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Spelling-Out Universal Grammar

Edited by
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Sumari

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Introduction

- 7-15 **Fortuny Andreu, Jordi** (University of Groningen. Center for Language and Cognition Groningen); **Gallego, Àngel J.** (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Centre de Lingüística Teòrica)
The Minimalist Program and the concept of Universal Grammar. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2009, vol. 8, pp. 7-15.

Articles

- 19-40 **Abels, Klaus** (UCL); **Bentzen, Kristine** (University of Tromsø)
A note on the punctuated nature of movement paths. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2009, vol. 8, pp. 19-40.

This paper addresses the question of how a moving item affects the nodes that lie along the path of movement. In particular, we are concerned with the question whether all nodes along the path of movement are affected in the same way or not. We first observe that most arguments that have been given to support the existence of intermediate reconstruction sites do not bear on this issue. We then discuss the logic of what a true argument would look like. Finally, we present three case studies. Two of them (A-reconstruction in Norwegian and VP-ellipsis in Dutch) provide prima facie arguments in favor of a position along the lines of Chomsky (1973, 1986, 2000), where some but not all nodes along the path of movement are affected by movement.

Key words: successive cyclicity, phase theory, reconstruction, A-movement, punctuated path.

- 41-53 **Boeckx, Cedric** (ICREA/UAB)
On the Locus of Asymmetry in UG. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2009, vol. 8, pp. 41-53.

In this article I advance a hypothesis concerning the locus of asymmetry in the grammar. I argue that the fundamental operation of Narrow Syntax (Merge) should be formulated in a symmetric form, and that all the sources of asymmetries should be relegated to the point of cyclic transfer (Cyclic Spell-Out, in a phase-based model).

Key words: Asymmetry, Merge, Phase, Spell-Out.

- 55-73 **Richards, Marc** (University of Leipzig. Institute of Linguistics)
Internal Pair-Merge: the Missing Mode of Movement. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2009, vol. 8, pp. 55-73.

In this brief article, I point out the predicted existence of a second mode of movement (alongside Internal Set-Merge) that should be sanctioned under Chomsky's Strong Minimalist Thesis, namely *Internal Pair-Merge*, essentially yielding 'movement by adjunction'. I then suggest one possible area in which the computational system makes use of this mode of movement – namely, it allows us to implement Agree-less Move to phase heads (aka 'pure EPP-movement', or Chomsky's (2007, 2008) Edge-Feature movement) without compromising the Activity Condition, thus potentially yielding a truly minimalist, narrow-syntactic analysis of optional, 'discourse-driven', 'stylistic' movement operations like topicalization and focus-movement. Not only does Internal Pair-Merge emerge as a theoretical possibility implied by the SMT (section 1), but it is also a device that is fully exploited by the computational system (section 2).

Key words: Merge, Internal Merge, Set-Merge, Pair-Merge; optional movement, EPP, Edge Feature; Activity Condition; Strong Minimalist Thesis.

- 75-97 **Vicente, Luis** (Universität Potsdam. Institut für Linguistik)
A Note on the Copy vs. Multidominance Theories of Movement. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2009, vol. 8, pp. 75-97.

This article considers two different aspects of A-bar movement, namely (a) an analysis of reconstruction effects in terms of deletion at LF, and (b) Johnson's (2007) decompositional analysis of quantifiers as a means to derive the correct interpretation of A-bar chains. By examining how these two proposals mesh with each other, it is possible to compare the copy theory of movement to a multidominance alternative. We will see that each approach to movement must make use of slightly different assumptions in order to derive the correct results, thus establishing a basis for a potential comparison between the two of them.

Key words: quantification, A-bar movement, copy theory, multidominance, syntax, semantics.

- 99-111 **Fortuny Andreu, Jordi** (University of Groningen. Center for Language and Cognition Groningen); **Corominas Murtra, Bernat** (Universitat Pompeu Fabra/ICREA)
Some Formal Considerations on the Generation of Hierarchically Structured Expressions. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2009, vol. 8, pp. 99-111.

