

# Contents

Acknowledgments and dedication . . . . .	v
Prologue to <i>Discovering Syntax</i> . . . . .	1

## Part I: Structures in lexical projections

Chapter 1	Types of syntactic categories and features . . . . .	9
Appendix	The status of the small clause category . . . . .	14
1.1	Secondary Predication and Small Clauses . . . . .	14
1.2	Binary Branching and “Learnability” . . . . .	15
1.3	Small Clauses: irrelevant or defective syntactic arguments . . . . .	17
1.4	An Aristotelian legacy . . . . .	22
Chapter 2	The restricted complement space of lexical frames . . . . .	27
2.1	The range of single phrase complements to verbs . . . . .	27
2.1.1	Variations on the frames ___D, ___A and ___P . . . . .	28
2.1.2	The predicate nominal frame +___N . . . . .	30
2.1.3	Variations on the frames ___V and ___I . . . . .	33
2.1.4	Extrinsic features in single frames . . . . .	38
2.2	Limitations on multiple complements . . . . .	40
2.2.1	The puzzling descriptive generalizations . . . . .	40
2.2.2	The role of Abstract Case in Logical Form . . . . .	47
2.2.3	Confirmation of the LF Case Filter from triple complement structures . . . . .	50
2.3	The Case of predicate attributes . . . . .	55
2.4	The restrictive Syntactic Lexicon confronts open-ended Conceptual Space . . . . .	62
Chapter 3	The autonomy of the (syntactic) lexicon and syntax . . . . .	71
3.1	The problem of “neutralized” phrases . . . . .	71
3.2	The uses of <i>ing</i> . . . . .	72
3.2.1	Derived Nominals . . . . .	72
3.2.2	Derived Adjectives . . . . .	73
3.2.3	Gerunds . . . . .	75
3.2.4	Present Participles . . . . .	76

3.3	A generalized and autonomous lexical entry for <i>ing</i> . . .	78
3.3.1	From Middle to Modern English . . . . .	78
3.3.2	Selection through lexical heads . . . . .	81
3.4	Defining the lexical head . . . . .	84
3.5	Lexical selection of non-finite clause types . . . . .	86
3.5.1	The choice between Participles and Gerunds . . . . .	89
3.5.2	Why Infinitives and not Gerunds? . . . . .	93
3.6	Conclusion: all uses of <i>ing</i> result from a single entry . .	95
Chapter 4	Secondary predication, stationary particles, and silent prepositions . . . . .	99
4.1	Lexical representations of Intransitive Prepositions . . .	99
4.2	Case Transparency and Word Order of Intransitive Prepositions . . . . .	102
4.3	Stationary Particles and Secondary Predication . . . . .	104
4.4	Stacked PPs, Silent PPs, and the Revised Theta Criterion	106
Chapter 5	Projecting indirect objects . . . . .	115
Introduction:	a path not followed . . . . .	115
5.1	The surface structure of the prepositionless dative . . . .	118
5.1.1	English double objects . . . . .	118
5.1.2	Some non-Indo-European prepositionless datives . . . .	123
5.2	The deep structure of indirect object constructions . . .	127
5.3	Prepositionless datives: theoretical issues . . . . .	130
5.3.1	Structure-preserving derivations and the Projection Principle . . . . .	130
5.3.2	The interpretation of indirect objects and further predictions . . . . .	133
5.3.3	The passivizability and abstract Case of NPs in P-less datives . . . . .	136
5.4	Accounting for P-less datives . . . . .	137
5.4.1	The licensing of the empty P in P-less datives . . . . .	137
5.4.2	Phrasal antecedents for empty heads . . . . .	139
5.5	Accounting for crosslinguistic variation . . . . .	141
5.5.1	Applicative suffixes . . . . .	141
5.5.2	Accounting for crosslinguistic variation: The English gambit . . . . .	145
5.6	Conclusion: syntax rules OK . . . . .	148

**Part II: Minimal structures for functional categories**

Chapter 6	The flat structure economy of semi-lexical heads . . . . .	159
6.1	Van Riemsdijk's Categorical Identity Thesis . . . . .	159
6.2	Expected properties of phrasal XP complements . . . . .	160
6.3	Defining semi-lexical heads . . . . .	164
6.4	Flat structures when X = Preposition . . . . .	165
6.5	Flat structures when X = Adjective/ Adverb . . . . .	172
6.6	Flat structures when X = Noun . . . . .	174
6.7	Flat structures when X = Verb . . . . .	180
6.7.1	Romance restructuring . . . . .	180
6.7.2	Romance causative structures . . . . .	186
6.7.3	Concluding remarks on flat V-V structures . . . . .	192
Chapter 7	How clitics license null phrases:	
	A theory of the lexical interface . . . . .	199
7.1	The apparent non-local character of clitic placement . . . . .	199
7.1.1	Five contexts for long distance licensing . . . . .	199
7.1.2	Problems with the Movement approach . . . . .	205
7.2	Right dislocation as the key to en/ne . . . . .	208
7.2.1	Distribution of the genitive clitics . . . . .	208
7.2.2	The relation of en/ne to subject position . . . . .	214
7.2.3	Free right dislocations without en/ne . . . . .	215
7.3	Alternative realisation: Minimising covert syntax . . . . .	220
7.3.1	The host of clitic placement . . . . .	220
7.3.2	In situ representations of clitics in trees . . . . .	221
7.3.3	Realising syntactic features in different positions . . . . .	223
7.4	The "absolute transparency" of phrases allowing clitic climbing . . . . .	226
7.4.1	Rizzi's paradigms for restructuring verbs . . . . .	226
7.4.2	Lexical theory: Late insertion . . . . .	229
7.4.3	Lexical theory: Satisfying subcategorisation . . . . .	232
7.4.4	Clitic climbing, dual insertion levels, and the Phrase Mate Hypothesis . . . . .	235
7.4.5	Causative and perception verbs . . . . .	238
7.4.6	Restrictions on cliticisation in causative/perception complements . . . . .	243
7.5	Clitics corresponding to complements of adjectives . . . . .	244
7.5.1	Two lexical projections for French adjectives . . . . .	244

