DP or not DP?

Valeria Morozova, 162
Alexander Orlov, 162

DP facts

❏ DP was created as a parallel to CP-projection (just as a functional one that dominates lexical projections of its children)
❏ DP stands for not only definitiality, but also referentiality and argumenthood
❏ there are some projections between NP and DP, such as NumP, where e.g. cardinal numerals or quantifiers are merged

Houston, we've had a problem

- ❏ DP and CP do not seem really symmetric, what should we do?
- ❏ is it possible to create a universal structure and its implications for NPs, that will be consistent and clear?
- ❏ what about NPs in article-less languages: do they differ from article languages, why, how?
  - ❏ if so, if there is another DP-like projection in article-less languages or they are just "bare" NPs?
  - ❏ if not, how do we should analyse them?

Asya Pereltsvaig (2013)
NP Structure in Slavic Languages

Asya Pereltsvaig (2013): NPs in Slavic Languages

❏ whether DP-projection exists in article-less language?
❏ if not, then, how we should analyse it?
❏ how to meet arguments of either DP opponents or DP proponents?

(Spoiler: the author do not know these answers yet)

What are the options?

- ❏ in article-less languages there is no DP (so, numerals are subtype of nouns), all NPs are bare
- ❏ in article-less languages there is no DP, but numeral expressions can be interpreted either as NP or as NumP (e.g. in case they are cardinal)
- ❏ article-less languages can be fully projected as DPs, and every nominal can have a DP projection

Numerals as NP subtype, really? (spoiler: no)

❏ Cardinal numerals do not behave the same way as nouns

пять книг == автор книг   BUT   *пятью книгами != авторами книг*

❏ But there is "noun versions" of cardinal numerals, that seem more "nominal"

Джеймс Бонд выпил рюмок десять/*десяток водки   *(fixed word order)*

Джеймс Бонд нашел дом десять/*десяток   *(noun cannot be used as an ordinal)*

На квартиру явилось десять/*десяток шпионов   *(nouns need agreement)*

Thus, cardinal numerals in Russian are a distinct category from (cardinal) nouns and as such they are hosted by an extended projection of a noun, the NumP.

Why DP?

Problems for DP in Slavic languages:

- ❏ no articles
- ❏ nothing that could work as article (e.g. demonstratives - they don't match, because they have adjectival morphology)

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BUT!

But #1: Nouns and pronouns are asymmetric

Pronouns sometimes seem to occupy higher projection than nouns. Procovac (1998) supposes, that nouns and pronouns occupy the same position, but there is a case of N-to-D movement.

Он оскорбил самого президента!   **VS**   **Он оскорбил президента самого!*

In article languages in case of absence of article it works the same way. D^0 is occupied either by article or by noun.

* ***Antica Roma*** *fu la citta piiu importante del Mediterraneo.*

  Roma antica *fu la citta piiu importante del Mediterraneo.*

But #2: Argumenthood

Nominal may have an argument only in case it has DP projection (as it was said already).

There is universal correlation between DP presence and argumenthood. If there is no DP in Slavic languages, thus nominals cannot have arguments witch is not true.

But #3: Double agreeing

*...**наш** бригадир находи**лась** в декретном отпуске.*

Two types of gender:

- ❑   *the morphological gender – introduced by the noun itself (and related to its declension class)*
- ❑   *the semantic gender – which is part of the bundle of φ-features associated with the referential index on D^0.*

But #4: Locus of referentiality

DP has a feature of locus of referentiality. While (1) is necessarily interpreted as definite, (2) may have an indefinite/non-specific interpretation:

1. *эти пять машин*
2. *пять этих машин*

Why not DP? #1: DP-island

Article languages do not support extraction from DP:

Дорогие он купил туфли...

BUT! It is not extraction, it is copy-and-delete operation. And it is possible in every language that allows NP-ellipsis.

*[**Дорогие** ~~туфли~~] он купил [~~дорогие~~ **туфли**].*

Why not DP? #2: MWE-extraction allowed

DP languages forbid multiple wh-fronting, which is understood as a DP-border constraint. Article-less Slavic languages allow such movement:

❏ *Who whom has seen?*
❏ *Кто кого видел?*

But Pereltsvaig points out that some multiple wh-extraction undergo constraints, like:

❏ *Что кто купил?*

She does not claim that such constraint can be interpreted as DP-constraint, but may be it should me implicated…

Why not DP? #3: exhaustivity presupposition

Boškovič (2010): possessors may induce an exhaustivity presupposition only in DP languages

John's three sweaters => John has exactly three sweaters.

Such implication does not work for article-less languages.

BUT! Pereltsvaig thinks it does not fit Russian data: possessives in Russian do trigger an exhaustivity presupposition, but only if they occur high enough in the structure, above cardinality expressions:

❏ *Пять Диминых книг.*

Why not DP? #4: two genitives

Article languages allow two lexical genitives == it correlates with DP presence?

захват Ганнибала Рима

BUT!

Анализ поэмы Пушкина литературоведа Пушкина

So, at least sometimes DP **do** persist.

What is the conclusion?

maybe tomorrow...

