

# Syntactic Analysis of Intransitive Resultatives: Null DP Complement and the Maximization Principle

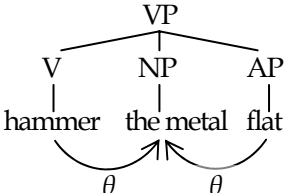
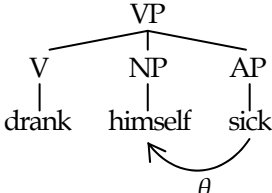
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## 1. Introduction

- (1) a. John hammered the metal (flat).  
b. John drank himself \*(sick).
- (2) 自動詞結果構文の容認性に関する言語間の差異
  - a. English, Icelandic, German      文法的
  - b. French, Spanish                      非文法的
- (3) 意味役割 ( $\theta$ -role) を得るための移動は可能か否か
  - a. Chomsky (1995)      不可能である
  - b. Bošković (1998), Hornstein (2001), and Saito (2001)      可能である
- (4) \*John drank sick. (自動詞結果構文としては解釈出来ない)  
限定詞句は external  $\theta$ -role を得るために  $vP$  指定部へ移動することは出来ない (Saito 2001)
- (5) 本発表の目的  
自動詞結果構文において、動詞に後続する限定詞句がどのように認可されるかを Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2001) の Minimalist Program の枠組みで統語的に分析し、(1b) の主張を支持すること
- (6) a. 非能格動詞の補部には null DP が存在し、自動詞結果構文において、この null DP が動詞に後続する限定詞句の移動を妨げる  
b.  $\phi$  素性を欠く不完全な限定詞句が存在するか否かを決定するパラメーターの値が自動詞結果構文の容認性に関与する

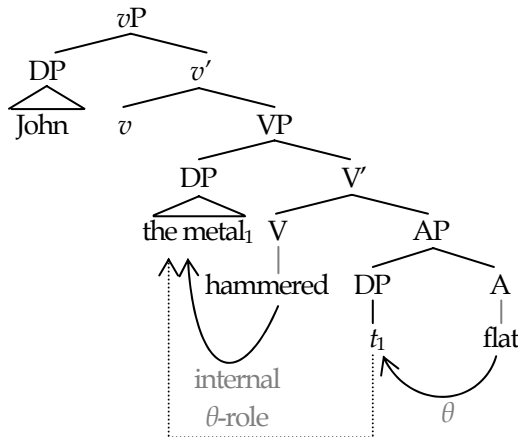
## 2. Previous Researches

### 2.1. Ternary-Branching Analysis—Carrier and Randall (1992)

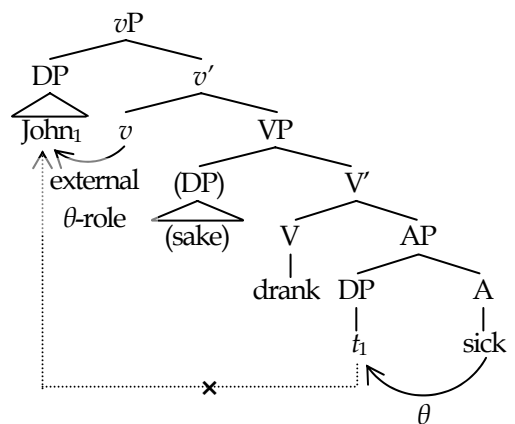
- (7) a. They hammered the metal flat.  

- b. John drank himself sick.  


## 2.2. Analysis Based on XP-Movement to Receive a Theta-Role—Saito (2001)

(8) a. John hammered the metal flat.



b. \*John drank (sake) sick.



(9) Saito's Generalization

名詞句は internal  $\theta$ -role を得るために VP 指定部へ移動することは可能だが、external  $\theta$ -role を得るために  $vP$  指定部へ移動することは出来ない

