

These
slides



On the nature of FormSet

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These
slides

website: sandiway.arizona.edu/Keio2024.pdf

- some of these slides: FIND2023 workshop, Göttingen, Germany. Dec 2023

***Also:** Jason Ginsburg, Hiroshi Terada and Masumi Matsumoto (OKU)

Human Language

- *On Language*, W. von Humboldt (1836):
 - "Language is an involuntary emanation of the mind, no work of nations, but a gift fallen to them by their inner destiny."
 - "Every language is produced by the *original tendency* or 'original talent' shared by all human beings."
- Chomsky (1964), *Logical Basis of Linguistic Theory*, cites Humboldt extensively.



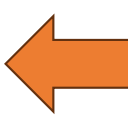
Strong Minimalist Thesis (SMT)

- Language is '*optimal*'
- Maximal operational simplicity is not only desirable wrt. the theory
- It's a necessity (for *plausible evolution*)
- It's a necessity (for *biological computation: slow brain*)



Merge

- Maximal simplicity doesn't necessarily mean "free" or fewer constraints (e.g. free Merge)
- Simple could be limiting options
- *I-language is basically a thought-generating system* (Chomsky MC)
- Following *Duality of Semantics*, there's a division of labor:
 - External Merge (EM): form θ -configurations
 - Internal Merge (IM): *for other things*
- Displacement
 - IM: Q-formation, Focus etc.
 - (Chomsky) EXT: VP-fronting, Rightwards movement
 - *IM: verbal head movement: **unformulable** (must be at EXT: Amalgamation)
 - linear adjacency constraints cannot be expressed here either



EM/IM must be defined not to explode search space (**Minimal Yield**), *computational efficiency*

Fact: Brain is slow

image from Reingrubber & Holcman (2011)

Computational efficiency (and **bandwidth**) are important considerations for all **organic systems**:

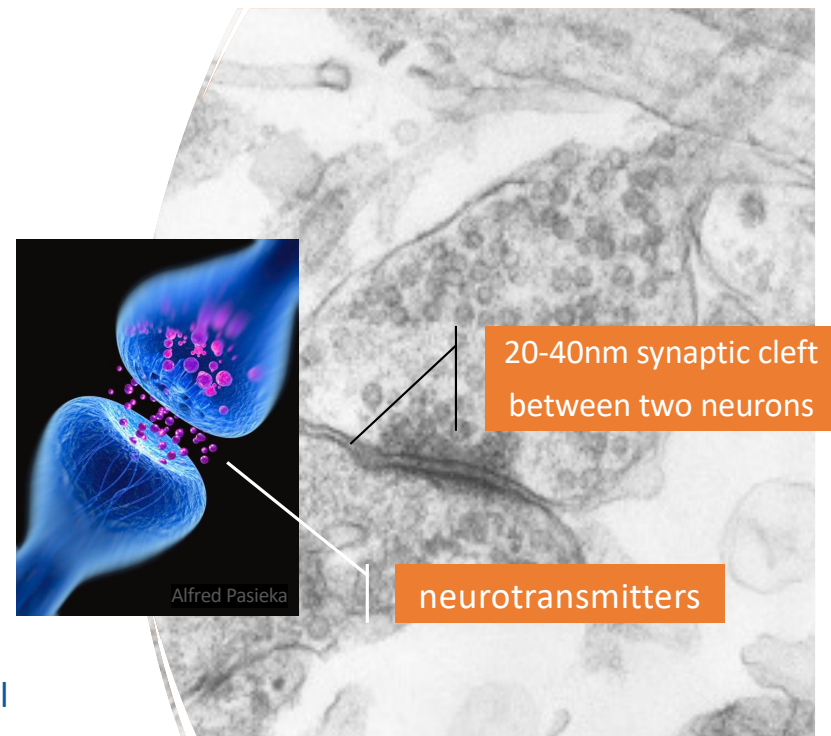
our sensory apparatus can generate vast amounts of data (*sensor mismatch*)

a slow (*chemical*) brain limits what can be analyzed

The War of Soups and Sparks (Valenstein, 2005) 19th century belief that neurons were electrically connected.

Neurophysiologists believed only electrical transmission is fast enough to activate skeletal muscles. Mid-20th century: biochemical.

we (selectively) throw out/ignore almost all of the signal



Sensor/Brain Mismatch

- Sensor performance is incredibly good:
 - sensitivity** down to the single photon level (Tinsley *et al.*, 2016)
 - resolution** (77 cycles/°) (Curcio *et al.* 1990) – *within a factor of 3 of an eagle's*
 - we don't need/use it for scene analysis**

Other sensors:

- olfactory thresholds** at parts per billion (ppb) (Wackermannová *et al.*, 2016)
- eardrums** can detect tiny vibrations: down to the size of a hydrogen atom (Fletcher & Munson, 1933)
- brain doesn't need/use this either**

90% of the area is peripheral vision: **50% of the nerve fibers**
fovea pit (0.2mm diameter) 20/20 vision, color: **50%**

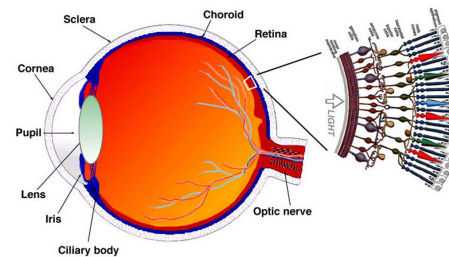


Fig. 1.1. A drawing of a section through the human eye with a schematic enlargement of the retina.

Avians: eye architecture:

- one/two foveae (*also denser*)
- higher flicker fusion rates
- more types of cones

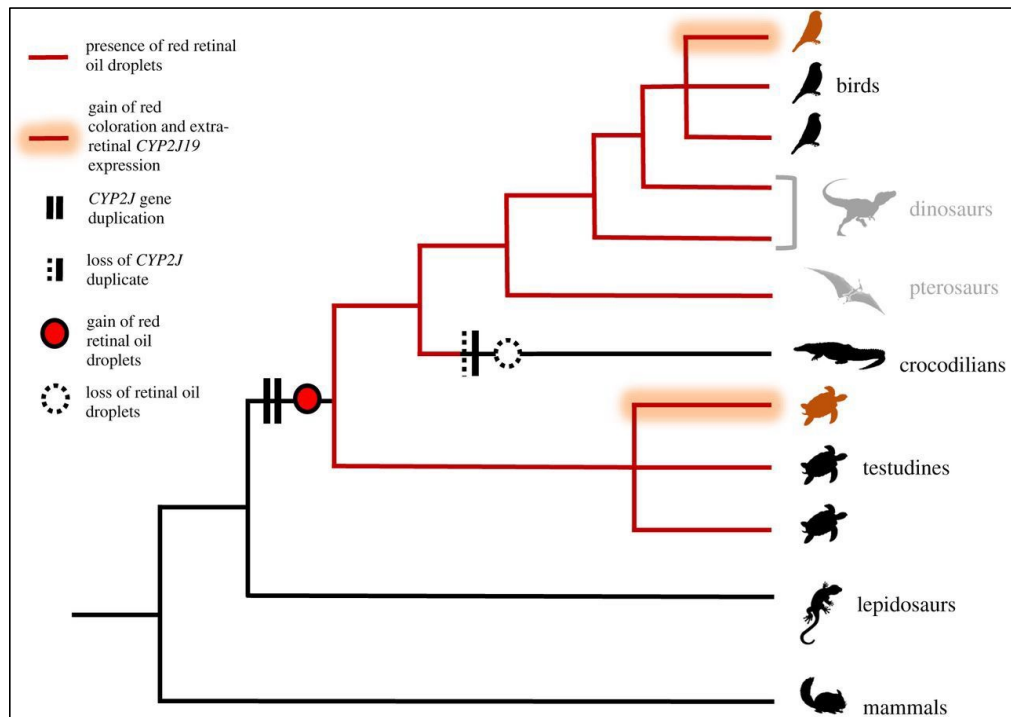
source: Reuters



Sensor/Brain Mismatch

Use it or lose it!

