The Minimalist Machine

Some Persian Examples

Trevor Sullivan Joint work with Sandiway Fong

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University of Arizona

Table of contents

- 1. Introduction to Minimalism
- 2. The Minimalist Machine
- 3. Persian 1:01
- 4. Persian Challenges to the Minimalist Program
- 5. Unsolved Problems with Minimalism and Persian
- 6. Conclusion

Introduction to Minimalism

The diverse grammars for different languages are considered too complicated to be learnable in the very short amount of time that children learn them.

The hypothesis of Universal Grammar, the idea that the core of grammatical systems exists in human brains independent of particular language, demands a better solution.

In the 80s and 90s there came a push to reconcile all of the wildly different grammars that exist for various languages.

Minimize the complexity of grammar to a small number of systems that are plausibly innate

Throwing out:

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 - X-bar

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 - $\bullet \quad \mathsf{Government} \, + \, \mathsf{Binding}$

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- New concepts:
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 (Nothing can move out of a phase unless it is at the left edge of that phase)
 - Interpretation through valuation of features

Feature Valuation

Interpretable Features Information that is contained within a head and can be read by other heads. eg: plurality in "cats" and tense on "did"

Uninterpretable Features Features present on a head that have no information of their own until they are matched with an interpretable feature. uFs are deleted at the Conceptual-Intensional interface, if valued.

Edge Features Feature that is satisfied when an item merges into the head's left edge (spec) position. There is debate over whether Edge Features are their own category, or a subtype of uF.

Uninterpretable feature and edge feature valuation is performed by an action called "agree" through a "probe-goal" mechanism that reaches down into the tree.

Theory note

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Theory note

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- 1. No empirical evidence.
 - There is no scientific evidence that motivates the existence of the minimalist program, it is not more descriptively powerful than traditional grammars, but it is more theoretically "perfect".
- 2. Very vague.
 - Most discussions of the Minimalist Program do not go deep into the details. For most writers, the question of whether it could work in theory is more important than an investigation of whether it does.

The Minimalist Machine

The Machine

The minimalist machine is a program that constructs derivations according to the minimalist program. 1

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In other words, it builds sentences in the same way that brains do.*

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An attempt to prove the viability of the Minimalist Program as the core component of UG. It is a mathematical model of what the human language faculty has to compute.

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Prolog

- Prolog
- Two parts:

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 - 1. Universal Grammar

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 - Features

Input Stream

• List of heads in reverse order of their merge.

Stack

Syntactic Object (SO)

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Stack

Stack (CS Data Structure) of constituents with unvalued features.

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Syntactic Object (SO)

 Built up over time by merging the existing SO with stream heads or stack constituents.

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- 2. Affix Hopping

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Suffixes hop over the word immediately to their right.

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Post Derivation

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 - Affixes join with heads.

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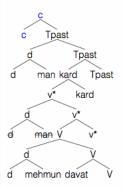
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SOV word order...

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Unlike most SOV languages, Persian has prepositions rather than to postpositions, determiners that precede nouns, and complementizers before their related clauses.

Therefore, we can assert with confidence, as many have, that Persian is a left-headed language in all parameters except the verbal structure.



Persian Challenges to the

Minimalist Program

In Persian, many verbal concepts are expressed not through verbs, but rather through the combination of a non-verb and a semantically bleached light verb. These are henceforth referred to as "NVE" and "LV".

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- (3) man mehmun davat kardam
 1.SG guest invitation do.PST-1.SG
 'I invited a guest'
 lit. 'I did invitation a guest'
- (4) Bahar zabun yâd gereft-∅ B. language memory take.PST-3.SG 'Bahar learned a language' lit. 'Bahar took memory a language'

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- (5) man mehmun davat kardam1.SG guest invitation do.PST-1.SG'I invited a guest'lit. 'I did invitation a guest'
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Complex Predicates are often idiomatic in meaning, but not in nature: they take an object, can be separated by adverbs (sometimes), can be transitive or intransitive (ie, the NVE is *not* a direct object).

Solution:

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Add to the Persian Grammar module a verbalizer. The verbalizer attaches to a non-verbal head, and the resulting SO is *not* a constituent, but rather, remains a head.

