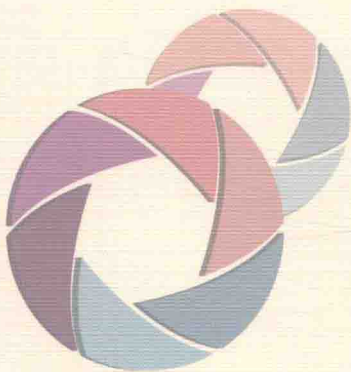


浙江省社科规划课题成果

外部领有结构的 移位生成研究

A Movement Approach to External Possession Constructions

田启林 著



中国社会科学出版社

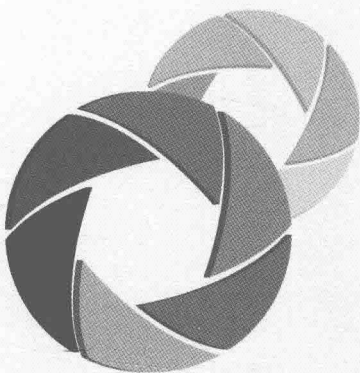
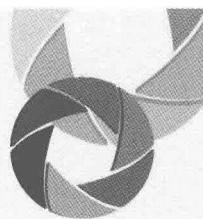
浙江省社科规划课题成果

课题编号：15NDJC172YB

外部领有结构的 移位生成研究

A Movement Approach to External Possession Constructions

田启林 著



中国社会科学出版社

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

外部领有结构的移位生成研究 / 田启林著. —北京: 中国社会科学出版社, 2016. 6

ISBN 978 - 7 - 5161 - 8186 - 7

I. ①外… II. ①田… III. ①自然语言—研究 IV. ①H0 - 0

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2016)第 101997 号

出 版 人 赵剑英
责任编辑 赵 丽
责任校对 李 姐
责任印制 王 超

出 版 中国社会科学出版社
社 址 北京鼓楼西大街甲 158 号
邮 编 100720
网 址 <http://www.csspw.cn>
发 行 部 010 - 84083685
门 市 部 010 - 84029450
经 销 新华书店及其他书店

印 刷 北京君升印刷有限公司
装 订 廊坊市广阳区广增装订厂
版 次 2016 年 6 月第 1 版
印 次 2016 年 6 月第 1 次印刷

开 本 710 × 1000 1/16
印 张 20
插 页 2
字 数 338 千字
定 价 75.00 元

凡购买中国社会科学出版社图书,如有质量问题请与本社营销中心联系调换
电话:010 - 84083683
版权所有 侵权必究

List of Abbreviations

A	Adjective
AP	adjective phrase
ACC	Accusative Case
Aff	Affect
AffP	affect phrase
Art	Article
ASP	Aspect
Appl	Applicative
BA	<i>ba</i> in Chinese
BEI	<i>bei</i> in Chinese
C	Complementiser
CP	complementiser phrase
CED	Condition on Extraction Domain
CL	Classifier
Comp	Complement
D/Det	Determiner
DP	determiner phrase
DAT	Dative
DE	<i>de</i> in Chinese
Dem	Demonstrative

DOC	double object construction
DNC	double nominative construction
EPC	external possession construction
FI	full interpretation
F	a functional category whose feature is known
Foc	Focus
GB	Government and Binding
GCR	Generalized Control Rule
GUO	<i>guo</i> in Chinese
I	Inflection
IP	inflectional phrase
LBC	Left Branch Condition
LBE	left branch extraction
LF	Logical Form
Mod	Modifier
MP	Minimalist Program
N-Comp	complement position of N
NEG	negative
Nom	Nominative Case
Num	Number
NumP	number phrase
P	preposition/postposition
PDOC	pseudo-double object construction
PDNC	pseudo double nominative construction
PP	prep/postposition phrase

P & P	Principle & Parameter
PF	Phonetic Form
PL	Plural
Poss	Possessive
Pres	Present
PRO/pro	empty pronominal element
PSPOC	possessor-subject-possessem-object construction
PTPOC	possessor-topic-possessem-object construction
Q	question particle
SG	Singular
SP	specific phrase
T	trace of the moved phrase
T	Tense
TP	tense phrase
Top	Topic
UG	Universal Grammar
V	Verb
V-Comp	complement position of V
VP	verb phrase
X	syntactic head of type X
XP	full syntactic phrase of type X
X'	intermediate syntactic phrase of type X
ZHE	<i>zhe</i> in Chinese