- http://genomewiki.ucsc.edu/index.php/Opsin_evolution:_trichromatic_ancestral_mammal
- Despite 100 million years of playing catchup, no [Therian] mammal has ever regained the superior sharp tetrachromatic color vision enjoyed by the amniote common ancestor and contemporary turtles, birds and lizards.
- It's possible to have much better color vision than human -- and many earlier diverging vertebrate species do.

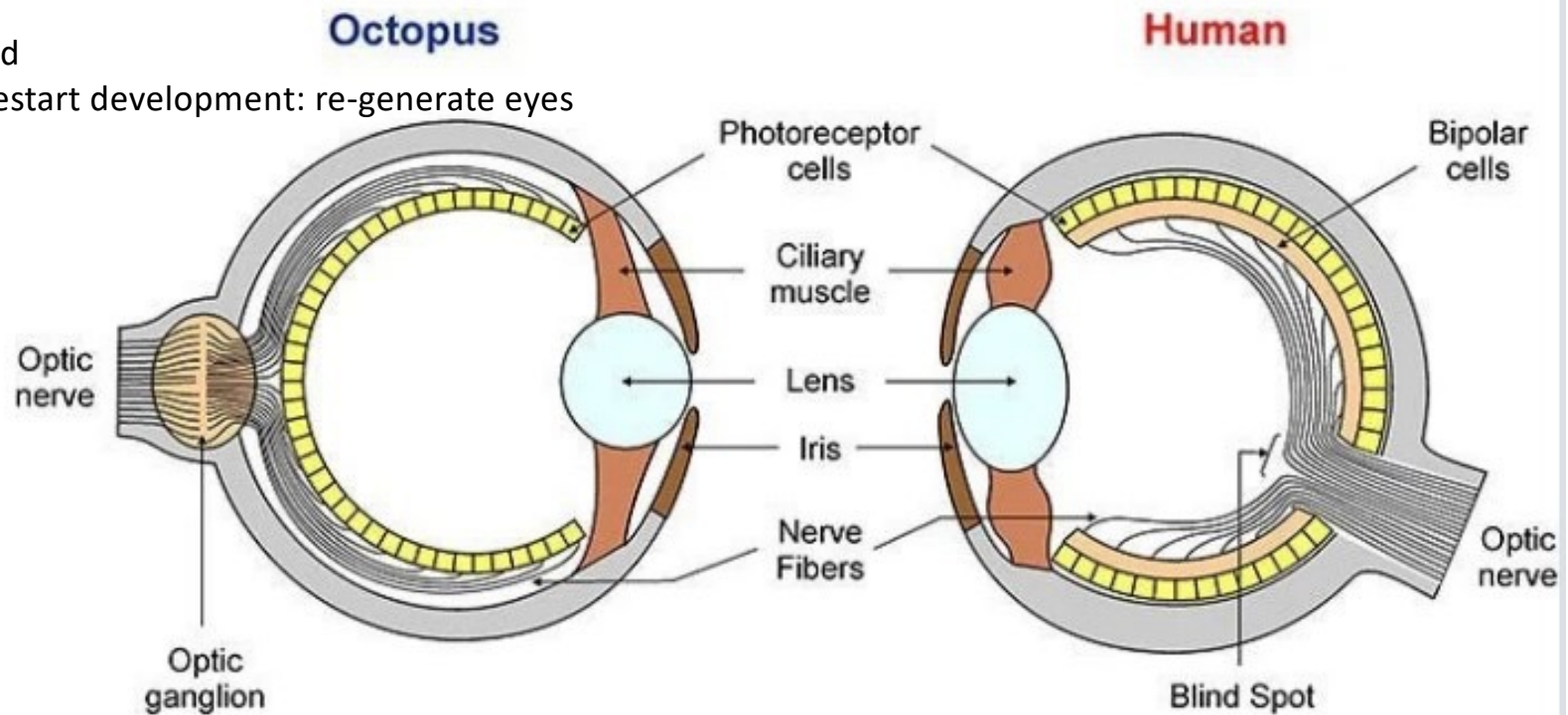


<https://doi.org/10.1098/rspb.2016.1208>

Sensor/Brain Mismatch

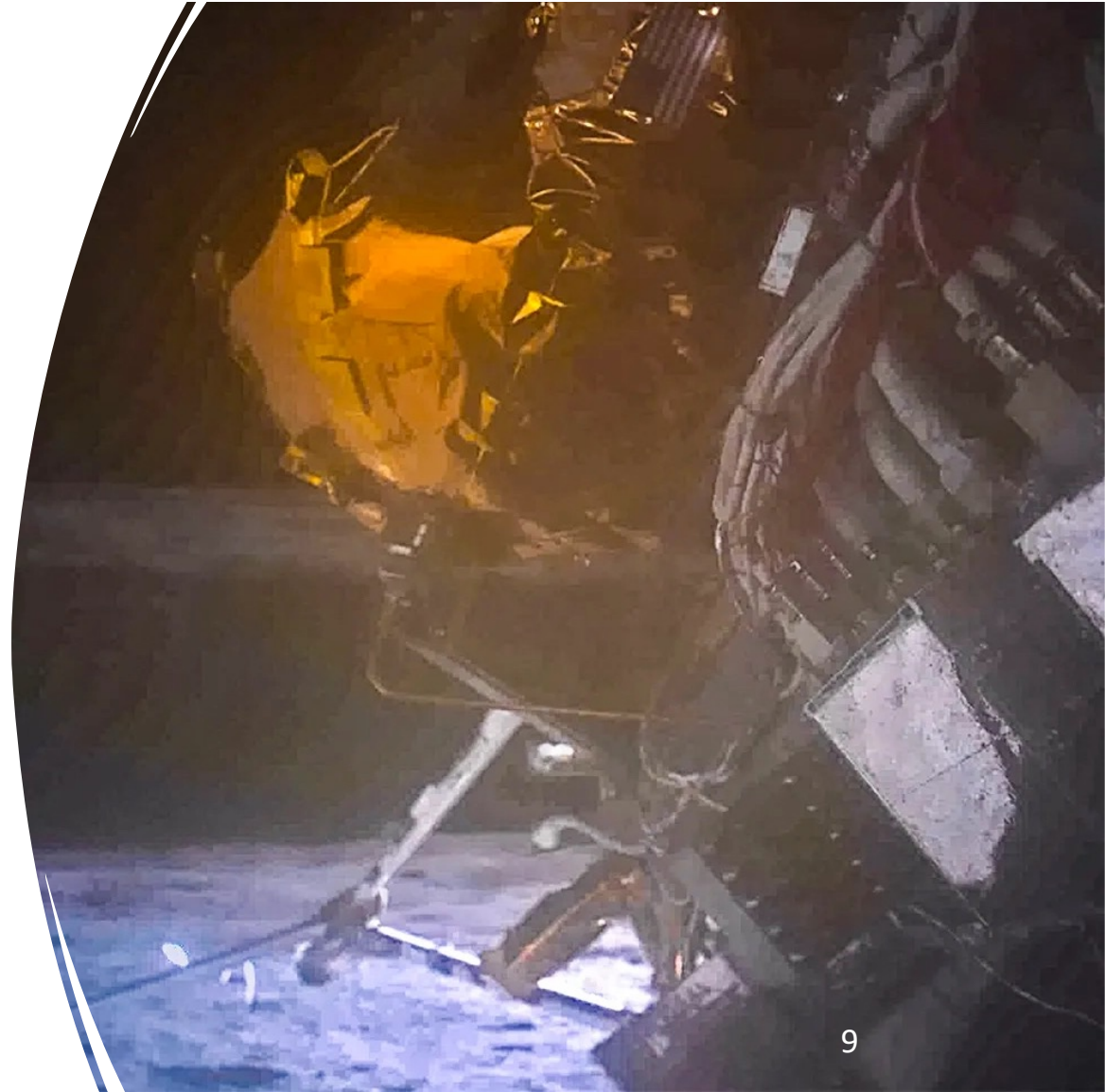
Cephalopods vs. *all* vertebrates

- color-blind
- but can restart development: re-generate eyes



Artificial Systems

- Problem also exists
 - <https://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-68425211>
 - **[Odysseus]** had navigation issues whereby the **onboard computer couldn't process precise laser range-finding data fast enough** and had to rely solely on optical cameras for altitude and velocity information.
 - Result: broke a leg (30° \angle)



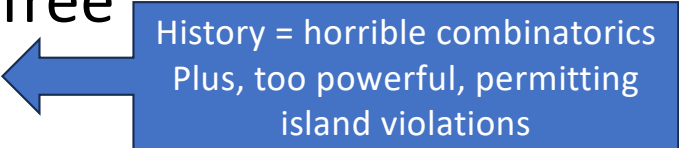
Merge

by the 3rd Factor
horrible combinatorics



- Operational Simplicity: Merge can't be free
 - No record of Merge is kept (**Markovian**)
 - "a paper trail" would be a **memory device** (Merge is memory-free)
 - *even Merge itself can't peek at prior Merges (never mind outsiders to Merge)*
 - also, Merge can't peek at relations computed at INT:
 - e.g. Labeling (for INT to decode structure, EXT),
 - FormCopy (affects EXT), etc.
 - **Oblivious Merge:**
 - Merge probing cannot refer to a Label (*maybe probing is done later*)

History = horrible combinatorics
Plus, too powerful, permitting
island violations



Merge

- Can't tell if structure is built by IM or EM
 - because everything is an immutable set
 - No Tampering with Merge inputs or output
(*Tampering compromises maximal simplicity*)
 - Note: feature valuation doesn't count as Tampering
 - No Deleting anything either ...
