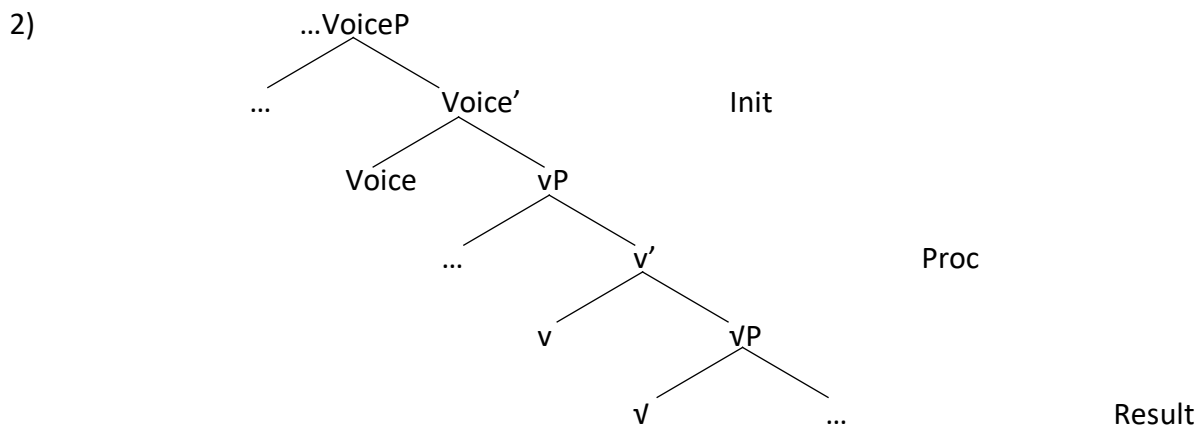


1. From the 20th to the 21st century

- 1) a. Theta roles, theta hierarchy
 b. VP, IP, CP
 (→ Configurationally determined grammatical roles)
 c. Argument structure operations in lexicon
 d. Mapping



How did we get here, syntactically speaking?

- Ditransitive verbs (Larson 1988)
- Unergative/unaccusative & bare phrase structure (Chomsky 1994, Hale & Keyser 1993)
- Causative/inchoative alternations (...)
- Agentless idioms (Kratzer 1994, 1996)
- Result state modification, readings of *again* adjuncts (... , von Stechow 1996)

→ Some hypotheses about the composition of events:

- vP is where the dynamic event argument is introduced
- vP introduces a stative eventuality
- VoiceP introduces the external argument and relates it to the eventuality of the vP

→ Some hypotheses about the syntax/morphology interface

- Heads have the potential to contribute a morph to a verb form
- Locality to v correlates with potential for irregularity, (un)productivity

2. Morphosyntax of argument structure

→ Analyses invoking different sizes of embedded constituents e.g. TP vs CP

→ Wurmbrand (1998, 2001) on restructuring infinitives: TP vs vP vs VP

2.1 Greek participles

(Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2008, Anagnostopoulou & Samioti 2014)

3) <u>-tos</u>	<u>-menos</u>	<u>-menos</u>
<u>characteristic state ppls</u>	<u>target-state ppls</u>	<u>resultant-state ppls</u>
no prior event	prior event	prior event
ok in creation complement	not in creation complement	not in creation complement
no manner mod	result oriented mod	result oriented mod
no agent-oriented mod	no agent-oriented mod	agent-oriented mod
no by-phrases	no by-phrases	by-phrases
	ok with 'still'	no 'still'
[[VP] Asp]	[[[VP] v] Asp]	[[[[VP] v] Voice] Asp]

- 4) I porta chtistike anix-t-i/*anig-men-i
 The door.nom build.Nact.3sg open-Tos-agr/open-Men-agr
 "The door was built open/*opened."

<u>-tos ability ppls</u>	<u>-tos 'worth'-compound ppls</u>	<u>-tos negated ppls</u>
agent-oriented mod	implicated agent	-opposite of -menos
by-phrases	no by-phrases,	-no by-phrase
	no agent-oriented mod	-no manner mod
[[[[VP] v] Voice _{Middle}] Asp] ??	??	-no agent-oriented
		-regular
		??

(Alexiadou 2018)

-menos: Perfect of result, event implications: embeds v/Voice

-tos: characteristic state (embeds v/V), ability passive (embeds middle Voice), negated (...v?)

2.2 Applicative typologies: English vs Spanish vs Hiaki

(Pylkkanen 2002, 2008, Cuervo 2002, Harley 2013)

→ Applicatives introduce an unselected object/goal argument

→ External argument > Applied argument > Selected object

→ Decomposed vP makes syntactic analysis of applicatives possible, via argument-introducing Appl head (McGinnis 1998, 2001; Pylkkanen 2002)

→ [DP_{Agent} [Voice' ... [DP_{applied} [Appl' ... [DP_{Theme} ...]]]]]

*[DP_{Applied} [Appl' Appl [VP DP_{Agent} [v' V...]]]]]