CONTENTS

Chapter One General Introduction	(1)
1.1 Definition of external possession constructions	(1)
1.2 Research questions	(6)
1.3 Our proposal; the movement approach to external possession	(6)
1.4 Feasibility of our proposal	(9)
1.4.1 Preliminaries	(9)
1.4.2 The feasibility	(12)
1.5 Organization	(13)
Chapter Two Theoretical Framework	(14)
2.1 MP and its two implementations	(14)
2.1.1 Phase Theory	(15)
2.1.2 The Movement Theory of Construal	(16)
2.2 Our proposal for DP structure	(17)
2.2.1 The functional heads in DP	(17)
2.2.2 The structure of Chinese nominal phrases	(24)
2.2.3 Summing up	(31)
2.3 Inherent Case checking hypothesis	(32)
2.3.1 Case Theory; an overview	(32)
2.3.2 Our assumption about Case checking	(37)
2.4 Case feature on Chinese possessors	(49)
2.4.1 The abstract Case feature in Chinese	(49)
2.4.2 Case feature on the possessor	(51)
2.5 Inherent Case checking	(59)

2.6	Summary	(63)
-----	---------------	------

Chapter Three The External Possessor in Object Positions (65)

3.0	Introduction	(65)
3.1	The properties of PDOCs	(67)
3.2	Our account of PDOCs	(67)
3.2.1	The movement approach to PDOCs	(67)
3.2.2	The account of the syntactic behavior of PDOCs	(79)
3.2.3	The account of cross-linguistic data	(120)
3.3	The infeasibility of alternative accounts	(124)
3.4	Summary	(127)

Chapter Four The External Possessors in Subject Positions (129)

4.0	Introduction	(129)
4.1	A study of PSPOCs	(130)
4.1.1	The function of the possessor as a subject	(131)
4.1.2	The properties of the PSPOCs	(134)
4.1.3	Our account of PSPOCs	(134)
4.1.4	The infeasibility of alternative accounts of PSPOCs	(170)
4.1.5	Summing up	(174)
4.2	A study of DNCs	(174)
4.2.1	The functions of the external possessor in DNCs	(175)
4.2.2	The properties of DNCs	(178)
4.2.3	Our account of DNCs	(178)
4.2.4	The infeasibility of alternative accounts of DNCs	(199)
4.2.5	Summing up	(202)
4.3	Summary	(202)

Chapter Five The External Possessor in the Topic Position (204)

5.0	Introduction	(204)
5.1	Sub-extraction of a possessor from a non-phase	(205)
5.1.1	The function of the external possessor	(206)

5. 1. 2	Our account of these types of EPCs	(208)
5. 1. 3	Summing up	(226)
5. 2	Sub-extraction of a possessor from the edge position of a phase	(226)
5. 2. 1	A puzzling phenomenon	(227)
5. 2. 2	Our account	(228)
5. 2. 3	The infeasibility of alternative analyses of PDNCs	(243)
5. 2. 4	Summing up	(246)
5. 3	Sub-extraction of a possessor from VP-Comp	(246)
5. 3. 1	Some puzzling phenomena	(246)
5. 3. 2	Our account	(248)
5. 3. 3	The infeasibility of alternative analyses of this type of EPCs	(268)
5. 3. 4	Summing up	(271)
5. 4	Discussion about the constraint on possessor movement—the LBC	(271)
5. 4. 1	The status of the LBC	(272)
5. 4. 2	Our assumption about the LBC	(273)
5. 4. 3	LBE of a possessor in Chinese	(277)
5. 4. 4	Summing up	(279)
5. 5	Summary	(279)
Chapter Six	Conclusions	(281)
6. 1	Summary of the present study	(281)
6. 2	Major contributions	(281)
6. 3	Limitations	(282)
References	(284)

Chapter One

General Introduction

This book is devoted to the study of external possession constructions (henceforth EPCs) . We aim to reveal how possessive relationship is established between two DPs in EPCs and how such constructions deepen our understanding of UG.

This chapter is a general introduction, which presents the definition of EPCs, our research questions, proposals and organization of this book. In addition, a brief theoretical discussion about the feasibility of our proposal is undertaken.

1. 1 Definition of external possession constructions

Possessive relation is an important concept in the study of natural language. Syntactically, there are two configurations in which possessive relation is realized by the possessor and the possessum. The possessor phrase and the possessum phrase can be in the same DP, as shown in (1a), or the possessor can be located in a position external to the DP where the possessum is, as illustrated in (1b) .