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Step 3.

Begin substream		
Stream:	[[davat!D],[V!N]]	
Stack (↓↓):		
SO:	0	

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Step 4.

Head of stre	ead of stream [davat!D] is the initial SO		
Stream:	[[V!N]]		
Stack ():			
SO:	[davat!D]		
	davat!D		

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Step 5.	
Label from [V!N] value] and [davat!D] /VIN] (syntactic head with an unvalued uF) s D on [davat!D] es N on [V!N]
Stream:	
Stack (↓↓):	
SO:	[V[davat][V]]
	davat V

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Step 6.

Stream:	[[V[davat][V]],[v*!phi],[[man!D],[d!case!N]],[kard],[Tpast!phi],[c]]	
Stack (↓↓):		
SO:	[d!case[d][mehmun]]	
	d mehmun	

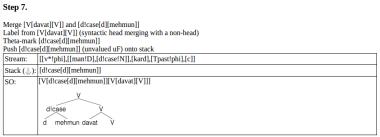
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This kind of operation is not precedented as part of narrow syntax, but syntacticians often assume that certain morphological operations can take place before narrow syntax.

What about LV?

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Scholarly consensus is that the light verb in Complex Predicate is a v. That is uncontested here.

Many LVs are possible, more than the traditional count of little vs, and they serve some semantic purpose, whereas v is purely functional, eg

has the same semantic content as

 $\begin{array}{cccc} \text{(11)} & \text{yâd} & \text{gereftan} & & \text{whereas} \\ & & \text{memory taking} & & \text{(13)} & \text{(v^*) eat steak} \\ & & & \text{`learn'} & & & & & & \\ \end{array}$

is semantically distinct from

(12) yâd âvardan (14) steak (v) eaten memory getting . .

'remember'

v can move arguments, but not change the core semantics of a word.

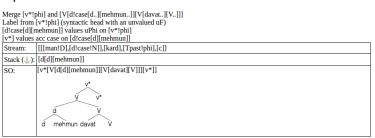
Therefore, we consider ν to be distinct from LV, and as a result, the LV is merged to the tree at its own level.

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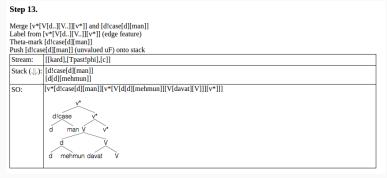
Step 7. Merge [V[davat][V]] and [d!case[d][mehmun]] Label from [V[davat][V]] (syntactic head merging with a non-head) Theta-mark [d!case[d][mehmun]] Push [d!case[d][mehmun]] (unvalued uF) onto stack Stream: [[v*!phi],[[man!D],[d!case!N]],[kard],[Tpast!phi],[c]] Stack (||): [d!case[d][mehmun]] SO: [V[d!case[d][mehmun]][V[davat][V]]]

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Step 8.



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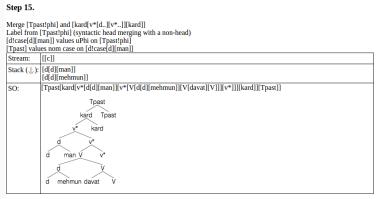
Merge [kard] and [v*[d!case[d..][man..]][v*[V..][v*..]]]

Therefore, we consider v to be distinct from LV, and as a result, the LV is merged to the tree at its own level.

Step 14.

	from [kard] (syntactic head merging with a non-head)		
Stream:	[[Tpast!phi],[c]]		
Stack (\ \/):	[d!case[d][man]] [d[d][mehmun]]		
SO:	[kard[v*[d!case[d][man]][v*[V[d[d][mehmun]][V[davat][V]]][v*]]][kard]]		
	kard v* kard dlcase v* d man V v* d mehmun davat V		

Therefore, we consider ν to be distinct from LV, and as a result, the LV is merged to the tree at its own level.



Since T is right-headed (as it is part of the verbal complex, this is the null hypothesis), it is trivial to get the morphology containing the subject's ϕ -features and the sentential tense in the right position, but there are three verbal morphemes that are difficult to place in the tree structure. Each of the following are prefixes that attach to the main verb, or light verb in Complex Predicates.