5) Academic American English:

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| a. | Pat baked (Tracy) a cake. | creation verbs |
| b. | Pat broke (*Tracy) the radio | change-of-state transitive verbs |
| c. | Pat held (*Tracy) the suitcase | stative transitive verbs |
| d. | Pat danced (*Tracy) | unergative verbs |

6) Spanish:

- | | | | | |
|----|---|----------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| a. | Valeria le | diséño | una pollera | a Adreína |
| | Valeria CL.DAT.SG | designed | a skirt | DAT Adreína |
| | "Valeria designed Adreína a skirt." | | | <i>creation</i> |
| | | | | |
| b. | Pablo le | rompió | la radio de la vecina | a Valeria |
| | Pablo CL.DAT.SG | broke | the radio of the neighbor | DAT Valeria |
| | "Pablo broke the neighbor's radio on Valeria" | | | <i>CoS transitive</i> |
| | | | | |
| c. | Pablo le | sostuvo | la valija | a Andreína |
| | Pablo CL.DAT.SG | held | the suitcase | DAT Andreína |
| | "Pablo held the bag for Andreína" | | | <i>stative transitive</i> |
| | | | | |
| d. | *Pablo les | bailó | a los invitados | |
| | Pablo CL.DAT.PL | danced | DAT the guests | |
| | "Pablo danced for the guests." | | | <i>unergative</i> |

7) Hiaki

- | | | |
|----|---|--------------------------------|
| a. | Maria Jose-ta | panim ho'o-ria-k |
| | Maria Jose-acc | bread make-APPL-pfv |
| | "Maria made bread for Jose." | |
| | | |
| b. | Simo Maria-ta | maso-ta mea-ria-k |
| | Simon Maria-ACC | deer-acc kill.sg-APPL-pfv |
| | "Simon killed the deer on/for Maria." | |
| | | |
| c. | Ume pascolam | ume uusim yi'i-ria-n |
| | The pascolas | the children dance-APPL-p.impf |
| | "The pascolas were dancing for the children." | |

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------|---|-----------------------|
| → | Low applicative: | [DP [Voice [v [v [DP [Appl DP]]]]]] | created DPs |
| → | Middle applicative: | [DP [Voice [v [DP [Appl [v DP]]]]]] | transitive results |
| → | High applicative: | [DP [Voice [DP [Appl [v [v (DP)]]]]]] | unergative activities |

→ Predicts position of applied argument in hierarchy ($DP_{Agent} > DP_{Appl} > DP_{Theme}$), no need for mapping theories

→ Predicts applicatives will always participate in single event within VoiceP

2.3 Morphological causative typologies: Japanese vs Turkish (Miyagawa 1994, 1996, Harley 2008, Key 2013)

[$DP_{Causer} \dots [(DP_{Agent}) \dots [DP_{Theme} \dots]]$]

→ Biclausal morphological causatives in Japanese

8) Adverbial control: 2 subjects

Taroo-wa	arui-te	Hanako-o	ik-ase-ta
Taroo-Top	walk-te	Hanako-acc	go-sase-pst
Readings:	'Taro made Hanako go, walking.'		
	'Taro, walking, made Hanako go.' (Harley 2008: 30)		

9) Binding condition B: 2 domains

a.	Toru _i -wa	Kitahara _j -ni	kare [*] _i / [*] _j -o	syookai si-ta.
	Toru-TOP	Kitahara-DAT	he-ACC	introduction do-PST
	'Toru introduced him to Kitahara.'			
b.	Toru _i -wa	[Kitahara _j -ni	kare _i / [*] _j -o	syookai s]-ase-ta.
	Toru-TOP	Kitahara-DAT	he-ACC	introduction do-CAUS-PAST
	'Toru made Kitahara introduce him.' (Horvath & Siloni 2011)			

10) Coordination of embedded clause:

Hanako-ga	[[Masao-ni	uti-o	soozisuru]-ka
Hanako-NOM	Masao-DAT	house-ACC	clean-or

[heya-dai-o haraw]]-ase-ru kotoni si-ta
room-rent-ACC pay- CAUS-INF that to.do-PAST

'Hanako decided to make Masao clean the house or pay room rent.'
Reading: -(s)ase scopes over 'or'; Masao has a choice. (Kuroda 2003: 455)

→ Monoclausal morphological causatives in Turkish (Key 2013)

11) Adverbial control: One subject

Tarkan _i Hakan-a _j	Mehmet-i	bil-erek _i / [*] _j	döv-dür-dü.
Tarkan Hakan-DAT	Mehmet-ACC	know-PART	beat-CAUS-PAST
'Tarkan made Hakan beat Mehmet on purpose/knowingly.'			

(*bil-erek*, 'knowingly', only controlled by Tarkan, not Hakan)

12) Binding condition B: One domain

- a. Hakan_i on-u*_i döv-dü
Hakan 3SG.ACC beat-PST
'Hakan beat him.'
- b. Tarkan_i Hakan-a_j on-u *_i/_{*j} döv-dür-dü
Tarkan Hakan-DAT 3SG beat-CAUS-PST
'Tarkan made Hakan beat him.'

13) No coordination of caused events

*Hakan Mahmut-a ev-i temiz-le- veya kira
Hakan Mahmut-DAT house-ACC clean-v- or rent

öde-t-me-ye karar ver-di.
pay-CAUS-NOM-DAT decision give-PAST
Intended: 'Hakan decided to make Mahmut clean the house or pay rent.'

→ Biclausal productive morphological causatives: [VoiceP [Caus [VoiceP [vP [VP]]]]]s
-Causee required, core argument
-Two eventualities

→ Monoclausal productive morphological causatives: [VoiceP [Caus [vP [VP]]]]
-Causee implicit or adjoined
-One eventuality

(→ Lexical causatives: [Caus [vP]])

3. New horizons

- Minimalist, monotonic view of productive valence-changing morphology possible
(→ Including a monotonic account of valence-reducing morphology)
- No generative lexicon, no mapping theory
- Potentially unified view of argument introduction via a few varieties of functional heads (P, Appl, Voice), (Wood & Marantz 2015)
- Neo-Davidsonian, radically minimal theory of argument interpretation possible
- Clear structural, semantic and morphological predictions for different hypotheses
- Can clearly ask questions about the semantic contributions of roots vs structure (Levin &/or Rappaport (..), Levinson 2007, 2014, Beavers & Koontz-Garboden 2020, Yu, Smith &/or Ausensi 2019, 2020)
- Productive subfield!