

Covert movement, reconstruction, and edge phenomena in nominalizations

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Phenomena:

The quantifier in English nominalizations shows an interesting asymmetry. (1a) either means that nobody was selected, which was a surprise, or for none of the selected people, it was a surprise that they were selected. (1b) on the other hand only has the latter reading, which we will call the scope-freezing reading. Note that ‘nobody’ in (1b) denotes a Theme reading, indicating that it is derived from the object position (Chomsky 1970). Namely, passive reading is forced in (1b), but is optional in (1a). Additionally when the object is preposed overtly, scope-freezing happens. Interestingly, Japanese *-sa* ‘extent’ nominalizations also show scope-freezing. As a counterpart to English (1a), the Japanese nominalization in (2a) is ambiguous between a scope-freezing reading and in-situ reading. (2b) on the other hand is not ambiguous and only has the scope-freezing reading. Both languages show scope freezing when (a) the quantifier appears at the left edge position in Japanese and (b) the object position is preposed in English. The ambiguous reading is available elsewhere. Why do the positional differences of the quantifier as in (a) and (b) show asymmetry? What kind of mechanism is working behind this?

Proposal:

We propose that there are two projections (i.e., DP and NP) above the nominalized nominal, both of which have a SPEC position which hosts movement. Additionally, we assume that the SPEC-DP has an A'-status (Szabolcsi 1994) to host QR, while SPEC-NP has an A-status and an EPP feature/Case, just like SPEC-CP and SPEC-TP, respectively as in (3).

For Japanese derivations, following Kishimoto (2006), word order in nominalizations is rigid as in (4a). Thus, the closest argument to satisfy an EPP feature at SPEC-NP is the subject, which moves there to check the EPP and moves on to SPEC-DP for QR when it has a universal quantifier as in (4b). When the object has the universal quantifier, it moves directly to SPEC-DP for QR since the subject satisfies EPP at SPEC-NP. The movement of the object is A'-movement. We explain how scope-freezing of the subject, but not of the object follows from Lasnik's constraint (2003): A-movement does not reconstruct since it does not leave a trace but A'-movement does since it leaves a trace. The trace can serve as a reconstruction site.

Lasnik's constraint also explains English data, but the motivation of the (A-) movement is to check the Case of the object at SPEC-NP in (5b), and further move to SPEC-DP for QR in (5c). When the object is in-situ, the optional passive reading is obtained and QR directly moves the object to DP (A'-movement) as in (6).

Conclusions and Consequences:

Our argument shows that scope-freezing occurs in nominalizations, and that NP is the locus of A-movement (EPP for Japanese and Case for English).

In addition, facts in (2) indicate that Japanese nominalization also has higher projections and crucially, it involves one projection with an EPP feature and another projection with A'-status. According to Kishimoto, arguments in Japanese nominalization do not undergo A-movement. However, the current study reveals A-movement as well as A'-movement in nominalizations. Although the existence of D in Japanese is controversial (Fukui 1986), the present paper adds evidence of the existence of D from crosslinguistic point of view.

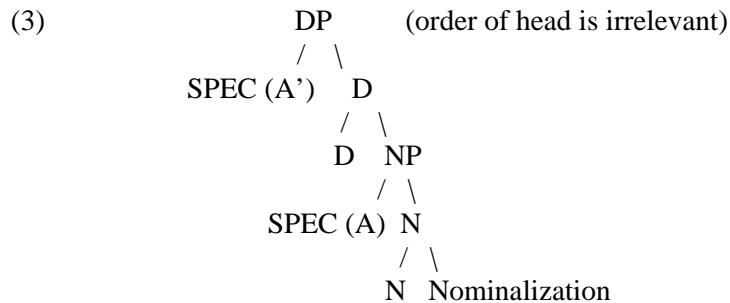
Furthermore, our data show the parallelism between CP and DP. As Hiraiwa (2005) argues, structure in DP and CP is rooted from a more abstract structure. Our study independently supports Hiraiwa's view of an abstract structure. That is, A'-status of CP/DP, and A-status of TP/NP is an instantiation of the abstract grammar. The current study shows that the concept of category label is no longer a set of fixed projections from lexical items, nor is it a small set of universal functional categories.

Instead, the exact nature and content of each category is linked to a feature bundle on the label which is in turn linked to how and where the constituents can move.

Finally this analysis supports the abstractness of the current theory with subtle data: A hierarchical structure without category labels is supported by generalizations involving Edge features, and A/A-bar distinction.

- (1) a. The election of nobody was surprising.
 b. Nobody's election was surprising.

- (2) a. [Watasi-no zen-gaku-no tukai-ta-ku-na-sa]-wa minna-ni wakatta.
 I-GEN all-sum-GEN spend-want-ku-NEG-NML-TOP everybody-DAT understood
 'Everybody knew the extent to which I do not want to spend any of my money.' all > not
 'Everybody knew the extent to which I do not want to spend some of my money.' not > all
 b. [Zen-gakusee-no tesuto-no uke-tagar-na-sa]-wa sensee-ni wakatta.
 all-student-GEN test-GEN take-want-NEG-NML-TOP teacher-DAT understood
 'Teacher understood the extent to which all of the students do not want to take the test.'
 all > not



- (4) a. [DP [NP EPP [NML [VP subject + [VP object + verb]]+ NEG + sa]]]
 b. [DP all-Subj_i [NP ~~all-Subj_i~~ [NML [VP ~~all-Subj_i~~ + [VP object + verb]]+ NEG + sa]]] (double-strikethrough is not accessible)
 c. [DP all-Obj_k [NP Subj_i [NML [VP ~~Subj_i~~ + [VP all-Obj_k + verb]]+ NEG + sa]]]
 (5) a. [DP [NP 's [NML election nobody]]]
 b. [DP [NP nobody 's [NML election ~~nobody~~]]] (double-strikethrough is not accessible)
 c. [DP nobody [NP ~~nobody~~ 's [NML election ~~nobody~~]]]
 (6) a. [DP the [NP [NML election nobody]]]
 b. [DP nobody [the [NP [NML election ~~nobody~~]]]]

References: Chomsky, N. 1970. 'Remarks on nominalization', in Jacobs and Rosebaum (eds), *English Transformational Grammar*, pp. 184-221.; Fukui, N. 1986. A theory of category projection and its applications dissertation, MIT; Hiraiwa, K. 2005. Dimensions of symmetry in syntax: agreement and clausal architecture. Doctoral dissertation, MIT; Kishimoto, H. 2006. Japanese syntactic nominalization and VP-internal syntax. *Lingua* 116: 771-810; Lasnik, H. 2003. *Minimalist Investigations in Linguistic Theory*. New York, NY: Routledge. Szabolcsi, A. 1994. The noun phrase. In *Syntax and Semantics 27: The Syntactic Structure of Hungarian*, ed. by Ferenc Kiefer and Katalin É Kiss, 179-274. San Diego, Calif.: Academic Press.