## Theta Theory

by ·

Martin Haiden

Mouton de Gruyter Berlin · New York



Mouton de Gruyter (formerly Mouton, The Hague) is a Division of Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, Berlin.

The series Studies in Generative Grammar was formerly published by Foris Publications Holland.

526 .H347

@ Printed on acid-free paper which falls within the guidelines of the ANSI to ensure permanence and durability.

2005

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Haiden, Martin, 1969-

Theta theory / by Martin Haiden.

p. cm. – (Studies in generative grammar; 78)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 3-11-018285-8 (cloth: alk. paper)

1. Lexicology. 2. Cognition. 3. Semantics. 4. Grammar,

Comparative and general – Syntax. 5. German language – Verb.

I. Title. II. Series.

P326.H347 2005

413.028-dc22

2005011293

## ISBN 3-11-018285-8

1 To

Bibliographic information published by Die Deutsche Bibliothek

Die Deutsche Bibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at < http://dnb.ddb.de>.

© Copyright 2005 by Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, D-10785 Berlin.

All rights reserved, including those of translation into foreign languages. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

Cover design: Christopher Schneider, Berlin.

Printed in Germany.

## **Preface**

Well beyond the framework of generative grammar, a central question of linguistic research is whether, or how, certain aspects of meaning influence the form of a sentence. This question is addressed from a lexical perspective in this book. It is assumed that a verb is lexically associated with information that determines, at least in part, the predicate-argument structures it can appear in. The lexical approach raises a set of basic questions. First, there is a *properties problem*: which kind of lexical information enters into the determination of argument structure? Second, there is an *interface problem*: how are the relevant chunks of information encoded, such that they are accessible to both general cognition, and the derivation of syntactic predicate-argument structures? Third, there is a *mapping problem*: how exactly are lexical-semantic properties translated into grammatical functions?

The first two questions are addressed in chapter one, which concludes with an introduction to the *Theta System* of Reinhart (2000) and subsequent work. Rather than decomposing verb-meanings into complex lexical event structures, the Theta System analyses thematic roles like *Agent*, *Theme*, *Experiencer* into clusters of two binary features, which are labeled c (for *cause change*) and m (for *mental contribution*). Chapter one explores the psychological basis of these features and identifies them as expressing agency in two domains of a modular mind: a *commonsense theory of body movements* (*folk physics*), and a *commonsense theory of mind mechanisms* (*folk psychology*). Every verb classifies the participants in the event, state, or process it denotes with respect to the cognitive domain in which it is to be interpreted, and it specifies whether the event participant is an agent or a patient in that domain. The Theta System thus derives exactly eight thematic roles as (possibly underspecified) clusters  $[\alpha c, \beta m]$ .

This notation answers the first two questions posed above, the *properties problem*, and the *interface problem*. The grammatically relevant property of verb meaning is agency in two crucial domains of cognitive event interpretation, *folk physics* and *folk psychology*. Encoded as clusters of binary features, this information is accessible in grammatical derivations by hypothesis. The third question regarding the mapping of lexical semantic information on syntactic functions is addressed on the basis of German data in chapters two, three and four.

Chapter two lays the empirical basis with a detailed description of a set of German verbs. The chapter first develops the routines that allow us to postulate specific role-clusters for a given verb, and then establishes generalizations about the relation between role configurations and corresponding predicate-argument structures, including diathesis alternations. The overall conclusion is that Reinhart's (2000, 2002) theory is accurate in most cases.

Although the generalizations of the Theta System are robust and most probably universal, they are by no means exhaustive. A number of non-semantic factors enter into the determination of syntactic structures, in particular morpho-phonology, and purely syntactic requirements like structural case. These issues are addressed in chapter three.

Starting with a discussion of morphological conditions on argument structure, the chapter develops a theory of parallel grammatical derivation, in which the notion *interpretation at the interface* is formalized as a homomorphic mapping. Objects of prosodic structure are interpreted by a mapping into syntax, and objects of syntactic structure are interpreted by a mapping into semantics.

The relation between lexicon and grammar is not an interface in this technical sense. It is assumed with Chomsky (1995) that a lexical item enters a grammatical derivation together with all of its features by being selected into an initial array. Empirical problems relating to the mapping of lexical semantic structure into syntactic structure simply do not arise in this theory, because there is no syntactic structure in the lexicon.

