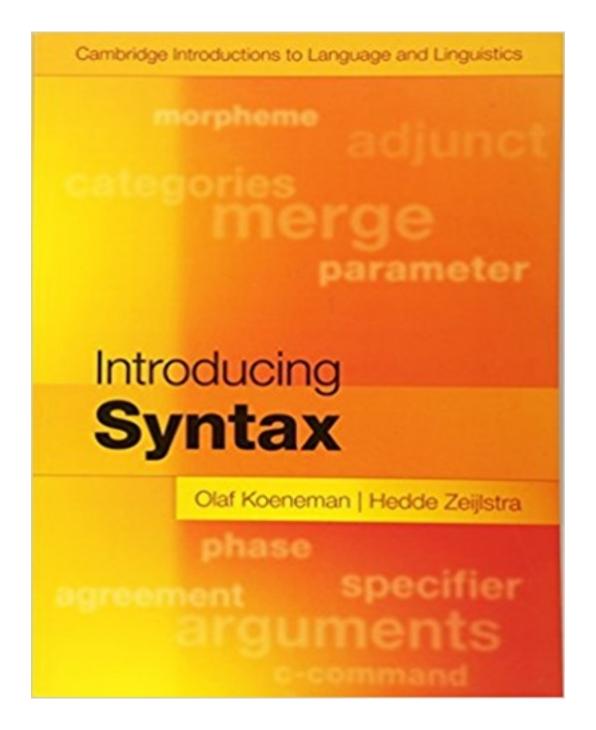
Solutions for Introducing Syntax 1st Edition by Koeneman

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Solutions

2 Merge

2.1 The insight: syntax creates hierarchies

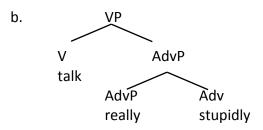
- A1 a. Happy is the head, as happy can appear in all environments in which very happy with this news can appear: John is (very) happy (with this news).
 - b. The same is true for women. Additionally, most intelligent women on the planet can be replaced by they, showing us that something nominal must be the head. This could be women or planet. Note, however, that when we make this constituent the subject of the sentence, women determines the agreement on the verb, not planet: Most intelligent women on the planet know/*knows this.
 - c. The whole string can be replaced by does: Tom probably likes such nonsense. Yes, Tom does. Since does is verbal, probably likes such nonsense must be verbal too. Therefore, likes is the head, since it is the only verbal element in there. In addition, you can replace probably likes such nonsense by sleeps, underscoring the same analysis.
 - d. *Ridiculously* is the head, as you can leave out *rather* more easily that *ridiculously* in the following example: *John talks ridiculously*, versus **John talks rather*.
 - e. *Men* is the head, as you can leave out *that don't know how to shave*. In addition, the whole constituent can be replaced by *they*, showing you it has to share a categorial feature with the pronoun.
 - f. *Is* is the head since the rest can be left out. Remember: *Fatima* should be ignored. As in c, the whole string can be replaced by *sleeps*.
 - g. In is the head. This is a tricky one because it is not the case that everything but in can be left out. Right can be left out, but not the middle: John sat (right) in *(the middle). This is generally the case with prepositions: they need something nominal following it. The 'leaving stuff out test' therefore does not work flawlessly. Finally, note that the constituent cannot be nominal, as it cannot be combined with a determiner: *the right in the middle.
- You can leave out either adverb and check if the result is still grammatical. This worked for rather ridiculously in the previous exercise: John talks ridiculously/*John talks rather. It also works for really stupidly: John talks stupidly/?*really. This does not always work. Take the sentence Aaron is quite seriously attached to his cat. Here you can leave out either quite or seriously. You have to go by meaning. If Aaron is quite seriously attached to his cat, the attachment is serious, not quite. Quite modifies seriously, denoting the degree of seriousness, and not vice versa. This makes seriously the head of quite seriously.