Verbal prefixes mi- (durative aspect) na- (negation) be- (subjunctive)

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It has been proposed that they are left-headed, but this would require motivating absolutely everything under them, includind NVE to move left past it.

A new definition for Affix Hopping

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This problem can be solved by making a new definition for affix hopping.

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 Prefixes do not hop. 	Prefixes hop.
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A new definition for Affix Hopping

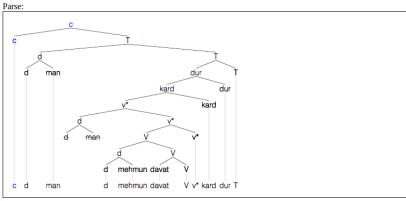
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This is realized in the Machine with a different type of hyphen that the head in question spells out with.

Head-Initial Phrases	Head-Final Phrases
\tilde{x} - prefix that does not hop	x= - prefix that hops
-x - suffix that hops	#x - suffix that does not hop

Affix Hopping Example



Spell-out:
man -acc mehmun davat kard mi= t(pres,[1,sg]) (after morpheme realization)
man mehmun -acc davat mi= kard t(pres,[1,sg]) (after affix-hop)
man mehmun -acc davat mi= kon #am (after morpheme realization, stage 2)
man mehmun davat mi-kon-am

Specific Object Movement

Persian has a specificity distinction, but only in direct objects. It is marked with the phrase-level suffix "-ro" ("-râ" in written and formal speech)

The difference is not only in interpretation, however, because the specific and nonspecific objects have different distributions.

- (15) Bahar diruz miz tamiz kard-Ø
 B. yesterday table clean do.PST-3.SG
 'Bahar cleaned the table yesterday'

Furthermore, there is a stark contrast concerning which item can be deleted with the NVE in a complex predicate.

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(18) *Bahar miz tamiz kard-Ø, vali Reza pangere
B. table clean do.PST-3.SG but R. window kard-Ø
do.PST-3.SG

'Bahar cleaned the table, but Reza did the window'

Furthermore, there is a stark contrast concerning which item can be deleted with the NVE in a complex predicate.

- (19) *Bahar miz tamiz kard-Ø, vali Reza pangere
 B. table clean do.PST-3.SG but R. window
 kard-Ø
 do.PST-3.SG

 'Bahar cleaned the table, but Reza did the window'
- (20) Bahar miz-a-ro tamiz kard-Ø, vali Reza
 B. table-PL-SPF clean do.PST-3.SG but R.
 pangere-ha-ro kard-Ø
 window-PL-SPF do.PST-3.SG
 'Bahar cleaned the (particular) tables, but Reza did the (particular) windows'

Furthermore, there is a stark contrast concerning which item can be deleted with the NVE in a complex predicate.

- (21) *Bahar miz tamiz kard-Ø, vali Reza pangere
 B. table clean do.PST-3.SG but R. window
 kard-Ø
 do.PST-3.SG

 'Bahar cleaned the table, but Reza did the window'
- (22) Bahar miz-a-ro tamiz kard-Ø, vali
 B. table-PL-SPF clean do.PST-3.SG but
 pangere-ha-ro na-kard-Ø
 window-PL-SPF NEG-do.PST-3.SG
 'Bahar cleaned the (particular) tables, but didn't the (particular)
 windows'

 $^{^2 {\}sf Karimi, Mahdavi, Nabors, Smith, Sullivan (2016)}$

If it is assumed that prepositional phrases attach to V, the first examples merely require the specific object to move left of V, with no regards to where.

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The second set of ellipsis examples constrains the movement somewhat. At first glance, one is tempted to say that the specific object moves out of vP (or VoiP, if you prefer) ², but this presents a problem in minimalism. Firstly, (if one desires the LV to be v or Voi), it requires head movement, which is not allowed in a minimalist framework, but aside from that, it breaks the probe-goal chain.