Once a lexical item has been selected into an initial array, its features no longer form an un-analyzable unit. Generalizations over argumentlinking are formulated in terms of merging instructions for thematic roleclusters. In general, the thematic roles provided by a lexical verb-entry merge with syntactic heads of category [/-N], and they are assigned to [/-V]. In particular, a [+] cluster must merge with the head v (which introduces external arguments), and the fully specified cluster [-c-m] must merge with V. No reference to arguments needs to be made in these merging instructions. The argument-interpretation of a given noun phrase arises exclusively in configuration with a thematic role-assigning head. This is an important feature of the present theory, which distinguishes it sharply from the event decomposition framework. It is possible to make explicit generalizations on how the perception of predicate-argument relations determines the projection of syntactic argument structure, but no recursive, presyntactic system of event-representation is needed to do that. With the constructional approach, the present theory shares the assumption that a noun

phrase can only receive an argument-interpretation, if it appears in a specific syntactic configuration. It sharply differs from the constructional approach in that it explains why and how the thematic role-assigning potential of any given construction depends on the lexical entries, from which it is projected.

Chapter four extends this approach, pursuing the interaction between lexical specification, morphological markedness, syntactic structure, and semantic interpretation. It discusses the present participle, modal infinitival complements to the auxiliaries *haben* 'have' and *sein* 'be', the erratic auxiliary selection of intransitive manner of motion verbs, verbal and adjectival properties of the second participle, *un*-prefixation, verb-particle constructions, the verbal passive, and auxiliary selection in perfect, passive and future constructions.

This book contributes to the larger research project of the Theta System in three areas. First, it supplies a cognitive-psychological foundation for the coding system, the features c (cause change), and m (mental contribution). Second, it extends the Theta System into a general theory of argument projection by formalizing the relation between lexical access, morphological markedness, and syntactic argument structure. Third, it explores a wide range of data from German, which have not been discussed in this framework before.

## **Contents**

CHAPTER 1			
EDOM LEXICAL	CENTANIERCE EC	COCNITION	DOT/OITOT

10111	ELEMENTE SEIMENTIES TO COGNITIVE ISTORIOEOGI, THE BREEK	
	Λ	
1.	Lexical semantics: an overview	1
	1.1. Thematic role lists	2
	1.2. Roles and events	5
	1.2.1. The localist approach	5
	1.2.2. The aspectual approach	7
	1.2.3. The causal approach	
2.	The mapping procedure	
	2.1. Beyond the UAH	
	2.2. Problems with diathesis alternations	
	2.3. Summary	. 17
3.	The architecture of the mind, and the lexicon	. 18
	3.1. The lexicon is a list: Fodor & Lepore	
	3.2. Domain specific thought: ToBy, ToMM, and agency	
	3.2.1. Physical objects and ToBy	
	3.2.2. Intentional agents and ToMM	
	3.3. Crossing the interface: cognition, syntax, and the lexicon	
4.	Reinhart's feature theory	
	4.1. The lexicon uniformity principle	28
	4.2. Notational conventions	29
	4.3. Feature clusters and verb classes	
	4.3.1. Underspecified causes: [+c]	
	4.3.2. Agents: [+c+m]	
	4.3.3. Manner verbs and indirect causation: [/+c], [+c-m]	
	4.4. The realization of thematic feature clusters	
	4.4.1. Marking	
	4.4.2. Merging	
	4.5. Arity operations and the like	
5	Conclusion	

ı	$\cap$	Ц	Λ	P	T	$\mathbf{F}_{i}$	D	7
1		п	$\vdash$			P. I	n	_/

GERMAN VERBS: LEXICAL REPRESENTATION AND ARGUMENT REALI-	
ZATION	39
1. Introduction: features and roles	39
2. Role sets and realization patterns	42
2.1. Agent verbs: [+c+m]	
2.1.1. Agent-patient verbs	
2.1.2. Agent-instrument verbs	45
2.2. Underspecified causation: [+c]	49
2.2.1. Cause-theme verbs	
2.2.2. Verbs of indirect and double causation	52
2.2.3. Cause and source	56
2.2.4. Cause and goal	
2.3. Minder verbs: [+m]	
2.3.1. Minder and represented object	
2.3.2. Ditransitive minder verbs and the intentional alter-	
nation	62
2.3.3. Indirect causation in the mental domain: sensations	65
2.4. Special event verbs	67
2.4.1. Mixed value clusters	68
2.4.2. Transitive [-] verbs	69
2.4.3. Intransitive [-] verbs	72
2.5. Realization patterns	76
2.5.1. Agent verbs	76
2.5.2. Cause verbs	78
2.5.3. Minder verbs: [+m]	81
2.5.4. Special event verbs	83
2.5.5. Summary	86
3. The syntax of thematic alternations	86
3.1. Causation and morphological complexity	88
3.2. On the independence of morpho-syntactic and lexical	
complexity	92
3.3. Tests for the position of NP	
3.3.1. Government-related tests	94
3.3.2. Constituency-related tests	96
3.3.3. Binding asymmetries	
3.3.4. Attributive past participle	
3.3.5. Impersonal passive	
3.3.6. Auxiliary selection	