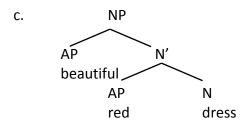
2.2 The implementation: the operation Merge

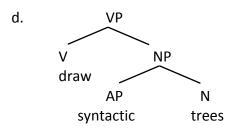
A3 a. AdvP

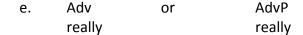
AdvP Adv

really stupidly







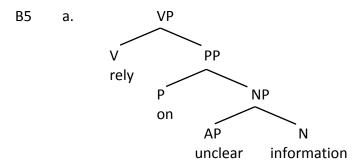


In isolation, there is no tree, just a word with a categorial feature. It is also possible to think of *really* as a syntactic structure, ready to be included in a bigger structure. In that case, it is an AdvP.

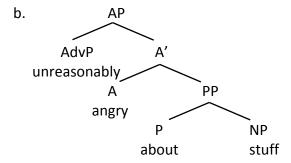
2.3 Consequences: testing the predictions of Merge

- A4 a. No. If you substitute the string by *them* (*Esther bought them*), the way of paying is no longer part of the meaning. In addition, the string cannot be fronted: **Three bottles with her credit* card, *Esther bought*.
 - b. No, the string cannot be fronted: *Endlessly about his uncle, Peter talked (whereas both Endlessly, Peter talked about his uncle and About his uncle, Peter talked endlessly are fine).
 - c. Yes: About his uncle Peter talked endlessly.
 - d. Yes: *His uncle, Peter talked endlessly about*. It can also be substituted by *him*: *About him*.
 - e. No: *Me a new computer, Santa Clause sent.
 - f. Yes: you can substitute it for it or that. It/That was E.T.
 - g. Yes, it can be substituted by did: Tommy read this book last month and I did last week.

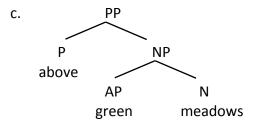
h. No, as fronting fails: *This book last week, I read (whereas both This book, I read last week and Last week, I read this book are fine).

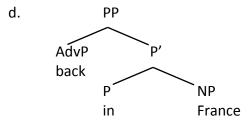


Note that *on unclear information* forms a constituent, as it can be fronted: *On unclear information one should never rely*. The fact that you can also front *unclear information* (*Unclear information, one should never rely on*) only shows that *unclear information* is a constituent (as is the case in the tree above), but crucially does not show that *rely on* is a constituent. Therefore, a tree in which *rely on* forms a constituent to the exclusion of *unclear information* is ill-motivated.

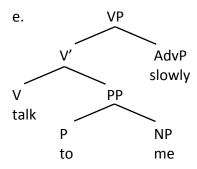


Angry about stuff forms a constituent to the exclusion of unreasonably because you can substitute it with so: John is moderately angry about stuff, but Mary is unreasonably so. The same test does not really produce a good outcome when we try to substitute for unreasonably angry: *John is unreasonably angry about politicians, and Mary is so about stuff (where so refers back to unreasonably angry). This motivates a structure in which AdvP sits higher than PP, and not the other way round.



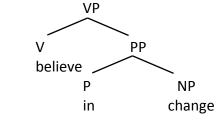


In France is a constituent to the exclusion of back, because you can substitute in France with there: This happened back in France/This happened back there. Substitution by there only works with locational PPs (just like substitution by then only works for temporal PPs). We generally conclude from these facts that the structure of PPs like almost in doubt and clearly under suspicion is similar, despite the fact that for these cases substitution by there and then is useless for semantic reasons: in doubt and under suspicion are not locational or temporal PPs.



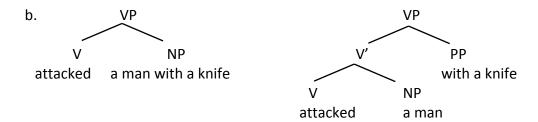
To me slowly cannot be fronted (*To me slowly, he talked) so that cannot be a constituent. Talk to me is a constituent, which can be motivated by do-substitution: At that time, John hardly talked to me slowly but Harry did constantly. Also fronting works: Talk to me, he did slowly.