Benjamin Bruening (2009)
Selectional Asymmetries between CP and
DP Suggest that the DP Hypothesis is Wrong

Are clauses and nominals **really** symmetrical?

❏   Compliment selection: C is selected in clauses (and V never is), but N is in nominals (and D never is).
❏   Determination of form, C and Infl determines the form of V, but the form of everything in a nominal is determined by N

First Asymmetry: Complement Selection

❏ Verbs that select for clausal complements select only elements that are high in the clause, such as questions vs declaratives, finite clauses vs nonfinite, and subjunctive vs indicative clauses:

❏ *Sue thinks that the world is flat. vs * Sue thinks whether the world is flat.*

❏ ** Sue wonders that the world is flat. vs Sue wonders whether the world is flat.*

❏ *Bertrand wants the world to be flat. vs * Bertrand wants that the world is flat.*

❏ *Sue asked that the answer be/*is two. vs Sue thinks that the answer *be/is two*

First Asymmetry: Complement Selection - clauses

- ❏ Baltin (1989): verbs only need to select the complementizer
- ❏ If a verb selects *for*, the clause is nonfinite, if *that*, it is finite. If a verb selects a question, it always allows either finite or non-finite clauses:
- ❏ a. I don't know whether or not to work on that.
- ❏ b. I don't know whether or not I should work on that.
- ❏ c. *Sue asked that the answer be/*is two. vs Sue thinks that the answer *be/is two*
- ❏ What about subjunctive?   - Two different *thats!*

First Asymmetry: Complement Selection -nominals

❏ Verbs never select a particular type of determiner, or possessor, or number (numerical phrase)
❏ Possible exception:

a. I have a child.

b. * I have the/every child

❏ It is *construction* that requires an indefinite noun, not the verb.

First Asymmetry: Complement Selection -nominals

However, verb may select *semantic* number:

- a. I gathered the students.
- b. * I gathered the student.
- c. I gathered the French Club.
- d. * I gathered the scissors. (where there's only one pair of scissors)
- e. The students met.
- f. * A student met.
- g. A student and a professor met.

First Asymmetry: Complement Selection -nominals

❏ Given that the most common assumption regarding selection is that it is **strictly local**, and in fact is probably limited to a **sisterhood relation** , these selection facts indicate that the head of the CP is in fact C, but the head of the NP is not D, it is N.
❏ Possible solutions: (Abney, 1987) - perlocation, (Radford 1993) - double-headedness
❏ It fails to capture and explain asymmetry between nominals and verbs

Second Asymmetry: Form Determination - clauses

❏ In clause every head determines the form of its compliment's head

Each auxiliary determines the form of the next and of the main verb:

a. *I might have been being handed some cocaine (when the police caught me).*

Second Asymmetry: Form Determination - nominals

- ❏ In contrast, in nominals the form of everything else is determined by the head noun:
- ❏ too many/*much people
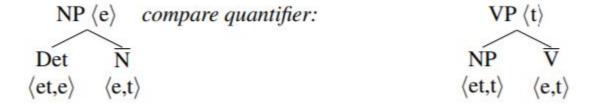- ❏ too much/*many rice
- ❏ these/*this scissors

Second Asymmetry: Form Determination - nominals

❏ What if choosing a functional element in DP actually determines the form of N?

❏ This could not be correct, however, because a noun will just be incapable of combining with functional elements that mismatch:

❏ a. these scissors

❏ b. * this scissors

❏ There are no cases of verbs that cannot combine with certain functional elements

Why DP, in the first place?

❏ Asymmetry between nominals and clauses exists

❏ The idea that functional elements have to fit into the X-bar schema was a compelling argument for thinking that Ds have to have complements and specifiers.

❏ However, it is no longer with Bare Phrase Structure (Chomsky, 1995). In that theory, if a head does not select a complement or a specifier, it simply will not project them. Non-projecting functional heads are expected to exist

Why DP, in the first place?

❏   D is often claimed to be turning a predicate into an argument

❏   They typically have an *anaphoric* function, marking a nominal as previously mentioned in the discourse, or nominals that are known to the speaker and hearer, etc. This seems to have little to do with predicates versus arguments

❏   Correlation, not a rule

Why DP, in the first place?

❏ It is generally accepted that semantic function argument relations do not have to match syntactic head-complement/specifier relations.

❏ For instance, in generalized quantifier theory, a quantificational NP is a function taking the VP as its argument, but the NP is still an argument of the head V:

❏

NP ⟨e⟩   *compare quantifier:*   VP ⟨t⟩

Det   N̄   NP   V̄
⟨et,e⟩   ⟨e,t⟩   ⟨et,t⟩   ⟨e,t⟩

Why DP, in the first place?

❏ Empirical data: there are no languages that lack something like C but there are languages that lack overt D

❏ Phases: why NP cannot be its own phase?

❏ Word order: N-to-D movement in Italian - There are many other ways to analyze these phenomena

OK, there seems to be no DP

❏ DP hypothesis does not seem to be compelling

❏ but hypothesis of DP absence is not really consistent as well

So, we need something instead?

OK, there seems to be no DP, but what is an alternative?

❏ nP hypothesis might be a better solution!