Advising Meeting

Mykel Loren Brinkerhoff

Outline

- Brinkerhoff & Tengesdal 2020
- Negative indefinite pronouns

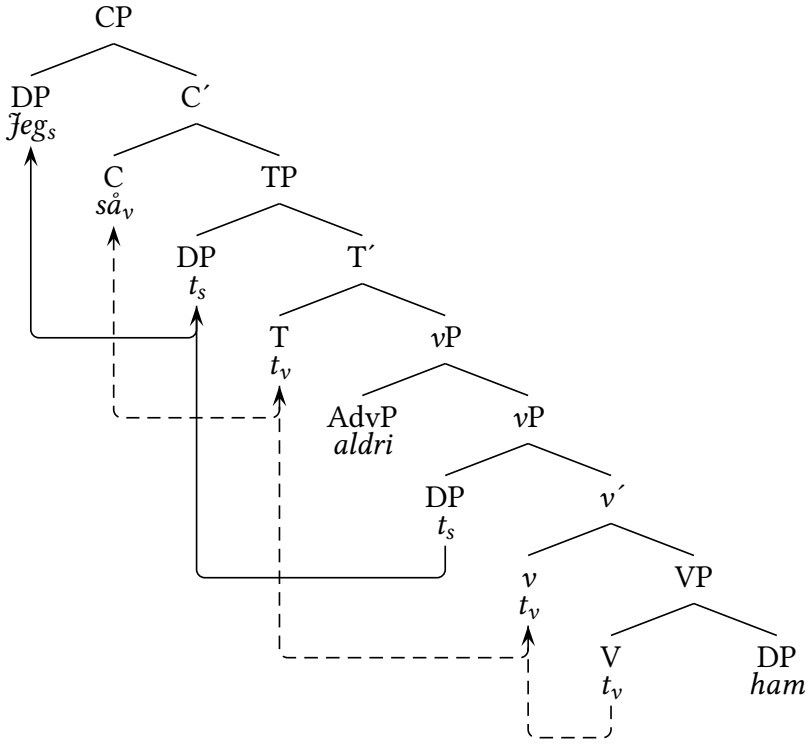
Brinkerhoff & Tengesdal 2020

(1) Brinkerhoff & Tengesdal 2020 is concerned with providing an alternative analysis of Scandinavian object shift to Erteschik-Shir, Josefsson & Köhnlein's (2019) analysis. This was done by focusing on pronoun movement instead of adverb movement with Match Theory (Selkirk 2009, 2011).

(2) We show that Match Theory can account for the leftward shifting of OS when the MATCH constraints are sensitive to lexical elements and their projections only.

(3) For our analysis, we assumed that the syntactic structure that was inputted into the prosodic grammar has the pronoun remaining in its base generated position

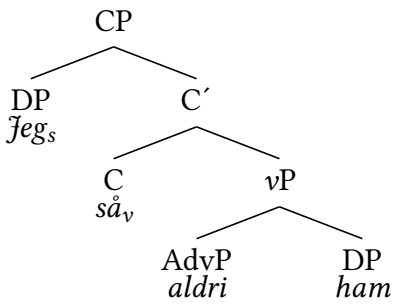
a.



(4) This assumption was also held by Erteschik-Shir, Josefsson & Köhnlein 2019

(5) However, work by Bennett, Elfner & McCloskey (2016) suggests that the actual input is a syntactic structure that has had all phonologically empty terminals and categories removed. This results in the following trimmed syntactic structure:

a.



(6) This structure is then fed into a prosodic grammar that has the following constraints:

a. MATCH(XP,φ):
Assign a violation for every node *s* of a lexical category XP in the syntactic tree for which there is no node *p* of category phi (φ) in the prosodic tree such that every terminal node dominated by *s* corresponds to a terminal node dominated by *p*.

b. MATCH(φ,XP):
Assign a violation for every node *p* of category phi (φ) in the prosodic tree for which there is no node *s* of a lexical category XP in the syntactic tree such that every terminal node dominated by *p* corresponds to a terminal node dominated by *s*.

c. HEADEDNESS:
Assign one violation for every prosodic constituent that is unheaded.

d. NOSHIFT:
Assign one violation for every output terminal element which does not have the same linearization as its correspondent in the input.

(7) Because the AdvP *aldri* is the only lexical phrase, its boundary is the only one which we overtly label to show its status as a lexical projection.

(8) Tableau for *Jeg så ham aldri* 'I never saw him' (HEAD = HEADEDNESS).

[[Jeg] så [[$_{\text{AdvP}}$ aldri] [ham]]]	HEAD	M(XP,φ)	NOSHIFT	M(φ,XP)
☞ a. ($_\varphi$ jeg$_{\text{CL}}$=så$_\omega$=ham$_{\text{CL}}$)($_\varphi$ aldri$_\omega$)			*	*
b. ($_\varphi$ jeg$_{\text{CL}}$=så$_\omega$)($_\varphi$ aldri$_\omega$)($_\varphi$ ham$_{\text{CL}}$)	*W		L	**W
c. ($_\varphi$ jeg$_{\text{CL}}$=så$_\omega$)($_\varphi$ aldri$_\omega$=ham$_{\text{CL}}$)		*W	L	*

(9) Tableau for *Jeg så aldri studenten* 'I never saw the student'.