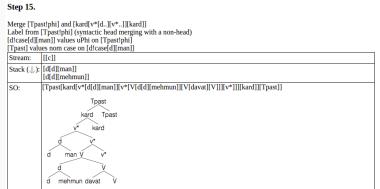
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| Merge [kard] and [v*[dlcase[d., [man..]][v*[V., [v*..]]] |
| Label from [kard] (syntactic head merging with a non-head) |
| Stream: | [[Tpast]phi],[c] |
| Stack (↓): | [dlcase[d][man]] |
| [dd][mehmun] |
SO:	[kard[v*[dlcase[d][man]][v*[V[d]][mehmun]][V[davat][V]]][v*]]][kard]			
kard	v*	kard		
dlcase	v*	d	mehmun davat	V
d	mehmun davat	V		

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(26) Bahar miz-a-ro tamiz na-kard-Ø, vali
B. table-PL-SPF clean NEG-do.PST-3.SG but
pangere-ha-ro kard-Ø
window-PL-SPF do.PST-3.SG

'Bahar cleaned the (particular) tables, but didn't the (particular)
windows'

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pangere-ha-ro kard-Ø
window-PL-SPF do.PST-3.SG

'Bahar cleaned the (particular) tables, but didn't the (particular)
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The subject is a red herring

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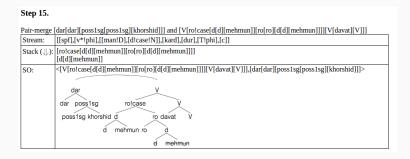
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(28) Bahar miz-a-ro tamiz na-kard-Ø, vali
B. table-PL-SPF clean NEG-do.PST-3.SG but
pangere-ha-ro kard-Ø
window-PL-SPF do.PST-3.SG
'Bahar cleaned the (particular) tables, but didn't the (particular)
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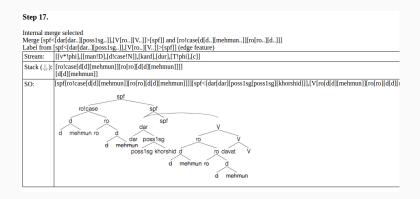
The subject is a red herring: The observation that it can or cannot be explicitly present in the same ellipsis context implies that it is not part of the ellipsis domain, and is instead a second example NP-ellipsis that happens to co-occur with VP-ellipsis.

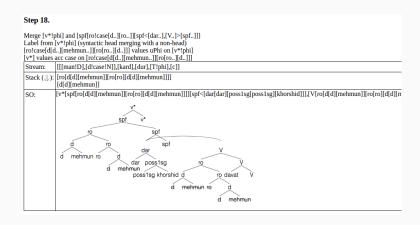
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Step 16. Merge [spf] and <[dar[dar][poss1sg[poss1sg..][khorshid..]]],[V[ro!case[d..][ro..]][V[davat..][V..]]]>

1	Label from [[spr] (only projecting nead)
	Stream:	[[v*!phi],[[man!D],[d!case!N]],[kard],[dur],[T!phi],[c]]
		[ro!case[d[d][mehmun]][ro[ro][d[d][mehmun]]]] [d[d][mehmun]]
Ī	SO:	[spf < [dar[dar][poss1sg[poss1sg][khorshid]]], [V[ro!case[d[d][mehmun]][ro[ro][d[d][mehmun]]]][V[davat][V]]] > [spf]]
		spf dar spf dar posstsg rolcase V posstsg khorshid d ro davat V d mehmun ro d d mehmun





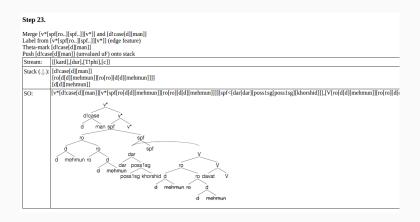
Step 21.

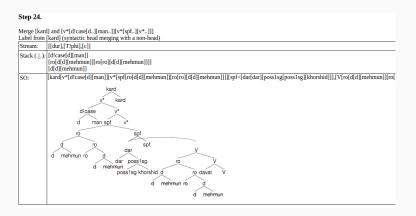
```
Merge [d!case!N] and [man!D]
Label from [d!case!N] (syntactic head with an unvalued uF)
Inherit interpretable feature(s) [f[phi,[1,sg,mf])] from [man!D]
[d!case!N] values D on [man!D]
[man] values N on [d!case!N]
```