(10) Hornstein (2001) 限定詞句は external  $\theta$ -role を得るために移動することが出来る

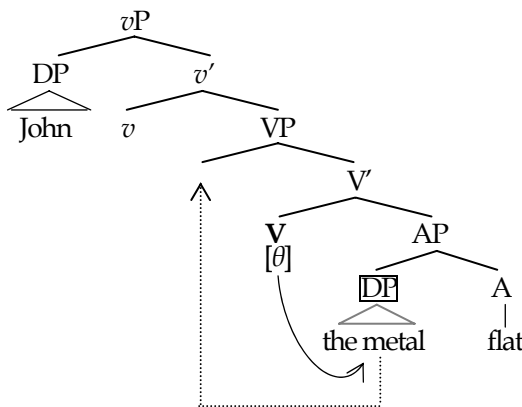
- a. John<sub>i</sub> washed t<sub>i</sub>. (= John washed himself.)
- b. John<sub>i</sub> shaved t<sub>i</sub>. (= John shaved himself.)
- c. John<sub>i</sub> dressed t<sub>i</sub>. (= John dressed himself.)

## 3. Proposals

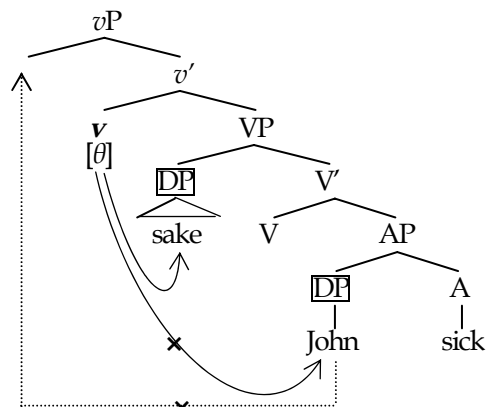
(11)  $\theta$ -roles are formal features and are therefore capable of driving movement, [...].

(Bošković and Takahashi, 1998: 351)

(12) a. John hammered the metal flat.



b. \*John drank sake sick.



(13) Minimal Link Condition

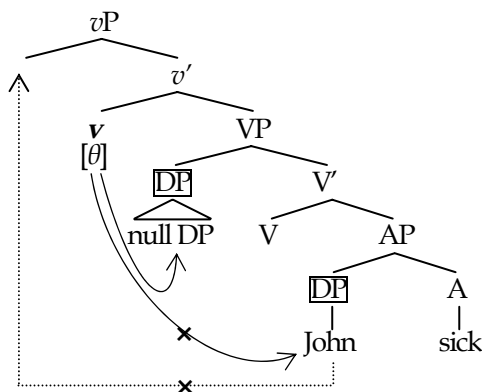
Let P be a probe. Then the goal G is the closest feature that can enter into an agreement relation with P.

(Collins, 2002: 57)

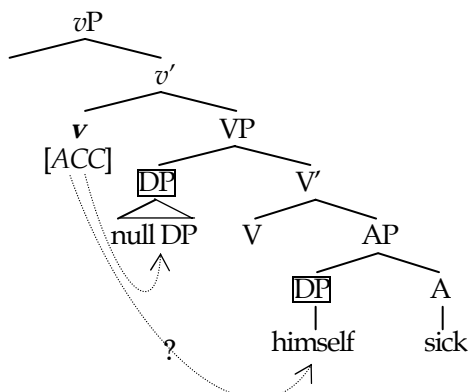
(14) [T]he V in an unergative VP does have a null DP complement, [...].

(Pesetsky and Torrego, 2004: 512)

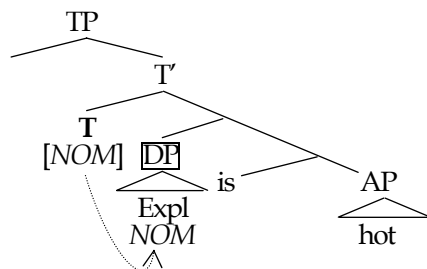
(15) a. \*John drank sick.



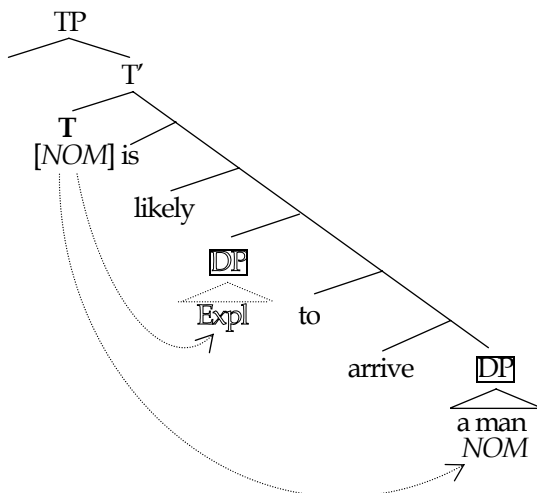
b. John drank himself sick.