[[Jeg] så [[$_{\text{AdvP}}$ aldri] [$_{\text{DP}}$ studenten]]]	HEAD	M(XP,φ)	NOSHIFT	M(φ,XP)
a. ($_\varphi$ jeg$_{\text{CL}}$=så$_\omega$)($_\varphi$ studenten$_\omega$)($_\varphi$ aldri$_\omega$)			*W	*
☞ b. ($_\varphi$ jeg$_{\text{CL}}$=så$_\omega$)($_\varphi$ aldri$_\omega$)($_\varphi$ studenten$_\omega$)				*
c. ($_\varphi$ jeg$_{\text{CL}}$=så$_\omega$)($_\varphi$ aldri$_\omega$ studenten$_\omega$)		*W		*

(10) However, if we use the definition of MATCH as proposed by Elfner 2012 which is sensitive to both lexical and functional elements then our analysis fails to account for OS. Instead it predicts that shifting should never happen and the pronoun incorporates into the adverb that is adjacent to it.

(11) Harmonic Bounding with MATCH(XP$_{lex,fnc}$,φ).

[[$_{DP}$ Jeg] så [$_{vP}$ [$_{AdvP}$ aldri] [$_{DP}$ ham]]]	HEAD	M(XP,φ)	NOSHIFT	M(φ,XP)
☹ a. ($_{\varphi}$ jeg$_{CL}$=så$_{\omega}$=ham$_{CL}$)($_{\varphi}$ aldri$_{\omega}$)		∗∗∗	∗W	∗
b. ($_{\varphi}$ jeg$_{CL}$=så$_{\omega}$)($_{\varphi}$ aldri$_{\omega}$)($_{\varphi}$ ham$_{CL}$)	∗W	∗∗L		∗
☞ c. ($_{\varphi}$ jeg$_{CL}$=så$_{\omega}$)($_{\varphi}$ aldri$_{\omega}$=ham$_{CL}$)		∗∗∗		∗

Negative indefinite pronouns

(12) In trying to figure out what makes Swedish's *ingen* an indefinite pronoun or a determiner. I first turned to what the definition of an indefinite pronoun is.

(13) According to Haspelmath 1997 indefinite pronouns are pronouns because the fill the traditional role of pronominals in being used to replace something.

(14) In the case for Swedish negative indefinite pronouns (NIs), we see that these NIs are able to replace whole noun phrases.

a. Jeg har inte sett en bok.
I have not seen a book
'I haven't seen a book'

b. Jeg har **ingenting** sett.
I have nothing seen.
'I have seen nothing'

(15) Haspelmath further claims that indefinite pronouns are indefinite because they function as an expression of indefinite reference.

(16) We see this in ()(14-b)), where the NI *ingenting* does not refer to a definite referent and instead expresses indefinitiness in the referent where anything could potentially fill the role of referent.

(17) Additionally, a criteria that is used to distinguish between determiners and indefinite pronouns comes from certain properties such as:

a. phonological,
b. morphological,
c. syntactic, or
d. agreement

(18) Based on this we can tease the differences between *ingen* the pronoun from *ingen* the negative determiner.

(19) The main difference comes down to syntactic and agreement properties that they share. The pronoun *ingen* is used primarily with an animate interpretation where it carries the meaning closer to 'nobody, no one'

a. Jeg har ingen sett.
I have no-one seen
'I haven't seen anyone'

(20) This means that the NI pronoun *ingen* is used to replace something that has animacy.

(21) This is in contrast with the negative determiner *ingen* which can take any noun regardless of animacy.

a. Jag har inga cigaretter.
I have no.PL cigarettes
'I have no cigarettes.'
b. Jag har inget barn sett.
I have no.NEU child seen
'I have seen no child'

(22) From this fact alone we can be confident that there is some validity in calling one a pronoun and the other a determiner.

Where next

- Continue to tease apart the difference between pronouns and determiners
- Continue looking into automating the data analysis.

References

Bennett, Ryan, Emily Elfner & James McCloskey. 2016. Lightest to the Right: An Apparently Anomalous Displacement in Irish. *Linguistic Inquiry* 47(2). 169–234. https://doi.org/10.1162/LING_a_00209.

Brinkerhoff, Mykel Loren & Eirik Tengesdal. 2020. MATCHING phrases in Norwegian object shift. 2020 Annual Meeting on Phonology (AMP2020), Santa Cruz, CA, Sept. 18-20 (Poster).

Elfner, Emily. 2012. *Syntax-Prosody Interactions in Irish.* Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts-Amherst Doctoral Dissertation. 294 p.

Erteschik-Shir, Nomi, Gunlög Josefsson & Björn Köhnlein. 2019. Variation in Mainland Scandinavian Object Shift: A Prosodic Analysis. lingbuzz/003688.

Haspelmath, Martin. 1997. *Indefinite Pronouns.* Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198235606.001.0001.

Selkirk, Elisabeth. 2009. On Clause and intonational phrase in Japanese: The syntactic grounding of prosodic constituent structure. *Gengo Kenkyu* 2009(136). 35–73.

Selkirk, Elisabeth. 2011. The Syntax-Phonology Interface. In *The Handbook of Phonological Theory*, 435–484. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444343069.ch14.