 - Phrases have no room for extra baggage (**memory**)
 - e.g. Labels or IM/EM-feature (\therefore Labels computed at INT/EXT)
- Duality would be nice, but cannot be detected (*or enforced*)
 - must be designed in?
 - \therefore irreducible
- **Caveat:** must distinguish output of FormSet (a set) from Merge (*also a set*) *as different conditions apply.*

Theta-aware Merge

- Chomsky (p.c.):
 - Well, there are no marking for IM vs. EM.
 - INT reads the computed structure and determines how to interpret identical inscriptions.
 - **That's true, but it doesn't mean that IM can't observe theta theory (and duality ...), crashing and hence cancelling the preferred derivation.**
 - **Theta positions are detectable everywhere.**
- [T] **All relations and structure-building operations (SBO) are thought-related, with semantic properties interpreted at CI. (Chomsky MC)**
- Merge is θ -aware & θ -driven:
 - EM builds θ -configurations efficiently
(*as quickly and simply as possible*)

Theta-aware Merge

- Efficiently **as possible**:
 - $\{XP, \{v^*, \{R, XP\}\}\}$ most efficiently built by IM, but must be blocked.
 - **Banned** by Duality
 - cannot dispense with Duality
 - External Merge (EM): select $X, Y \in WS$
 - *arguably* more efficient to select X twice
 - But we don't see $\{X, X\}$ in language (*same X*)
 - Don't see Agree(X, X) either
 - Assumption: X and Y are distinct WS elements
 - Chomsky (p.c.): **one possibility might be Moro's analysis of copula, which derives "I am I/me" from $\{be, \{I, I\}\}$.**

Efficient Merge and Minimal Search

Efficiently **as possible**

- External Merge (EM) (Chomsky p.c.):
 - **We assume that Merge like other operations observes it.**
 - **That's why only members of WS, not their terms, are eligible for EM.**

A Note on Combinatorics

- Operational Simplicity: Merge can't be freely applied
 - 3rd factor tied to biology: must be efficient
 - How many ways are there to freely Merge two heads a and b ? (*without Duality etc.*)