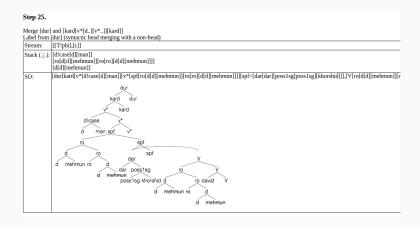
End substream, SO [d!case[d][man]] re-inserted into main stream

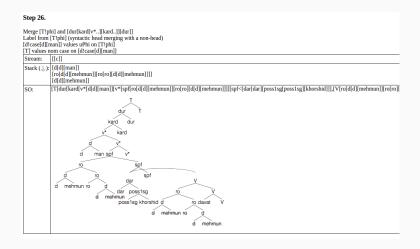
Step 22.

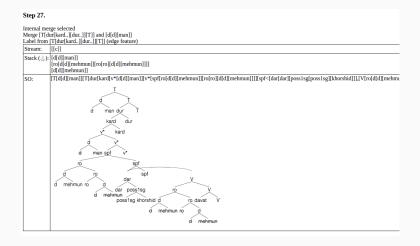
Stream:	[[d!case[d][man]],[kard],[dur],[T!phi],[c]]	
Stack (√/):): [ro[d[d][mehmun]][ro[ro][d[d][mehmun]]]]	
	[d[d][mehmun]]	
SO:	[v*[spf[ro[d[d][mehmun]][ro[ro][d[d][mehmun]]]][spf<[dar[dar][poss1sg[poss1sg][khorshid]]],[V[ro[d[d]	
	spf v* ro spf d mehmun ro d dar poss1sg ro V d mehmun poss1sg khorshid d ro davat V d mehmun ro d d mehmun ro d	

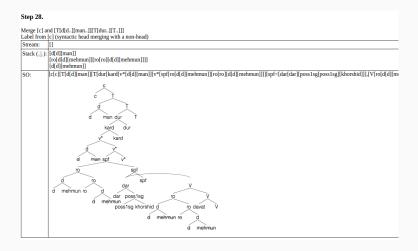


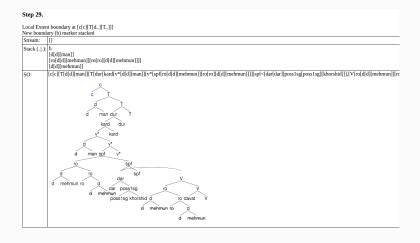


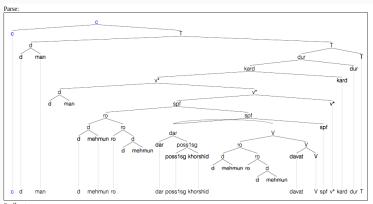












Spell-out:

man mehmun ro dar -am khorshid davat kard mi= (tpres,[1,sg]) (after morpheme realization)

man mehmun ro dar khorshid -am davat mi= kard (tpres,[1,sg]) (after affix-hop)

man mehmun ro dar khorshid -am davat mi= kon #am (after morpheme realization, stage 2)

man mehmun ro dar khorshid-am davat mi-kon-gan davat mi-kon-gan mehmun ro dar khorshid-am davat mi-kon-gan davat davat

Unsolved Problems with

Minimalism and Persian

Future Tense

• The Future Tense is marked with what seems to be a verbal object "khâstan" that gets the subject's ϕ -features and appears between the NVE and LV, strongly implying a head-movement relation.

Future Tense

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 - (30) Bahâr miz-â-ro tamiz khâhad-Ø kard B. table-PL-SPF clean want.PRS-3.SG do.PST 'Bahar will clean the tables'

Complement Clause Extraposition

 Despite being strongly head-final in the verbal complex, Persian internal CPs appear at the end of a sentence. Not only at the end, but after all verbal items, including stacked auxiliaries (in dialects that allow them).

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 - (32) Bahâr goft-Ø ke Reza zabun yâd
 B. say.PST-3.SG that R. language memory
 gereft-Ø
 take.PST-3SG

'Bahar said that Reza learned the language'

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 'Bahar said that Reza learned the language'
- This problem also exists in German, and to the best of my knowledge, there is no satisfying solution.