(16) a. It is hot.



b. There is likely to arrive a man.



(17) Expl[etive] is [ $\varphi$ ]-incomplete.

(Chomsky, 2001: 16)

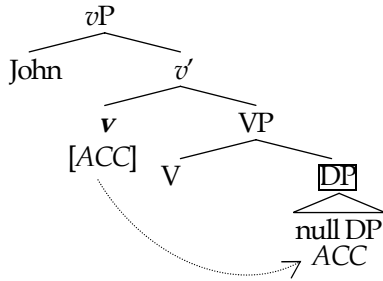
(18) Maximization Principle

Maximize the matching effects.

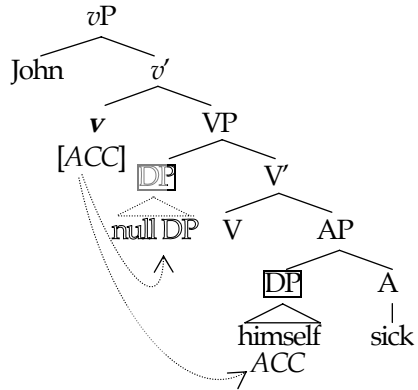
(*ibid.*: 15)

(19) The null DP complement in an unergative VP is  $\varphi$ -incomplete (lacking a gender or a person feature, or both, but having a  $\theta$ -feature) in English, iff the verb has a second object.

(20) a. John drank (yesterday).



b. John drank himself sick.



(21) Phrase Structure of Resultatives:

- a. transitive resultatives:  $[_{vP} DP \ v[_{VP} DP \ V \ [_{AP} t_{DP} A]]]$
- b. intransitive resultatives:  $[_{vP} DP \ v[_{VP} V \ null \ DP \ [_{AP} DP \ A]]]$

## 4. Supporting Evidence

### 4.1. *Though*-Movement

- (22) a.            though John hammered  $[_{VP} \text{the metal}_1 \ t_V \ [_{AP} t_1 \text{flat}]]$ .
- b.  $[_{AP} t_1 \text{flat}]$  though John hammered the metal<sub>1</sub>  $t_V \ t_{AP}$ .

- (23) a.            though the joggers ran  $[_{VP} \ t_V \ null \ DP \ [_{AP} \text{the pavement} \ thin]]$ .
- b.  $*[_A \ thin]$  though the joggers ran null DP  $[_{AP} \text{the pavement} \ t_A]$ .

(24) *though* 移動は最大投射（囲み部分全体）にのみ適用可能である

### 4.2. Topicalization

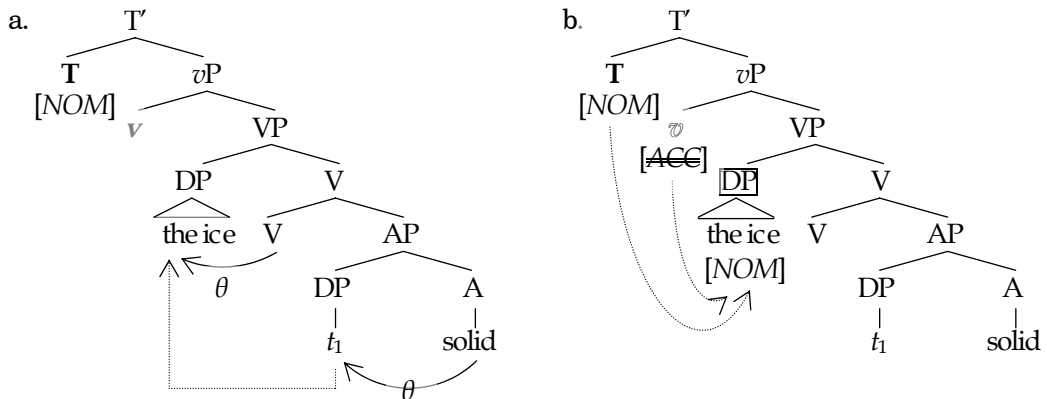
- (25) a.           , John hammered  $[_{VP} \text{the metal}_1 \ t_V \ [_{AP} t_1 \text{flat}]]$ .
- b.  $[_{AP} t_1 \text{flat}]$ , John hammered the metal<sub>1</sub>  $t_V \ t_{AP}$ .

