I drink [∅ water].*
- ④ **Proper names**: *[∅ Sally] is smart.*

Proper names

- In English, **proper names** usually do not have determiners (some linguists even analyze proper names as Ds and not Ns):

- (15) a. ***the** Sally
b. ***the** Paris

- However, sometimes determiners are permitted:

- (16) a. **The** Sally we all like was at the party.
b. **The** Paris I used to know is no more.

- Some languages **need** a determiner with Proper nouns:

- (17) ○ Giorgos ephuge (Greek)
the George left
'George left.'

DPs are parallel to sentences

There is often a parallelism between sentences (or just VPs) and DPs:

(18) a. Picasso's painting of musicians.

AGENT THEME

b. Picasso painted musicians.

AGENT THEME

- In both of these phrases,
 - **Picasso** is an AGENT, and
 - **musicians** is a THEME.
- In VPs there is also **accusative case**, but since nouns don't assign it, we need a preposition **of** to assign Case:

(19) *Picasso's painting musicians

DPs are parallel to sentences

But there is another possibility:

- (20) a. **The problem's** analysis was very complicated
 b. The analysis of **the problem** was very complicated.

- In these example, **the problem** is not an AGENT, but the THEME.
- Notice that **of-PP** cannot be an AGENT, while Saxon genitives can be both THEMES and AGENTS:

- (21) a. **Morticia's** analysis was successful.
 AGENT or THEME
 b. The analysis of **Morticia** took three hours.
 THEME

DPs are parallel to sentences

- Saxon genitive can be AGENT or THEME.
- Of course, it could also be just a possessor, (22-a).
- Another way to express possession is by Independent Genitive, (22-b).

- (22) a. Sally's wallet
 b. the wallet of Sally's

- Notice, nouns like *wallet* do not have any argument structure and do not assign θ -roles.

DPs are parallel to sentences

Summary

	Saxon Gen.	of-PP	Independent Gen.
AGENT	✓	✗	✗
THEME	✓	✓	✗
POSSESSOR	✓	✗	✓

DPs are parallel to sentences

- Interestingly, AGENTS never combine with POSSESSORS, even though they can be expressed differently:

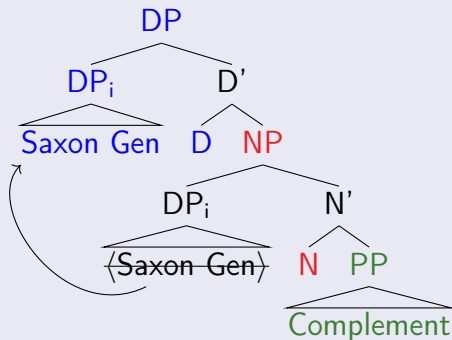
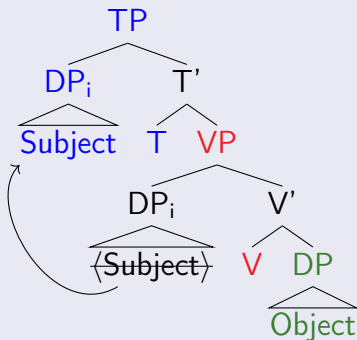
- (23)
- a. Morticia's photograph of Pugsly
 AGT/POSS THEME
 - b. that photograph of Pugsly of Morticia's
 THEME POSS
 - c. *Gomez's photograph of Pugsley of Morticia's
 AGT THEME POSS

- It is possible to express this meaning using different construction:

- (24)
- a. That photograph by Gomez of Pugsley of Morticia's
 - b. Gomez's photograph of Pugsley belonging to Morticia

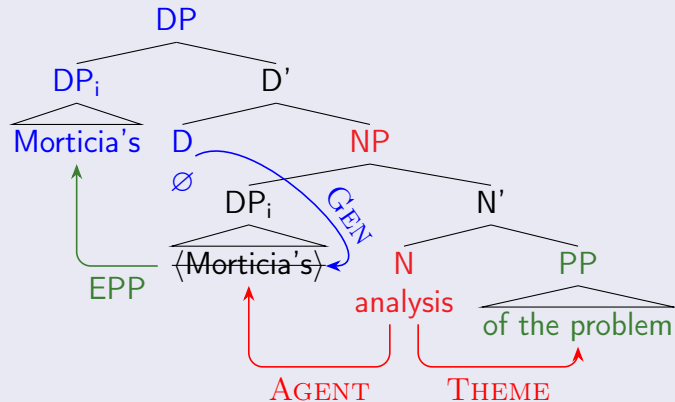
Deriving internal DP structure

- What is the structure of DP and arguments inside it?
- We will follow the analysis which makes DPs similar to TPs and NPs similar to VPs.