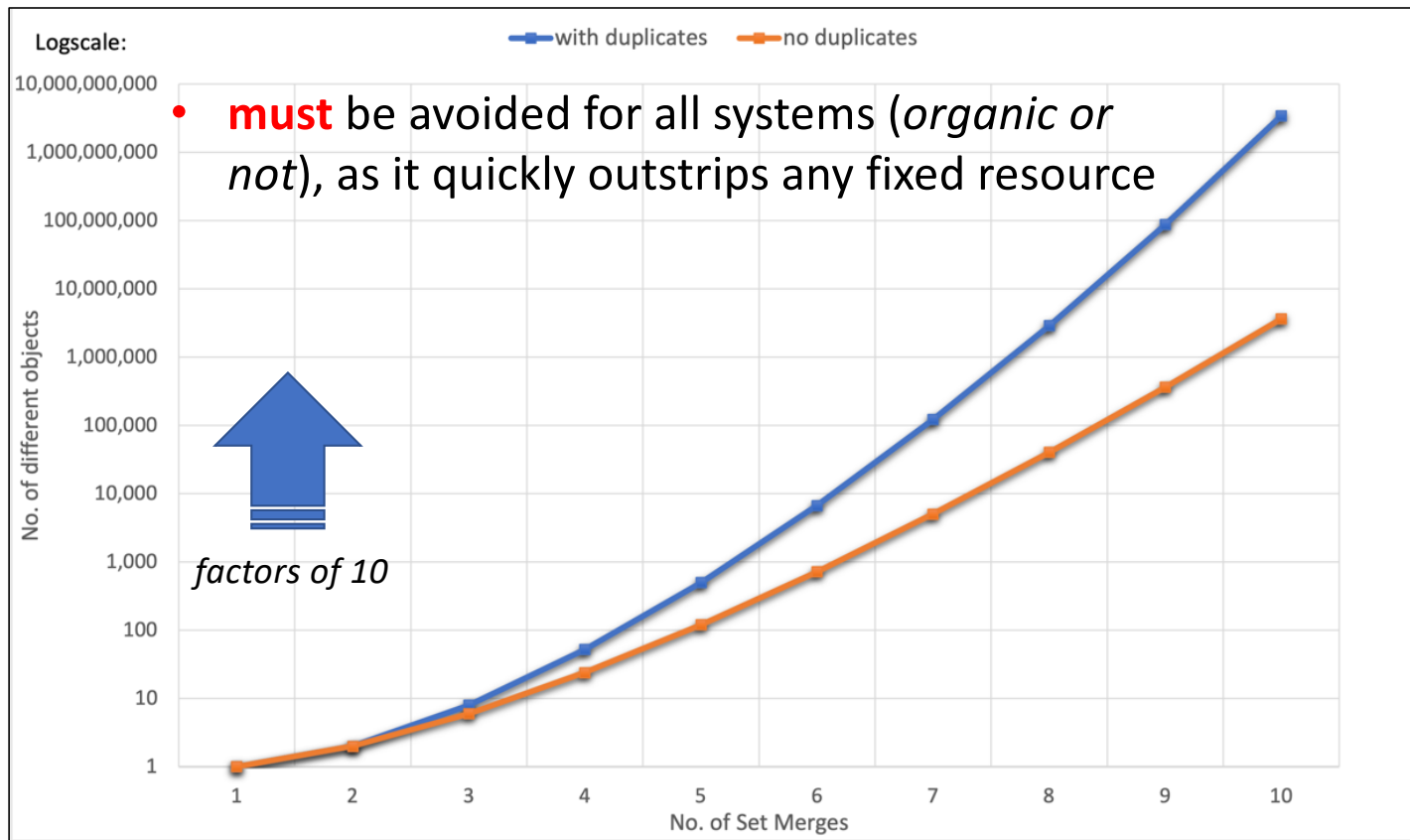
- Example:**

- Initial WS: $a \ b$
- 1 Merge (EM):
 - $\{a, b\}$
- 2 Merges (IM):
 - $\{a, \{a, b\}\} \quad \{b, \{a, b\}\}$

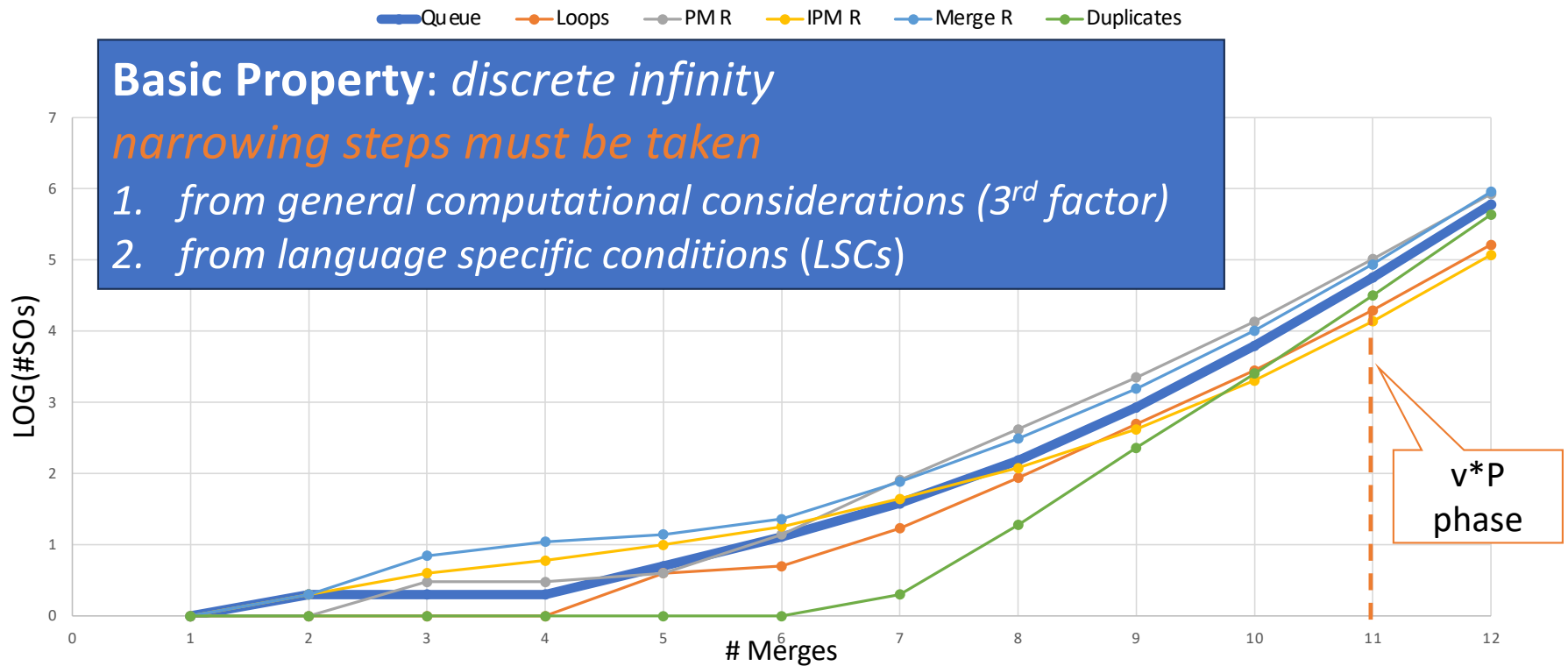
- 3 Merges (IM):
 - $\{\{a,b\}, \{a, \{a,b\}\}\} \quad \{b, \{a, \{a,b\}\}\} \quad \{a, \{a, \{a,b\}\}\}$
 - $\{\{a,b\}, \{b, \{a,b\}\}\} \quad \{b, \{b, \{a,b\}\}\} \quad \{a, \{b, \{a,b\}\}\}$

Duplicate should be listed twice!
 same structure derived in 2 ways:
 $\{a_1, \{a_2, b\}\}$
 1. $\{a_1, \{a_1, \{a_2, b\}\}\}$
 2. $\{a_2, \{a_1, \{a_2, b\}\}\}$

A Note on Combinatorics



A Note on Combinatorics



A Note on Combinatorics

- Narrowing steps cannot involve *clever devices*:
 - example: filtering out duplicate structures
- Violates SMT: requires a *memory device*
 - *need to know whether we've seen something before (Dynamic Programming)*
- Language requires *identical inscriptions (that have to be repetitions)*
- Example (Chomsky):
 - *the man who saw many people didn't see many people*

A Note on Combinatorics

- **Example:**

- *the man who saw many people didn't see many people*

- WS:

- {v*, {see, many people}}
- {who man} INFL C_{rel} the INFL Neg C

- Construct a relative clause e.g. *following* Cecchetto & Donati (2015):

- {the, {man, {who ~~man~~, {C_{rel}, {~~who man~~, {INFL, {~~who man~~, {v*, {see, many people}}}}}}}}}}

- **Now stuck!**

- would need to invent a new operation to deep fish out {v*, ...} *SMT
- or subvert the Markovian assumption by *reaching back into history of Merge*
- violates **Duality**: *only EM can introduce a theta role-bearing item*

A Note on Combinatorics

- Narrowing steps cannot involve *clever devices*:

- **Example:** Infinite Loop Filter:

- * $\pi\pi$, where $\pi = (\text{IM } O_1, \dots, \text{IM } O_n)$, $n \geq 1$
- (O_i = selected subterm; cross- π compare selected O_i)

- **Example:**

- $\{\underline{a}, b\}$
- $\{\underline{a}_1, \{a_2, b\}\}$
- $\{a_1, \{\underline{a}_1, \{a_2, b\}\}\}$
- $\{a_1, \{\underline{a}_1, \{a_1, \{a_2, b\}\}\}\}$
- $\{a_1, \{\underline{a}_1, \{a_1, \{a_1, \{a_2, b\}\}\}\}\}$

and so on ... **without violating MS**

A Note on Combinatorics

Infinite Loop strategy:

select a and b alternately

- **Example:**

- $\{a, \underline{b}\}$
- $\{b, \{\underline{a}, b\}\}$
- $\{a, \{\underline{b}, \{a, b\}\}\}$
- $\{b, \{\underline{a}, \{b, \{a, b\}\}\}\}$
- $\{a, \{\underline{b}, \{a, \{b, \{a, b\}\}\}\}\}$

and so on ...