		The causative alternation	
	3.5.	The intentional alternation	106
	3.6.	Transitive non-causatives	110
	3.7.	The instrumental alternation	113
	3.8.	Intransitive [-] Verbs	114
	3.9.	Intermediate conclusion	117
4.	The	reflexive alternation	117
	4.1.	Thematic roles in reflexive constructions	118
		4.1.1. The <i>selbst</i> test	119
		4.1.2. Agent verbs	122
		4.1.3. Cause verbs	
		4.1.4. Minder verbs	136
		4.1.5. Special event verbs	139
		4.1.6. Summary of data	
	4.2.	[+]-reflexives assign their internal theta-role	
		Are theme-reflexives unaccusatives?	
5.	Cor	eclusion	146
BA		PHRASE STRUCTURE OF ARGUMENT EXPRESSION	
1.	A n	ew architecture: domains and interpretation	151
	1.1.	The role of overt morphology in argument projection:	
		Borer (2003)	
		A parallel architecture of grammatical derivation	
	1.3.	More overt morphology: templates and features	158
		Structure-building operations: merge and head-of	
	1.5.	Mapping into syntax: the basic relations of X'-theory	.163
	1.6.	Exemplifying the formalism: stem-derived causatives	.165
	1.7.	Excursus: Grafts, parallel derivations and expressive	
		power	. 168
2.	Ger	nerating syntactic argument structure	. 172
	2.1.	Subcategorization and formal transitivity	. 172
	2.2.	Thematic roles in syntactic structure	. 175
	2.3.	Finite transitives	. 180
		2.3.1. Dative and selected P	
		2.3.2. Double causatives	
		2.3.3. Decausativization by non-realization	. 185
		2.3.4. Decausativization by role reduction	
		2 3 5 Minder verbs	

		2.3.6. Transitive [-] verbs	. 190
	2.4.	Intransitives	
		Reflexives	
3.		clusion	
CHA	PTEI	R 4	
		TIONS AND EXTENSIONS: PARTICIPIAL AND INFI-	
		CONSTRUCTIONS	199
		present participle and modal infinitives	
		The present participle	
	1.1.	1.1.1. Basic facts	
		1.1.2. Verbal properties	
		1.1.3. Adjectival participles	
		1.1.4. Preliminary observations about argument structure	
		1.1.5. Intransitives	
		1.1.6. Agents, causes, and double causation	
		1.1.7. Underspecified [-m] and cluster distinctness	
		1.1.8. Underspecified [-c]	
		1.1.9. Underspecified [+m]	
		1.1.10. Mixed value clusters	
		1.1.11. Summary	
	1.2.	Modal Infinitives under sein 'be'	
		1.2.1. Basic facts	
		1.2.2. Intransitives	
		1.2.3. Agents, causes, and double causation	
		1.2.4. Underspecified [-m] and cluster distinctness	
		1.2.5. Underspecified [-c]	
		1.2.6. Underspecified [+m]	
		1.2.7. Mixed value clusters	
		1.2.8. Summary	
	1.3.	Modal infinitives under haben 'have'	
	1.0.	1.3.1. Intransitives	
		1.3.2. Agents, causes, double causation, and the causative	
		alternation	
		1.3.3. Underspecified [-m] and cluster distinctness	
		1.3.4. Underspecified [-c]	
		1.3.5. Underspecified [+m]	
		1.3.6. Mixed value clusters	
		1.3.7. Summary	

1.4. Morphology, syntax and ARB-interpretation	228
1.4.1. Against T in the participle, and under <i>sein</i> 'be'	
1.4.2. Infinitives under <i>haben</i> 'have' are tensed	
1.4.3. The position of $zu$ , and its role in role-absorption	
1.4.4. Arbitrarization and the interpretation of implicit	
roles	
1.4.5. On the morpho-syntactic status of /n/ and /d/	
1.4.6. Derivations	
1.5. Intermediate conclusion	
2. Constructions with the second participle	
2.1. Auxiliary selection, intransitive motion and lexical reflex-	
ivization	
2.1.1. Motion verbs and lexical reflexivization	
2.1.2. Formal vs. thematic features: deriving dialectal	
variation in auxiliary selection	. 243
2.2. The second participle	. 245
2.2.1. Verb sets	. 246
2.2.2. Verbal participles with an adjectival distribution	. 247
2.2.3. Morphology	
2.2.4. Verbal vs. adjectival participles	.251
2.2.5. Phrasal vs. lexical participles	.252
2.3. The verbal passive	.258
2.3.1. Aspectual constraints	.258
2.3.2. Thematic constraints	.260
2.3.3. Impersonal passives	
2.4. Auxiliary and participle: the overall picture	
2.4.1. Sein 'be'	. 265
2.4.2. Haben 'have'	
2.4.3. Werden 'become/be'	
3. Conclusion	
5. Collection	
CONCLUSION	.273
REFERENCES	
INDEX	