- (1) a. *ta de yi-kuang pingguo lan-le.*
he DE one-CL apple rot-ASP
'One basket of his apples is rotten.'
- b. *ta lan-le yi-kuang pingguo.*
he rot-ASP one-CL apple
'One basket of his apples is rotten.'

In (1a) the possessor phrase *ta* 'he' and the possessum phrase *yikuang*

pingguo ‘a basket of apples’ are in the same DP *ta de yikuang pingguo* ‘a basket of his apples’, which serves as the subject of the sentence. In (1b) the possessor *ta* ‘he’, the subject of the sentence, is obviously located outside the possessum DP *yikuang pingguo* ‘a basket of apples’, the object of the sentence. The former case is called internal possession^① and the latter external possession (Payne & Barshi 1999) .

We call sentences such as (1b) EPCs. By EPC, we refer to a construction in which there is an indispensable possessive relation between two DPs and the possessor has no direct thematic relationship with the predicate of the sentence. In addition, the possessive relation should range from meronomic to conventional (Na & Huck 1993) . In (1b), the relation between the possessor *ta* ‘he’ and the possessum *yikuang pingguo* ‘a basket of apples’ is conventional. If we change the possessum in (1b) to *yizhi shou* ‘one hand’, as in (2), the possessive relation becomes meronomic.

- (2) *ta duan-le yi-zhi shou.*
 he break-ASP one-CL hand
 ‘One of his hands is broken.’

The following are some more examples of EPCs. ^②

① According to the relationship between the possessor and the possessum, possession can be sub-classified into different categories. Shen (1995) classifies it into 14 categories, Xu (2001: 26; 2008: 198) three categories and Lu (2002: 320-321) 16 categories. In our opinion, it is not necessary to make so fine a distinction. In the following, we will put forward our concept of ‘generalized inalienable possession’.

② The passive construction and the *ba* construction are not studied in this thesis because the nature of *bei* and *ba* is still controversial though we think our assumption can shed light on them. Even if some verb-result constructions, such as (i), can be considered one type of EPC, we will not study them in this book either since most verb-result constructions cannot be classified into this category. For example, in sentences like (ii), no possessive relation can be found. As to why there is a possessive relation between the two DPs in (i), we will leave it as a topic for future research.

- (i) *ta xiao de weiteng.*
 he laugh DE stomach-ache
 ‘He laughed so much that his stomach ached.’
 (ii) *Zhangsan chang ku-le Lisi.*
 Zhangsan sing cry-ASP Lisi
 ‘Zhangsan’s singing made Lisi cry.’

- (3) a. zhe-ben shu, wo kan-le diyi ye.
 this-CL book, I read-ASP first page
 ‘As to this book, I have read the first page.’
- b. wo chi-le ta san-ge pingguo.
 I eat-ASP him three-CL apple
 ‘I ate his three apples.’
- c. Li taitai nüer hen piaoliang.
 Li Mrs. daughter very beautiful
 ‘Mrs. Li’s daughter is very beautiful.’

In (3a) the two elements that have a possessive relation, *zheben shu* ‘this book’ and *diyi ye* ‘the first page’, are obviously separate DPs. The situation in (3b) and (3c), however, seems to be more complicated. Even though *ta* ‘he’ and *sange pinguo* ‘three apples’ in (3b) and *Xiaoli* and *nüer* ‘daughter’ in (3c) are not separated by other words, (3b) and (3c) are still possible candidates for EPCs. The reason lies in that, as shown in (4a) and (5a), an adverb and a parenthesis can be inserted between the above-mentioned elements in (3b) and (3c) respectively, and so it is reasonable to say that they are two independent constituents rather than one; in other words, they are two separate DPs. If they form just one DP, the insertion of an adverb is unacceptable, as shown in (4b) and (5b).^①

- (4) a. Zhang xiansheng dasui-le ta buduobushao si-ge beizi.^②
 Zhang Mr. break-ASP him exactly four-CL cup
 ‘Mr. Zhang broke his cups, to be exact, four cups. (Xu 2001: 76)
- b. *Zhang xiansheng dasui-le ta de buduobushao si-ge beizi.
 Zhang Mr. break-ASP him DE exactly four-CL cup
 (Xu 2001: 77)

① More evidence will be shown in chapter 4 and chapter 5 that sentences like (3b) and (3c) can be EPCs.

② In this sentence, the pronoun *ta* ‘him’ cannot co-refer with the subject *Zhang xiansheng* ‘Mr. Zhang’, which indicates that *ta* ‘him’ is located in the object position.