A Note on Combinatorics

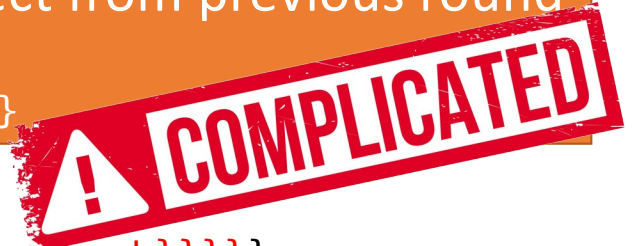
- Proposed filter
 - new device (*unless loop-free computation is in the evolutionary toolkit*) *SMT
 - can't rule all cases anyway (*see below*)
 - requires access to history of Merge (*violates Markovian assumption*)

- **Example:**

- WS: a b
- {a, b}
- {b, {a, b}}
- {{a, b}, {b, {a, b}}}
- {{{b, {a, b}}, {{a, b}, {b, {a, b}}}}}
- {{{a, b}, {b, {a, b}}}, {{b, {a, b}}, {{a, b}, {b, {a, b}}}}}
- *and so on ...*

IM selects the WS object from previous round

- compare to ordinals
- $successor(x) = x \cup \{x\}$



Use of Set Theory

- Limited use of set theory for representation:
 - no $\{\}$ (*a true null*)
 - no **infinite** sets (*sets are finite, but an infinite number of them*)
 - no union, intersection, difference, powerset operations
 - e.g. $\{a, b\} \cup \{b, c\} \Rightarrow \{a, c\}$
 - no equality (mathematics: *equals means same*)
 - not a set, perhaps a multi-set (**repetitions**) (*also the WS isn't a set*)
 - naïve set theory paradoxes seem not to apply
 - $\{x: P(x)\}$, P some property
 - Russell's Paradox: suppose P(x) is $x \notin x$
 - *Barber Paradox: how does the barber shave (himself)?*

Use of Set Theory

Axiomatic Set Theory

- e.g. Zermelo-Fraenkel (ZF) Set Theory
 - axioms expressed in 1st order logic + \in (*set membership*)
 - **Axiom of Extension**: same set if same members
 - $x \in y$ iff $x \in z$ implies $y = z$ for all x
 - **doesn't hold for language**
 - we have "occurrences", possibly *repetitions/copies*

Use of Set Theory

UG: sub-phrases are **unordered**

- Set theory allows for the construction of **ordered** elements too

- Define $x < y$ iff $x \in y$

- **Example:**

- $a < b$, a sequence $\langle a, b \rangle = \{a, \{a, b\}\}$ (IM)

- $a < b < c$, $\langle a, b, c \rangle = \{a, \{a, \{b, \{b, c\}\}\}$ (IM)

- **Example:**

- ordinals $\{\}, \{\{\}\}, \{\{\}, \{\{\}\}\}, \dots$ and so on ...

- generally, $\text{successor}(x) = x \cup \{x\}$ (John von Neumann)

- $\text{succ}(\{\}) = \{\} \cup \{\{\}\}$

- $\text{succ}(\{\{\}\}) = \{\{\}\} \cup \{\{\{\}\}\}$

- but **language doesn't count!** (cf. *artificial language: e.g. nth last word signals an interrogative*)

Use of Set Theory

- **Question:**

- does anything block the formation of ordered elements in this model?

- **Note 1:**

- ordinal operation $x \cup \{x\}$ *not formulable* under **Simplest Merge** (*binary*)
- e.g. $\{\emptyset, \{\emptyset\}, \{\emptyset, \{\emptyset\}\}, \{\emptyset, \{\emptyset\}, \{\emptyset, \{\emptyset\}\}\}$ cannot be constructed ($\emptyset = \{\}$)
- the above expression maps to 4 in \mathbb{N} .

Why?

- $\emptyset = 0$
- $\{\emptyset\} = 1$
- $\{\emptyset, \{\emptyset\}\} = 2$
- $\{\emptyset, \{\emptyset\}, \{\emptyset, \{\emptyset\}\}\} = 3$

Use of Set Theory

- **Note 2:**

- the sequence $\langle a, b, c \rangle$ is represented by the set $\{a, \{a, \{b, \{b, c\}\}\}$

1) this set can be formed by iterated External Merge (EM) from WS:

a a b b c

$b\ c \Rightarrow_{EM} \{b, c\} \Rightarrow_{EM} \{b, \{b, c\}\} \Rightarrow_{EM} \{a, \{b, \{b, c\}\}\} \Rightarrow_{EM} \{a, \{a, \{b, \{b, c\}\}\}$

2) this set **can also** be formed from a minimal WS:

a b c

$b\ c \Rightarrow_{EM} \{b, c\} \Rightarrow_{IM} \{b, \{b, c\}\} \Rightarrow_{EM} \{a, \{b, \{b, c\}\}\} \Rightarrow_{IM} \{a, \{a, \{b, \{b, c\}\}\}$

- do these violate SMT?
- I-language builds thought objects only.
 - θ -configurations + other projections

Merge and FormSet

- Example:

- 1) (a) {like, Mary} predicative/substantive
 (b) {narrow, hallway} EM: predicate-argument (AP)
 (c) {long, hallway} *suppose each also in WS*
 (d) {dark, hallway}

- FormSet ($\{\dots\}$, $n \geq 2$) (Chomsky *GK*):

- 2) $\{\{\text{long, hallway}\}, \{\text{narrow, hallway}\}, \{\text{dark, hallway}\}\}$

- Need a nominal to head the NP:

- 3) {hallway, $\{\{\text{long, hallway}\}, \{\text{narrow, hallway}\}, \{\text{dark, hallway}\}\}$ }
- 4) *a long, narrow, (and) dark hallway* (*det PM* (Oishi, 2015))

The Determiner

- Chomsky (p.c.):
 - **Is this External Merge?**
 - **We're just ignoring functional elements, stick them in wherever you want.**
 - **And, of course, you know there's lots of things to say about them, so why does the definite article appear before the noun?**
 - **In fact, does the definite article even apply to the noun?**
 - **Maybe the definite article's a feature of the noun phrase.**
 - **Like in Semitic, for example, it's just distributed among the elements of the noun phrase.**
- Hebrew:
 - 5) *ha-yeled ha-ze*
'this child'
 - Language-particular: **attributive adjectives must agree in definiteness; and predicative adjectives are indicated syntactically, by the lack of an article in conjunction with a definite noun.**

Concord and Agreement

- Adjectival Phrase:

- $\{A, N_{\phi.DEF}\}$

- At EXT, there are options. Assume sisterhood between A and N.