Conclusion

Summary

It is possible to build a functional grammar for Persian in a Minimalist Program framework, but it isn't easy.

Additional allowances for Morphology need to be made in above the pure Minimalist Program.

A new rule for the spell-out of affixes is proposed, donating a new testable hypothesis to an otherwise not-very-scientific framework.

And even then, minimalism not quite good enough to describe every aspect of the language (but still an improvement over willy-nilly phrase-structure grammars, and a worthwhile step forward towards finding UG).



Backup slides

Derivation:

(5) John was arrested

Stream: [[john!D],[d!case!N],[arrest],[prt!phi!case],[v~],[Tpast!	
Stack (↓↓):	
SO:	

Step 1.

Head of stream [john!D] is the initial SO

	or sacam (John D) is the findation	
Stream:	[[d!case!N],[arrest],[prt!phi!case],[v~],[Tpast!phi],[c]]	
Stack (√/):		
SO:	[john!D]	
	john!D	

Step 2.

Step 3.

Merge [arrest] and [d!case[d][john]]
Label from [arrest] (head merging with a non-head)
Theta-mark [d!case[d][john]]
Purch [d!case[d][john]]

Push [d!case	e[a][John]] (unvalued ur) onto stack
Stream:	[[prt!phi!case],[v~],[Tpast!phi],[c]]
Stack (↓/):	[d!case[d][john]]
SO:	[arrest[arrest][d!case[d][john]]]
	arrest dicase d john

Step 4.

Stream:

Merge [prt!phi!case] and [arrest[arrest][d!case[d..][john..]]] Label from [prt!phi!case] (head merging with a non-head) [d!case[d][john]] values uPhi on [prt!phi!case] Unified case feature on [prt!case] and [d!case[d][john]]

Stack (||): [d!case[d][john]]
SO: [prt[prt][arrest[arrest][d!case[d][john]]]]

prt arrest arrest d!case d johr

[[v~],[Tpast!phi],[c]]

Step 6.

$$\label{lem:merger_problem} \begin{split} \text{Merge } [v\sim] \text{ and } [\text{prt}[d] \text{case}[d..][john..][\text{prt}[\text{prt}..][\text{arrest..}]]] \\ \text{Label } \text{ from } [v\sim] \text{ (head merging with a non-head)} \\ [v\sim] \text{ checks theta on } [d] \text{case}[d][john]] \end{split}$$

Stream:	[[Tpast!phi],[c]]
Stack (↓↓):	[d!case[d][john]]
SO:	$[v\sim[v\sim][prt[d:case[d][john]][prt[prt][arrest[arrest][d[d][john]]]]]]$
	v~ prt dicase prt d john prt arrest arrest d d john

Step 7.

Internal merge selected

Merge [v~[v~][prt[d..][prt..]]] and [d!case[d][john]] Label from [v~[v~][prt[d..][prt..]]] (edge feature)

Stream: [[Tpast!phi],[c]] Stack ([d!case[d][john]] $[v\sim[d:case[d][john]][v\sim[v\sim][prt[d[d][john]][prt[prt][arrest[arrest][d[d][john]]]]]]$ SO: ٧~ d!case john v~ john prt arrest

Step 8.

Merge [Tpast!phi] and [v~[d!case[d..][john..]][v~[v~..][prt..]]] Label from [Tpast!phi] (head merging with a non-head) [d!case[d][john]] values uPhi on [Tpast!phi] [Tpast] values nom case on [d!case[d][john]]

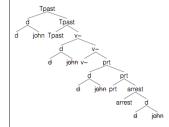
Step 9.

Internal merge selected $\begin{array}{ll} \text{Merge [Tpast[Tpast][} v\sim [d...][v\sim ..]]] and [d[d][john]] \\ \text{Label from [Tpast[Tpast][} v\sim [d...][v\sim ..]]] (edge feature) \end{array}$

Label Holli	ĮΙ	pas
Character	rr	-11

Stack (): [d[d][john]]

 $[Tpast[d[d][john]][Tpast[Tpast][v\sim[d[d][john]][v\sim[v\sim][prt[d[d][john]][prt[prt][arrest[arrest][d[d][john]]]]]]]]]]$ SO:



Step 10.