- (26) a.           , the joggers ran  $[_{VP} \ t_V \ null \ DP \ [_{AP} \text{the pavement} \ thin]]$ .
- b.  $*[_A \ thin]$ , the joggers ran null DP  $[_{AP} \text{the pavement} \ t_A]$ .

(27) 話題化は最大投射にのみ適用可能である

## 5. Unaccusative Resultatives

(28) The ice froze solid.



(29) A phase is CP or  $vP$ , but not TP or a verbal phrase headed by H lacking  $\phi$ -features not entering into Case/agreement checking: ...

(Chomsky, 2000: 106-107)

(30) Phrase Structure of Unaccusative Resultatives

$[_{vP} v[u\phi\text{-defective}]]$   $[_{VP} DP V[_{AP} t_{DP} A]]$

(31) a. transitive resultatives:  $[_{vP} DP v[_{VP} DP V[_{AP} t_{DP} A]]]$

b. intransitive resultatives:  $[_{vP} DP v[_{VP} V \text{ null } DP[_{AP} DP A]]]$

(32) a. Solid, the ice froze.

b. Solid though the ice froze, John broke it by hand.

c. It is solid that the ice froze.

## 6. Crosslinguistic Variety

### 6.1. Expletive Constructions

(33) a. Icelandic

Það eru/\*er málfræðingar í heberginu.

*Expl are/\*is linguists in room.the*

“There are linguists in the room.”

(Vangsnes, 2002: 57)

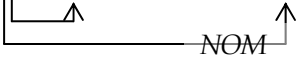
b. German

Es sind/\*ist drei Autos draußen.

*there are/\*is three cars outside*

“There are three cars outside.”

(Vikner, 1995: 181)

- c. [T[ $\neq\phi$ ] Expl[ $\phi$ -incomplete] DP ...]  


(34) a. French

Il y a des livres sur la table.  
*Expl there has INDEF-PL books on the table*  
 “There are books on the table.”

b. Spanish

[*pro*] Hay varios papeles en ese cuaderno.  
*there have several papers in that notebook*  
 “There are several papers in that notebook.”

(Zagona, 1988: 134)

- c. [T[ $\neq\phi$ ] Expl V+v[ $\neq\phi$ ] DP ...]  


(35) 自然言語には  $\phi$ -incomplete な限定詞句が存在するか否かを決定するパラメーターがある

	$\phi$ -incomplete DPs
English, Icelandic, German	yes
French, Spanish	no

default value

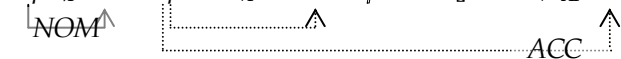
## 6.2. Intransitive Resultatives

(36) a. Icelandic

Hann oeskradhi sig haasan.  
*he shouted himself hoarse*  
 “He shouted himself hoarse.”

b. German

Die Jogger liefen den Rasen platt.  
*the joggers run the lawn flat*  
 “The joggers ran the lawn flat.”

- c. [<sub>T</sub> T[ $\neq\phi$ ]<sub>VP</sub> DP v[ $\neq\phi$ ]+V [<sub>VP</sub> null DP[ $\phi$ -incomplete] *t*<sub>V</sub> [<sub>AP</sub> DP A]]]  


(37) a. French

\*Ils ont couru le trottoir mince.  
*they have run the pavement thin*  
 “They ran the pavement thin.”

b. Spanish

\*Mary corrió sus zapatillas gastadas  
*Mary ran her trainers threadbare*  
 “Mary ran her trainers threadbare.”



- (47) [...] while prepositions constitute a lexical category, they share an important characteristic of the other closed class items (i.e., functional categories).

(Hale and Keyser, 2002: 84)

## 8. Concluding Remarks

- (48) 英語の非能格動詞の補部に null DP が存在し、自動詞結果構文においては、この null DP が動詞に後続する限定詞句の移動を妨げる
- (49) 不完全な限定詞句が存在するか否かを決定するパラメーターの値が自動詞結果構文の容認性に関係する

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