1. $\{A, N_{\phi.DEF}\}$ N features expressed on A also (**Concord**)

- Example: Arabic

- *al-rajul-u* *al-saʕid-u*

- DEF-man-NOM.SG.M DEF-happy-NOM.SG.M

- 'the happy man'

2. $DEF_{\phi} N_{\phi.DEF}$ N feature DEF (definite) spells out as a word.

- Example: Hebrew

- *ha-yeled* *ha-ze*

- DEF-child. $\phi_{SG.M}$ this. $\phi_{SG.M}$

- 'this child'

FormSet

- Assume FormSet is generally available to computation
 - cognition beyond I-Language
 - Note: $n = 2$ not same as binary Merge due to different conditions
 - Note: $n = 1$? logical possibility unavailable to binary Merge, arithmetic!
- Simplicity:
 - members must be a coherent set of syntactic objects (Chomsky)
 - **simplest formulation:** *all members must be treated the same*
 - members must obey some parallelism requirement for INT (and Merge)
 - find example of parallelism, might be FormSet!
- Example
 - 6) (a) {{long, hallway}, {narrow, hallway}, {dark, hallway}}
 - (b) {hallway, {{long, hallway}, {narrow, hallway}, {dark, hallway}}}
 - operate in unison: IM one, same Merge ATB similarly

FormSet

- Case $n = 1$
 - a logical possibility unavailable to binary Merge
 - WS: x
 - $\{x\}$
 - $\{\{x\}\}$
 - $\{\{\{x\}\}\}$
 - *and so on*
 - generally, $\text{successor}(x) = \{x\}$

FormSet

- Chomsky GK (pg. 31):
 - unbounded unstructured sequences (UUS's)
- 7) *John, Bill, my friends, the actor who won the Oscar, ... ran, danced, took a vacation (respectively)*
- FormSet ($\{\dots\}$):
 - 8) (a) $S_1 = \{\text{John, Bill, my friends, the actor who won the Oscar}\}$
(b) $S_2 = \{\text{ran, danced, took a vacation}\}$
 - Members of S_1 : referential similarity (but not NUM)
 - Members of S_2 : predicatehood
 - S_1 and S_2 can have distinct cardinality (Chomsky GK fn. 47)

UUS: Relative clause stacking

Example:

9) *the student who lives here who studies English whom I know*

FormSet applies to:

10) (a) {student, {who {~~student~~, {lives here}}}}

(b) {student, {who, {~~student~~, {studies English}}}}

(c) {student, {who, {I, {know, ~~student~~}}}}

- relative CPs need not be identical (Williams, 1978)

Optionally spelling out as:

11) *the student who lives here, who studies English **and** whom I know*

UUS: Relative clause stacking

[animation not visible in PDF version]

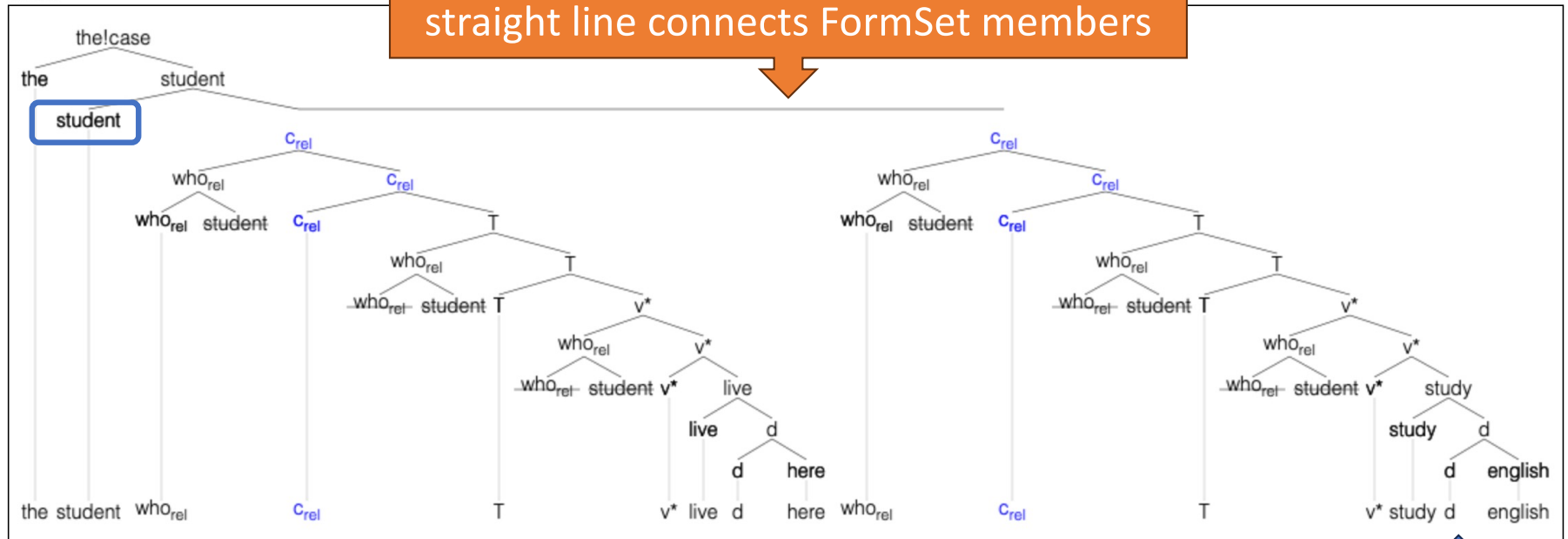
here!D

Initial SO is head of stream :**Operation**
[[d!case!N],[live],[v*!phi],[[student!D],[who_rell!case!N]],[T!phi],[c_rell!rel!T!phi]] :**Stream**

UUS: Relative clause stacking

- note 62: Fong & Ginsburg. Open Linguistics, vol. 9, no. 1, 2023.