- (5) a. Li taitai jushuo nür hen piaoliang.
 Li Mrs. reportedly daughter very beautiful
 ‘Reportedly, Mrs. Li’s daughter is very beautiful.’ (Xu 2006: 167)
- b. *Xiaoli de jushuo nür hen piaoliang.
 Xiaoli DE reportedly daughter very pretty

In accordance with our definition, (6) is not an EPC though there is an indispensable possessive relation between the DPs. This is because the possessor *ta* ‘he’ has a direct thematic relation with the predicate of the sentence. ^①

- (6) ta sha-le erzi.
 he kill-ASP son
 ‘He killed his son.’

EPCs have some special properties. The sentences in (1) and (3) show that the external possessor can occupy different positions: the topic position, the subject position, or the object position. When the external possessor is in an A-position, the valence of the predicate seems to undergo a change. A one-place predicate can take

① It must be noted that there is a difference between syntactic external possession and lexical external possession. The possessive relationship between two separate DPs in the former is derived from syntax, whereas the possessive relationship between two separate DPs in the latter is encoded in the meaning of the lexical verb. The following are some examples of lexical external possession.

- (i) a. ta yongyou yi-shuang da yanjing.
 he have one-CL bigeye
 ‘He has a couple of big eyes.’
- b. ta chiyou zhe-ge gongsi de 60% de gufen.
 he have this-CL corporation DE 60% DE shares
 ‘He has 60% of the shares of this corporation.’
- c. ta juyou changren wufa xiangxiang de yili.
 he have common-person cannot imagine DE perseverance
 ‘His perseverance is beyond the imagination of ordinary persons.’

These sentences will not be discussed in this research because they are similar to (ii) in that the external possessor receives a theta role from the predicate.

- (ii) ta sha-le yi-ge ren.
 he kill-ASP one-CL person
 ‘He killed a person.’

two arguments, and a two-place predicate seems to be able to take three arguments. Here, the Theta-Theory seems to be ineffective because it holds that each argument bears one and only one theta role, and each theta role is assigned to one and only one argument (Chomsky 1981: 36). Moreover, the Case Theory seems to be ineffective, too. The Case Filter requires that every phonetically realized NP should be assigned a (abstract) Case (Chomsky 1986: 74). One argument in an EPC should fail to find an appropriate conventional Case assigner. Nonetheless, the Case Filter is blind to this and the sentences are grammatical.

In addition, when the possessor is in an A-position, it usually has a strong sense of affectedness. For example, *Wang Mian* in (7a), located in the subject position, has a sufferance meaning. By contrast, *ta* 'he' in (7b) cannot receive a sufferance meaning because Paul had been dead before his mother's death. Consequently, this sentence becomes unacceptable.

- (7) a. Wang Mian si-le fuqin.
 Wang Mian die-ASP father
 'Wang Mian's father was dead.'
- b. [Paul died first.]
 #hòulái, tā yě sǐ-le muqin.
 afterwards he also die-ASP mother
 'Then his mother died on him, too.' ((b) from Hole 2006: 388)

Once in an A'-position, the external possessor is similar to a dangling topic as in (8). Many scholars, among them Xu & Liu (2007), claim that sentences like (3a) and (3c) are dangling topic constructions.

- (8) shuiguo, wo xihuan pingguo.
 fruit I like apple
 'As for fruit, I like apples.'

Like Chinese, many other languages such as Hebrew, French and Japanese have EPCs, as exemplified below.

- (9) Gil higdil le-Rina et ha-tmuna. (Hebrew)
 Gil enlarged to-Rina ACC the-picture
 ‘Gil enlarged Rina’s picture.’ (Landau 1999: 5)
- (10) J’ ai coupé les cheveux a-Pierre. (French)
 I cut the hair to-Pierre
 ‘I cut Pierre’s hair.’ (Guéron 1985: ex. 69b)
- (11) Naomi-wa inu-ga sin-da. (Japanese)
 Naomi-TOP dog-NOM die-PAST
 ‘As for Naomi, her dog died.’ (Ishizuka 2009: 3)
- (12) Sunii-nun os-i hangsang delep-ta. (Korean)
 Suni-TOP clothes-NOM always dirty- indicative
 ‘As for Suni, his clothes are always dirty.’ (Ishizuka 2009: 10)
- (13) Les revisé los informes a los estudiantes. (Spanish)
 I revised the reports to the students
 ‘I revised the students’ reports.’ (Kempchinsky 1992: 136)

1.2 Research questions

This book intends to discover how the construal of external possession is achieved in EPCs. We plan to explore this question from the following aspects:

- (14) a. Why are there EPCs?
 b. How are they derived?
 c. What constraints is the derivation of EPCs subject to?