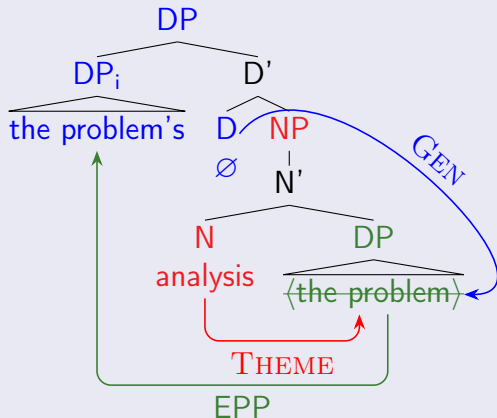
Deriving internal DP structure

- **AGENT** moves to Spec,DP to satisfy **EPP**.
- Phrase in Spec,NP is assigned **Genitive Case** by D (similar to Nominative case assignment by T).



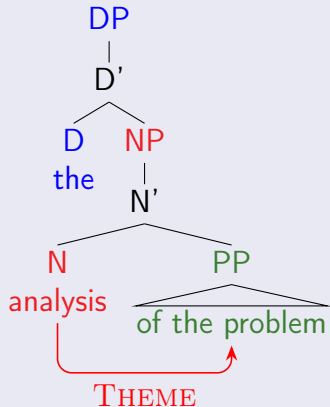
Deriving internal DP structure

- If no AGENT, **THEME** moves to Spec,DP to satisfy **EPP** (as in **unaccusative verbs!**).
- Now **THEME** is assigned **Genitive Case** by D.



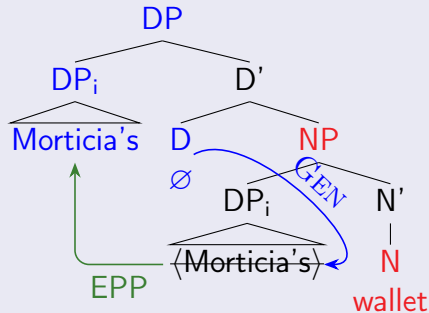
Deriving internal DP structure

- If the **THEME** is an **of-PP**, there is no need for case, and no need for movement.
- But we need **D the**: no Genitive case, doesn't trigger movement.



Deriving possessors

- **POSSESSORS** probably also start in Spec,NP and move to Spec,DP, similar to **AGENTS**.
- Possessor in Spec,NP is assigned **Genitive Case** by D and shows up as Saxon genitive with 's.



Summary of the analysis

- DPs are **similar** in their structure to TPs.
- Some nouns also assign **θ -roles** to their arguments, and this process is similar to what we saw in verbal domain.
- There is a **movement of the AGENT** from Spec,NP to Spec,DP: similar to the movement of subjects from Spec,VP to Spec,TP.
- THEMES start as complements to Ns (similar to THEMES of verbs):
 - If THEME is a **PP**, the case is assigned by *of*, and there is **no need to move** the THEME.
 - If THEME is a **DP**, it needs a case, and because of that it moves to Spec,DP and surfaces as **Genitive** with 's.
- **POSSESSORS** are similar to AGENTS: they start in Spec,NP and **move to Spec,DP**.

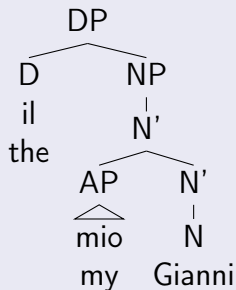
N-movement

- Recall that in French *V* moves to *T*.
- Is it possible for *N* to move to *D*?

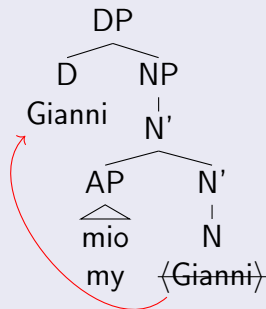
N-movement

Italian (Longobardi 1994)

(25) il mio Gianni
 the my Gianni
 'My Gianni'



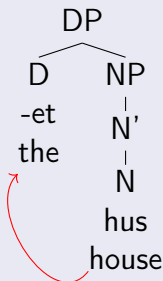
(26) Gianni mio
 Gianni my
 'My Gianni'



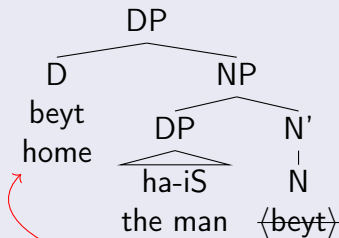
N-movement

Swedish, Hebrew (Ritter 1991)

(27) hus-et
house-the
'the house'



(Swedish) (28) beyt ha-iS (Hebrew)
home the-man
'the man's home'



Warning

- This analysis is not fully accepted by the syntacticians. There are some problems with it and some loose ends, which make it a little less logical and clear than the analysis of TPs and VPs.
- Some syntacticians postulate a special projection PossP inside DP for possessors.
- Some syntacticians argue about the nature of the Genitive case.
- Some syntacticians deny the existence of DPs in languages without articles.
- Some syntacticians argue for much more sophisticated structure of DP with another dozen projections inside it.

Be careful with DP...