Parse:



Spell-out:

the student who -s live -acc here who -s study -acc English (after morpheme realization)

the student who live -s here -acc who study -s English -acc (after affix-hop)

the student who live -s here -acc who study -s English -acc (after morpheme realization, stage 2)

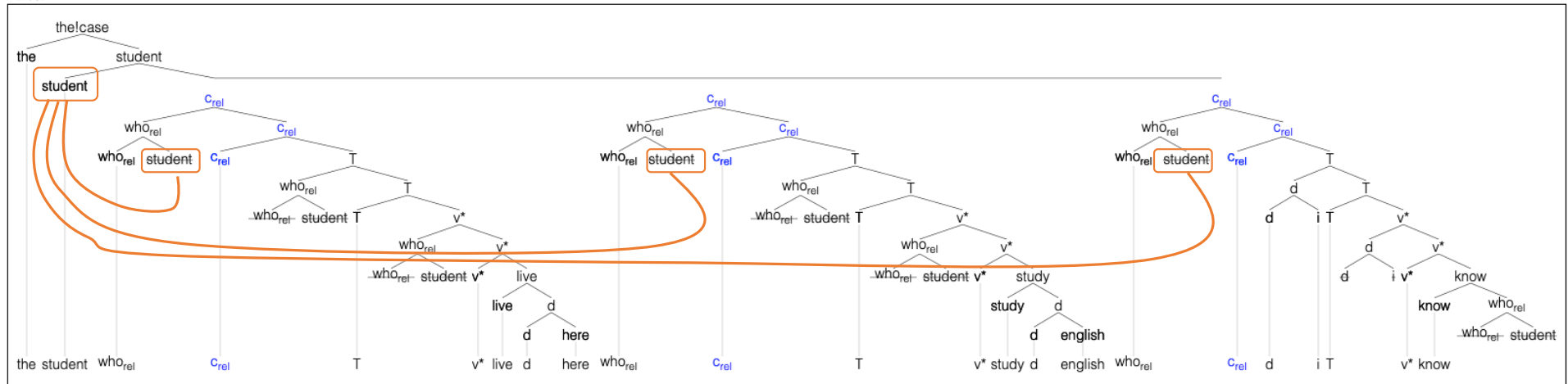
36 the student who lives here who studies English

old implementation
DP

UUS: Relative clause stacking

the student who lives here who studies English whom I know

Parse:

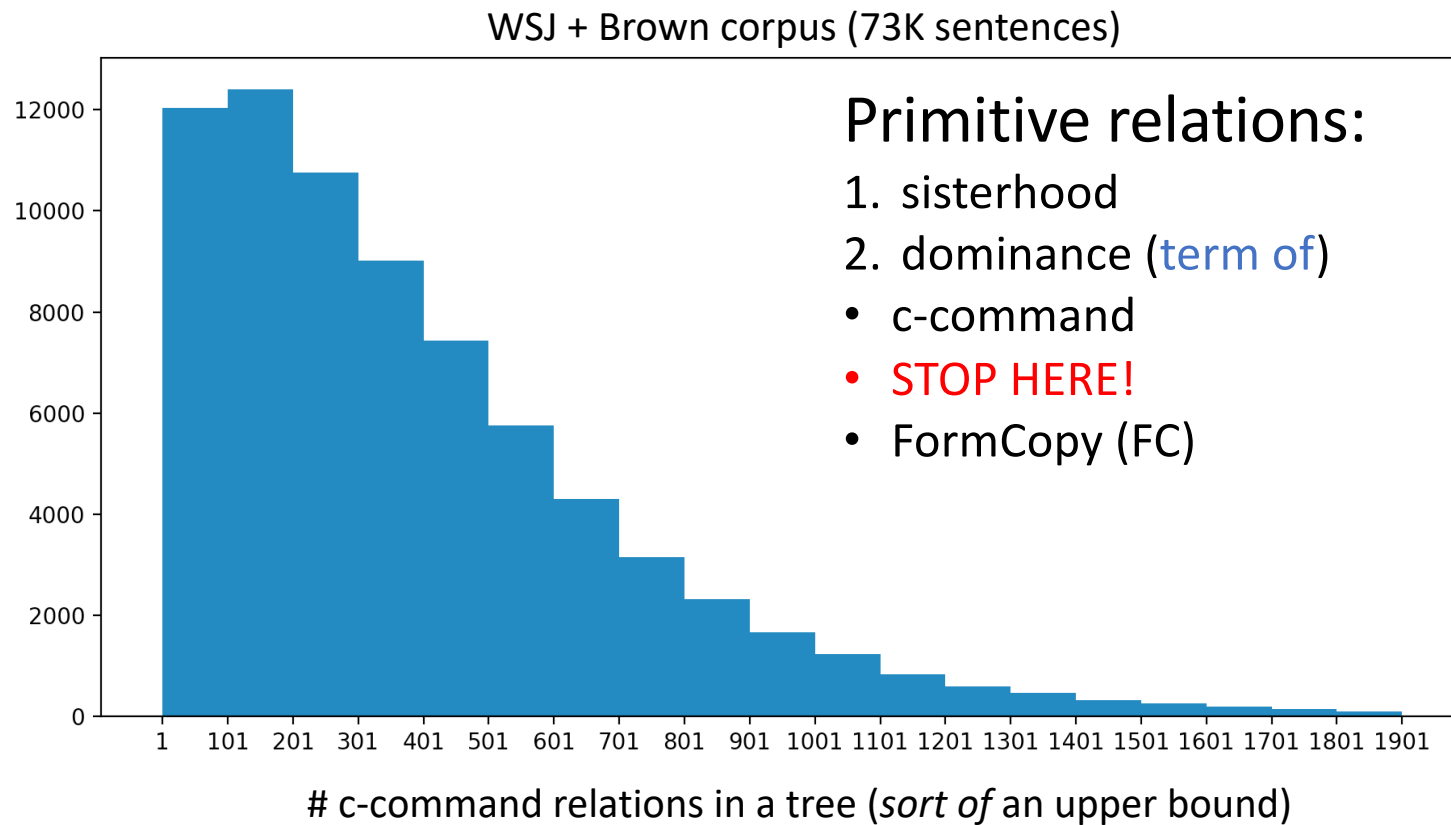


Spell-out:
 the student who -s live -acc here who -s study -acc English
 the student who live -s here -acc who study -s English
 the student who live -s here -acc who study -s English
 the student who lives here who studies English whom I know

One derivation found.

Irrelevant: implementation details: could be Box Theory
Important: Parallelism (*members of a set treated uniformly*)

Aside: are relations really computed?



UUS: Relative clause stacking

- Relative clause stacking parallel to PP stacking (Chomsky GK):
 - 12) (a) *John lived on a farm with his family*
(b) *John lived on a farm **and** with his family*
- IM in unison, targets subject/object:
 - 13) (a) *Which book did John buy and read?*
(b) *which book did John buy ~~which book~~ and read ~~which book~~*
(c) $\{\{\text{John}, \{v^*, \{\text{buy}, \text{which book}\}\}\}, \{\text{John}, \{v^*, \{\text{read}, \text{which book}\}\}\}\}$
 - 14) (a) *John arrived **and** met Bill*
(b) $\{\{v, \{\text{arrive}, \text{John}\}, \{\text{John}, \{v^*, \{\text{meet}, \text{Bill}\}\}\}\}$

Output of FormSet and the target of IM

- Identical inscription target requirement (Williams 1978):
 - 15) (a) *Who *and* when did John see and ignore him?
(b) {{John, {v*, {see, who}}}, {{John, {v*, {ignore, him}}}}, when}}
- FormSet :
 - 16) (a) *When and where did you see her?*
(b) {C_Q, {you, {INFL, {{you, {v*, {see, her}}}}, {when, where}}}}

Adjectival and Predicative Noun Phrases

Example:

17) (a) *the politician is greedy and a charlatan*

(b) {politician, {be, {{greedy, politician}, {charlatan, politician}}}}

Similarly:

18) (a) {hallway, {{long, hallway}, {narrow, hallway}, {dark, hallway}}}

(b) *the hallway is long, narrow and dark*

(c) *the long, dark and narrow hallway*

- (Di Sciullo 2022) complex cardinals

19) (a) *two hundred and two* (additive complex)

(b) {two hundred, two}

FormSet: Agree

- Given the **NTC**, how does S-V Agreement or Case assignment work?
- **phrases don't have features**: (Minimal) Search (must) find heads only
- **a big question: do these things happen in Merge Syntax or at the interface?**
- Examples:

20) a. *John, Bill, and the actor who won the Oscar are taking a vacation*

b. $S = \{\text{John, Bill, the actor who won the Oscar}\}$

- NUM PL can't be found in set S

21) (a) *John believes* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{you and me} \\ \text{me and you} \\ \text{? I and you} \\ \text{you and I} \end{array} \right\}$ *are going to the movies*

(b) $\{\text{you, I}\}$

- NUM PL intrinsic property of $\{\dots\}$
- Possessives: *yours and mine / mine and yours*
- Case is not relevant for Raising to Object?