B6 a.

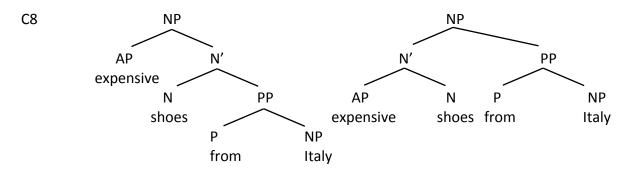


- b. VP (believe in change), PP (in change), V (believe), P (in) and NP (change).
- c. It looks like there is one constituent less, namely the PP *in change*. At the same time, the sentence means the same and the NP *change* is merged with the preposition *in*; it is just fronted. So, despite appearances, the PP *in change* is still a constituent of this sentence.
- d. It is a constituent of which the parts are not linearly next to each other. *In change* is a continuous constituent in (i) but a discontinuous constituent in (ii) as it is broken up by *you*.

- e. Yes, the VP *believe in change* is a constituent and its parts are not next to each other, because *in change* has been fronted.
- B7 a. Either the man that is attacked is carrying a knife, or the knife is the instrument with which our neighbour attacks a man.



c. If you front *a man with a knife*, then you lose the interpretation in which the knife is the weapon of the neighbour, as for that meaning (corresponding to the second tree), *a man with a knife* is not a constituent, and fronted elements must always be constituents.



One-substitution tells us that shoes from Italy is a constituent (Tommy loves cheap shoes from Italy, and Andrew loves expensive ones (where ones can refer back to shoes from Italy). This is an argument for the existence the tree on the left because shoes from Italy needs to be a constituent for substitution with ones to work, and shoes from Italy is not a constituent in the tree on the right. The same test reveals that a tree in which the PP is hierarchically higher than the AP should also exist: My wife likes expensive shoes from Spain, but I like ones from Italy. This is an argument for the existence of the tree on the right. So this example is compatible with two different trees.

3 Theta theory

3.1 The insight: Merge and the meaning of verbs and nouns

- A1 a. To fall has one argument (John fell).
 - b. To give has three (Ali gave Mary the book).
 - c. To call has two (I called her).
 - d. To eat has two (she ate a sandwich).
 - e. To cry has one (Bill cried).
 - f. To send has three (I sent Peter the bill).
 - g. To marry has two (Peter married Charles, but also: the priest married Bill and Suzanne).
 - h. To promise has three (I promised her a better life).
- A2 a. Intransitive.
 - b. Ditransitive.
 - c. Transitive.
 - d. Transitive.
 - e. Intransitive.
 - f. Ditransitive.
 - g. Transitive.
 - h. Ditransitive.

(Note: every verb with one argument is intransitive; every verb with two arguments is transitive; and every verb with three arguments is ditransitive).

Every intransitive verb (a, e) does. Some transitive verbs (c, d) may easily drop one argument (*I call*, *I eat*), for others (g) it is harder (*I marry* sounds weird). Ditransitive verbs (b, f, h) can generally also drop one argument (*I gave a book*, *I sent a message*, *I promised a better life*). Realise, though, that when a verb does not take one of its arguments (or two: "But you promised!") we still mentally reconstruct the missing arguments, and verbs with missing arguments usually occur in contexts in which the missing arguments can be reconstructed. You cannot start a conversation with "You promised" or "You promised me". There are some verbs, however, that can leave an argument unrealised and they can occur at the start of a conversation. *Eat* is an example, discussed in 3.2.2.

3.2 The implementation: Theta theory

A4 Arguments: a, b, c, e, g, h. Adverbials: d, f, i. All the adverbials can easily be removed (John read, Mary sleeps, Peter ate). The other arguments can only be removed if the verb allows argument drop in the first place. For a, b, c, g this is possible, for e not (*I want to know is weird to say out of the blue). Hence we need to establish independently that a, b, c and g involve arguments. But the verb meanings come to help here: a meal is what is cooked (a);