7.5.2	Two lexical projections for English adjectives . . . . .	248
7.6	Unresolved issues in the in situ framework . . . . .	250
7.6.1	Nominative clitics and finite agreement . . . . .	251
7.6.2	Enclisis . . . . .	251
7.6.3	Clitic ordering . . . . .	251
7.6.4	Choice of host V within restructured VPs . . . . .	252
7.6.5	The historical persistence of clitic case . . . . .	253
7.6.6	Economy of Derivation . . . . .	255
Chapter 8	English indirect passives . . . . .	267
8.1	Characteristics and scope of structures called “Passive”	267
8.2	Indirect Passives: a needed concept in English grammar . . . . .	269
8.2.1	Genesis of the term “Indirect Passive” . . . . .	269
8.2.2	The English candidates for Indirect Passive status . . . . .	270
8.3	The theoretical components of the Indirect Passive . . . . .	274
8.3.1	Characterizing the “Grammatical V” that trigger the Passive . . . . .	274
8.3.2	Properties of the Grammatical Lexicon . . . . .	276
8.3.3	The lexical entries for the participial suffixes . . . . .	278
8.3.4	The relation of the Syntacticon to levels of Lexical Insertion . . . . .	281
8.4	Countering possible objections . . . . .	284
8.4.1	Objection: grouping Japanese and English Indirect Passives . . . . .	284
8.4.2	Objection: the structures examined aren’t really Passives . . . . .	285
8.4.3	Objection: The structures examined are Passives in Small Clauses . . . . .	287
8.5	Conclusion: English Indirect Passives confirm Late Insertion . . . . .	289

**Part III: Landing sites of phrasal movements**

Chapter 9	A theory of phrase structure based on Extended Projections . . . . .	297
9.1	Lexical Projections . . . . .	297
9.2	The Subject as a special phrase: I and IP . . . . .	298

9.3	The DP Hypothesis and generalizing the definition of Subject . . . . .	300
9.4	The EPP: explaining the “strong D feature on Tense” . . .	303
9.5	Transformational derivations . . . . .	305
Chapter 10	The lower operator position with parasitic gaps . . . . .	309
10.1	Subjacency effects on parasitic gaps . . . . .	311
10.2	The location of the parasitic operator $O_i$ . . . . .	312
10.2.1	No operator $O_i$ in finite clauses . . . . .	312
10.2.2	No operator $O_i$ in infinitives with overt subjects . . . . .	313
10.2.3	No operator $O_i$ in bare adverbial participles . . . . .	313
10.2.4	No operator $O_i$ in absolute constructions . . . . .	313
10.3	Puzzle: the lower operator $O_i$ is not in SPEC(CP) . . . . .	314
10.4	The lower operator is in SPEC(IP) or SPEC(DP) . . . . .	315
10.5	Why parasitic gaps must be DPs . . . . .	319
10.6	The sequence of T-model operations on a cyclic domain	320
10.7	A generalized definition of subject . . . . .	324
10.8	Extending the analysis to long distance movement . . . . .	325
Chapter 11	Unspecified categories as the key to root constructions . . . . .	331
11.1	Root vs. embedded clause asymmetry . . . . .	331
11.1.1	Variation in root domains across languages . . . . .	332
11.1.2	Variation across clausal types . . . . .	332
11.1.3	An inventory of root transformational operations . . . . .	334
11.2	Leftward movements without commas . . . . .	336
11.2.1	The domains of root movements: “Discourse Projections” . . . . .	336
11.2.2	The landing sites of root movements: “Discourse Shells”	339
11.2.3	Cross-linguistic variation in Discourse Projections? . . . . .	343
11.3	Extending Structure Preservation . . . . .	344
11.3.1	Deriving local and root operations from structure preservation . . . . .	345
11.3.2	Unique landing sites for frontings without comma intonation . . . . .	349
11.3.3	Exclusion or rarity of French frontings without verb inversion . . . . .	352
11.4	Licensing the root $X^0$ position: English $\emptyset$ vs. German V	353
11.4.1	Lexical entries for Complementisers . . . . .	354
11.4.2	A grammatical moral based on Germanic Verb Second	357

11.4.3	“Residual” English verb inversions in root and root-like clauses . . . . .	358
11.5	Left dislocations with commas . . . . .	361
11.5.1	Iterative a-categorial root clauses . . . . .	361
11.5.2	Parentheticals in apparently final position . . . . .	365
11.5.3	Clausal remnants in apparently final position . . . . .	368
11.6	Summary of proposed hypotheses . . . . .	369
References	. . . . .	381