FormSet: Agree

- Apparent D-N Agreement:

- 22) (a) *this/*these man and woman* {man, woman}
- (b) **this/these men and women* {men, women}
- (c) **this/*these man and women* {man, women}
- (d) **this/*these women and man*
- (e) *this man and these women* {this man, these women}

- Agree **must** operate in unison across FormSet members
- EXT problem

Noun Phrase Formation

Recap:

- 23) (a) {dark, hallway} EM: predicative-substantive
(b) {{dark, hallway}, hallway} Nominal head needed
(c) a {{dark, hallway}, hallway} Det

Unaccusative:

- 24) (a) {arrive, train} EM: predicative-substantive
(b) {{arrive, train}, train} Nominal head needed
- {arrive, train} must be EXT as an adjectival
(c) *the arrived train / the train arrived*
- (Radford 2009)
- 25) (a) *the recently arrived train is the delayed 8:28 for London Euston*
(b) *the train arrived (at platform 4) is the delayed 8:28 for London Euston*
- (Quirk et al. 1972):
- 26) (a) *the visible stars / the stars visible* (INT: "individual"/stage level predicate)
(b) *the navigable river / the only river navigable during a drought*

Noun Phrase Formation

- Causative/inchoative verb *change*:

26) (a) {change, man}

EM: predicate-argument

(b) {prt, {change, man}}

prt: passive particle (*DbyP-style*)

(c) {{prt, {change, ~~man~~}}, man}

Nominal head needed

- EXT prt-*change*-~~man~~ as *changed*

(d) A *changed* man

(e) A *broken* man

Noun Phrase Formation

Radford (2009): doesn't apply to transitives and unergatives:

- 27) (a) *The man *committed* suicide was a neighbour of mine
- (b) *The thief *stolen* the jewels was never captured
- (c) *The man *overdosed* was Joe Doe
- (d) *The *yawned* student eventually fell asleep in class

Transitive predicate *steal*:

- 28) (a) {thief, {v*, {steal, the jewels}}}
- (b) {{~~thief~~, {v*, {steal, the jewels}}}, thief}
- perfectly fine thought, can't EXT *v*-steal-the-jewels* adjectivally
- (c) *The thief *stolen* the jewels (cf. the thief-stolen jewels)

Secondary Predication and FormSet

Both okay in English:

29) (a) *paint green the red wall* (resultative)

(b) *paint the red wall green*

• A puzzle for FormSet:

30) (a) {red, wall}

predicate-argument

(b) {green, wall}

(c) {{red, ~~wall~~}, wall}}

Nominal head needed

(d) {paint, *the* {{red, ~~wall~~}, wall}}

(e) {Peter, {v*, {paint, *the* {{red, ~~wall~~}, wall}}}}

(f) {{Peter, {v*, {paint, *the* {{red, ~~wall~~}, wall}}}}, {green, wall}}

• But:

(g) {paint, {green, {the, {{red, wall}, wall}}}} (**compound predicate** *paint green*)

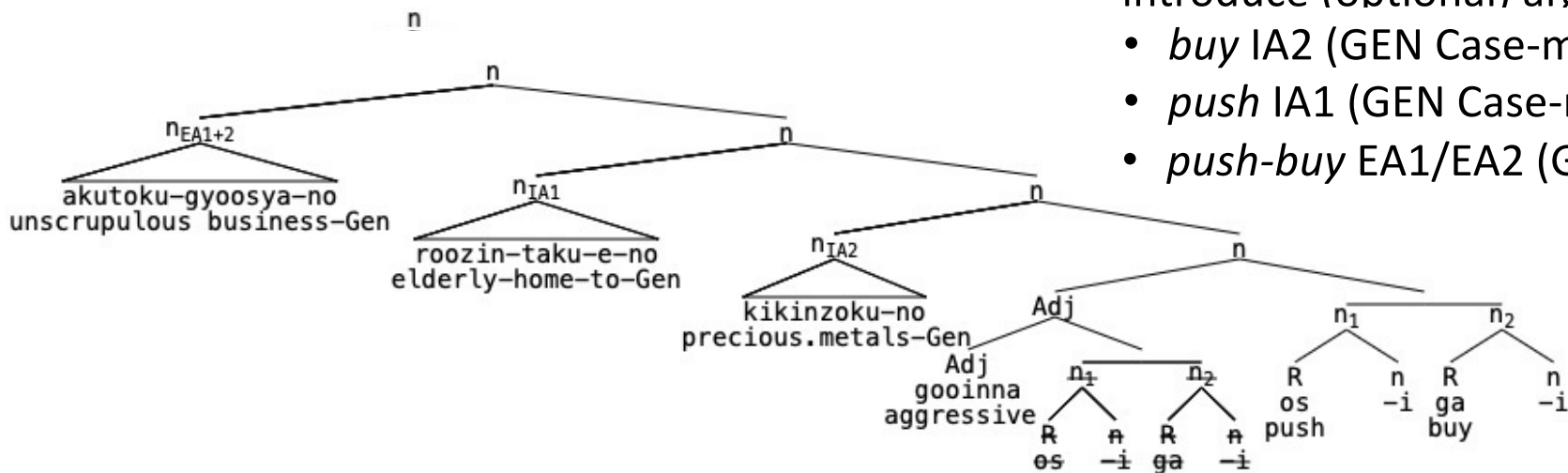
(h) paint {{red, ~~wall~~}, {green, ~~wall~~}, wall} (*paint the red and green wall*)

Serial Verbs and Deverbal Noun Compounds

- Evidence for FormSet from Japanese predicates?
- Serial Verbs:
 - **binary:** *home-tataeru* (admire-praise)
 - **ternary:** *oti-tuki-harau* (fall-attach-brush.off)
'*completely stay calm*'
- Deverbal noun compounds:
 - **binary:** *tumami-gui* (pinch-eating)
'*eat with your fingers/to snack/go through partners one after another*'
 - **ternary:** *naki-ne-iri* (crying-sleeping-entering)
'*refrain from complaining/put up with something without complaining*'
- Note:
 - argument sharing (*need not be complete*) between individual predicates **required**
 - **Valency Reduction compound predicate**

Serial Verbs and Deverbal Noun Compounds

- **Example** [animated slide]:



- form an AP (θ -config.)
- NP must be headed by a nominal
- introduce (optional) arguments
 - *buy* IA2 (GEN Case-marked)
 - *push* IA1 (GEN Case-marked)
 - *push-buy* EA1/EA2 (GEN Case-marked)

Aggressive buying of pricey items from the elderly by unscrupulous businesses

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