1.3 Our proposal: the movement approach to external possession

We propose that external possession is derived from movement, a costless and indispensable operation in UG. Put simply, the possessor merges in the same DP as the possessum, and then it moves out of the DP for some reasons. This

proposal is based on the following considerations: It is proposed by some scholars like Huang (1982) and Li (1990) that the construal of external possession is achieved through the control rule because the external possessor is in the same domain as the possessum,^① and it seems to co-refer with a *pro* in the possessum DP. Alternatively, it is argued that the semantic dependency is subject to the Binding Theory, by which the external possessor binds a variable in the possessum DP (Hole 2005a, b). As the Control Theory and the Binding Theory should be replaced with a theory of movement for simplicity and conceptual necessity (Hornstein 2001; Boeckx, Hornstein & Nunes 2010),^② it will be better for the construal of external possession in UG to be derived by movement.

In order to answer the research questions in (14), the following hypotheses are put forward in this book:

1) Just like structural Case, inherent Case is uninterpretable even though it is closely related to a theta role. Inherent Case is in nature an abstract P (reposition)-feature. Without any lexical meaning, it must be checked in the syntactic computation.

Following our assumption on Case checking, we propose that the possessor, bearing inherent Case, is generated in the complement position of the head of the possessum phrase. It can have its inherent Case checked against a V or a Poss, and it can also move from its home DP to Spec-TopicP to get its Case feature licensed. If it checks its Case against Poss, the possessor eventually surfaces in Spec-PossP. Alternatively, if it moves out of the DP for feature checking, EPCs are derived.

2) When the external possessor is in an object position, it has a strong affectedness meaning that should be reflected in syntax. We propose that the functional head, Aff, is its incardination, which has an uninterpretable EPP feature and a theta role feature. These features are checked by possessor movement out of the DP to Spec-AffP. During the derivational process, the locality condition

① Here domain is used in the sense of Chomsky (1995).

② For details, see Hornstein (1999, 2009) and Boeckx & Hornstein (2004, 2006) for co-indexation in control constructions, and see Kayne (2002, 2005), Zwart (2002) and Boeckx, Hornstein & Nunes (2007) for co-indexation between pronouns.

must be strictly observed.

3) When the possessor surfaces in a subject position, the situation becomes a little complex. On one hand, when the external possessor has a strong sense of affectedness, Aff should be selected from the lexicon. The possessor can move upwards to check its Case feature as well as AffP's and TP's EPP feature. On the other hand, when the possessor has no affectedness meaning and the possessum stays in a clausal predicate formed by the adjective and the possessum DP, Aff will not be selected from the lexicon. In this case, the possessor moves to the subject position of the matrix clause in a smuggling manner. During the derivation, the locality condition should also be strictly observed.

4) The possessor can move to the topic position to have its inherent Case licensed there. In the course of movement, syntactic constraints such as the Specifier Condition must be observed; otherwise, ungrammatical EPCs are obtained. However, we cannot ascribe the unacceptability of all EPCs to violation of syntactic constraints because violation of semantic interpretation conditions also results in unacceptability.^① Moreover, the Left Branch Condition (henceforth LBC), a famous syntactic constraint on sub-extraction of a constituent out of the DP, only blocks the Genitive possessor movement.^{②,③}

① The unacceptability of a sentence may be caused by several factors. If an unacceptable sentence results from grammatical errors, it will not become acceptable even though heavy contextual information is provided. By contrast, if it is caused by other factors, its acceptability will be improved to some extent with enough contextual information (See Reuland 2011 for similar argument).

② The Genitive possessor refers to the possessor with Genitive Case.

③ Some crucial concepts need to be made clear. First, see the derivation of external possession. When we use such a concept, we mean how the possessor, which should be in the same DP as the possessum DP, turns out to be external to the possessum DP. When discussing the derivation of external possession, we intend to figure out what kinds of syntactic constraints the movement or base-generation of the external possessor is subject to. Then, see the interpretation, or construal, of external possession. The interpretation of a construction, which does not start until the syntactic computation comes to an end, takes place in the semantic interpretation system. In addition to being dependent on the syntactic information, the semantic interpretation system has its own working mechanism. As for the interpretation of external possession, in most cases, the syntactic information is enough to let us know that the external possessor and the possessum have a possessive relationship. But, once a condition, or a principle, in the semantic interpretation system is more economic than the detailed syntactic information for a construction to be interpreted, this condition or principle will come to the fore.