In this note we define a machine that generates nests. The basic relations commonly attributed to linguistic expressions in configurational syntactic models as well as the device of chains postulated in current transformational grammar

to represent distance relations can be naturally derived from the assumption that the combinatorial syntactic procedure is a nesting machine. Accordingly, the core of the transformational generative syntactic theory of language can be solidly constructed on the basis of nests, in the same terms as the general theory of order, an important methodological step that provides a rigorization of Chomsky's minimalist intuition that the simplest way to generate hierarchically organized linguistic expressions is by postulating a combinatorial operation called Merge, which can be internal or external. Importantly, there is reason to think that nests are a useful representative tool in other domains besides language where either some recursive algorithm or evolutionary process is at work, which suggests the unifying force of the mathematical abstraction this note is based on.

Key words: nest, theory of order, dominance, domain, constituency, chain (of copies), rigorization.

- 113-139 **Hornstein, Norbert; Pietroski, Paul** (University of Maryland)
Basic Operations: Minimal Syntax-Semantics. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2009, vol. 8, pp. 113-139.

In this programmatic paper, we articulate a minimalist conception of linguistic composition, syntactic *and* semantic, with the aim of identifying fundamental operations invoked by the human faculty of language (HFL). On this view, all complex expressions are formed via the operation COMBINE(A, B). But this operation is not primitive: COMBINE(A, B) = LABEL[CONCATENATE(A, B)]. We take labeling to be a computationally simple but perhaps distinctively human operation that converts a mere concatenation of expressions, like $A^{\wedge}B$, into a more complex unit like $[_A A^{\wedge}B]$, with the subscript indicating a copy of the dominant constituent. We discuss several virtues of this spare conception of syntax. With regard to semantics, we take instances of COMBINE(A, B) to be instructions to build concepts. More specifically, we claim that concatenation is an instruction to conjoin monadic concepts, while labeling provides a vehicle for invoking thematic concepts, as indicated by the relevant labels.

Key words: basic operations, concatenate, label, copy, conjoin, close.

- 141-160 **Irurtzun, Aritz** (University of the Basque Country. Linguistics and Basque Studies Department)
Why Y: on the centrality of syntax in the architecture of grammar. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2009, vol. 8, pp. 141-160.

I defend the centrality of the syntactic module within the general architecture of grammar. According to this model of the language faculty, syntax creates structures that are interpreted at the interfaces with the Articulatory-Perceptual and Conceptual-Intentional systems. Thus, I show that the classic inverted-Y model of the architecture of grammar is better suited than alternative "parallel architectures" (*cf.* Jackendoff (1997 *et seq.*)) when accounting for interface phe-

nomena. In order to do that, I discuss an interface phenomenon like focus that, according to some scholars, shows the need of a more articulated architecture of the grammar than the classic Y-model. I will argue that the properties of focus bear testimony to the fact that syntax outranks both interpretive modules.

Key words: architecture of grammar, Y-model, interfaces, focus, nuclear stress rule.

- 161-187 **Zwart, Jan-Wouter** (University of Groningen)
Prospects for Top-Down Derivation. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2009, vol. 8, pp. 161-187.

This article explores a model of grammar involving top-down derivations, where each step (“split-merge”) yields an asymmetric pair of elements relevant to the expression of order, information, and grammatical features. These derivations are inevitably layered, in the sense that the output of a previous derivation may appear as an atom in the numeration for the next derivation. It is suggested that opacity effects follow from the layering of derivations, not from conditions on movement. While the main questions surrounding the model contemplated here involve the ‘when’ and ‘what’ of merge, this article focuses on the more preliminary question of the ‘how’ of merge.

Key words: syntax, top-down derivation, merge, dependency, opacity, A'-movement, phases, layered derivations, model of grammar, simplicity.

- 189-191 Resums