Merge [c] and [Tpast[d[d..][john..]][Tpast[Tpast..][v~..]]]

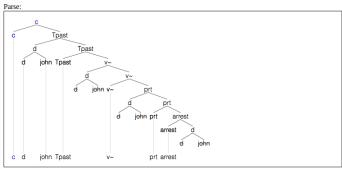
Label Hom	[C] (nead merging with a non-nead)
Stream:	
Stack ():	[d[d][john]]
SO:	$[c[c][Tpast[d[d][john]][Tpast][v\sim[d[d][john]][v\sim[v\sim][prt[d[d][john]][prt[prt][arrest[arrest][d[d][john]]]]]]]]]]\\$
	c Tpast d Toast d john Tpast v~ d john v~ prt d john prt arrest arrest d d john

Step 11.

Local Extent boundary at [c[c][Tpast[d..][Tpast..]]]

New boundary (b) marker stacked

New Doulla	ary (b) marker stacked
Stream:	
Stack (↓↓):	b [d[d][john]]
SO:	[c[c][Tpast[d[d][john]][Tpast[Tpast][v~{d[d][john]][v~[v~][prt[d[d][john]][prt[prt][arrest[arrest][d[d][john]]]]]]]]]] c

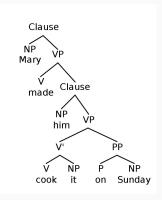


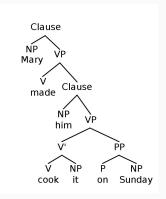
Spell-out: john -ed(sg) be -en arrest (after morpheme realization) john be -ed(sg) arrest -en (after affix-hop) john be -ed(sg) arrest -en (after morpheme realization, stage 2) john was arrested

Language is not linear in nature

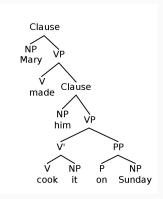
- Language is not linear in nature
 - Eagles that fly instinctively swim

- Language is not linear in nature
 - Eagles that fly instinctively swim
 - Instinctively eagles that fly swim

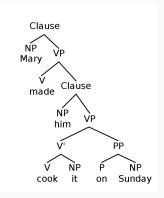




Binary branching



- Binary branching
- Phrases and heads



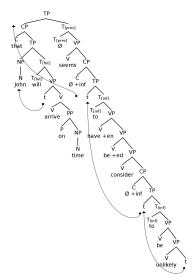
- Binary branching
- Phrases and heads
- Movement

 $\label{eq:Does this work for other languages?} Does this work for other languages?$

 $\label{eq:Does this work for other languages?} Does this work for other languages?$

kinda?

That John will arrive on time seems to have been considered to be unlikely.



Edge features probe for the first constituent available, or the last one to have uninterpretable features still unvalued

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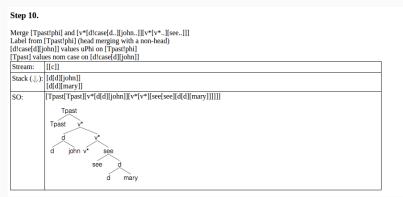
Step 9.

$$\label{eq:merge_problem} \begin{split} \text{Merge} & [v^*[v^*][see[see..][d..]]] \text{ and } [d!case[d][john]] \\ \text{Label from } [v^*[v^*][see[see..][d..]]] \text{ (edge feature)} \\ \text{Theta-mark } [d!case[d][john]] \end{split}$$

Push [d!case	e[d][john]] (unvalued uF) onto stack
Stream:	[[Tpast!phi],[c]]
Stack (↓/):	[d!case[d][john]] [d[d][mary]]
SO:	[v*[d!case[d][john]][v*[v*][see[see][d[d][mary]]]]]
	dicase v* d john v* see see d d mary

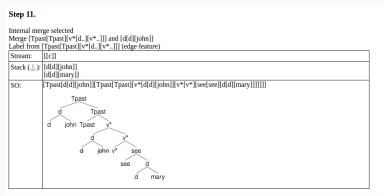
This is realized in the Minimalist Machine with a stack onto which is pushed any item that does not have all its features valued.

Edge features probe for the first constituent available, or the last one to have uninterpretable features still unvalued



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