Ling 566
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LDDs continued: Bouma, Malouf & Sag 2001
Problems

• Non-uniformity: ARP for complement extraction, lexical rule for subject extraction
• No account of adjunct extraction
BMS overview

- DEPS list in addition to ARG-ST and VAL
- DEPS is ARG-ST plus adjuncts
- ARP allows any non-subject dependent to be ‘realized’ as a gap
- GAP (SLASH) values are amalgamated by selecting head
- SUBJ values can be GAPs as well
word: \[
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{DEPS} & \langle \left[\text{SLASH} \ 1\right], \ldots , \left[\text{SLASH} \ n\right]\rangle \\
\text{BIND} & 0 \\
\text{SLASH} & (1 \cup \ldots \cup n) - 0
\end{bmatrix}
\]

head-val-ph: \[
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{SLASH} & 1 \\
\text{HD-DTR} & \left[\text{SLASH} \ 1\right]
\end{bmatrix}
\]
Lexical selection for *gap-ss*

- This candidate, they assured me to be reliable.
- *They assured me this candidate to be reliable.*
- *assure:* ARG-ST < NP, NP, gap-ss, VP[inf] >
Mismatched fillers and gaps

- You can rely on Chris.
- *You can rely on that Chris will come.
- Chris, you can rely on.
- That Chris will come, you can rely on __.

\[
\text{sgap-ss: } \begin{bmatrix} \text{LOC} & \text{NP} \\ \text{SLASH} & \{S\} \end{bmatrix}
\]
Subbinding

- Kim is an easy person to please.
- Problem for phrasal amalgamation
Subbinding

NOM

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{SLASH} & \{\} \\
\text{EXTRA} & \langle \rangle \\
\end{bmatrix}
\]

NOM

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{SLASH} & \{\} \\
\text{EXTRA} & \langle 1 \rangle \\
\end{bmatrix}
\]

ADJ

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{EXTRA} & \langle 1 \rangle \\
\text{DEPS} & \langle 1gap-ss \rangle \text{ BIND} \ 1 \\
\text{SLASH} & \{\} \\
\end{bmatrix}
\]

easy

NOM

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{SLASH} & \{\} \\
\end{bmatrix}
\]

1 VP

to please

| person
| easy

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Adverbs on COMPS

Noriko-ga Masaru-ni gakkou-de hasir-ase-ta
Noriko-NOM Masaru-ACC school-at run-CAUS-PAST
‘Noriko made Masaru run at school.’ (Japanese)

a. at-school(cause(noriko,run(masaru)))
b. cause(noriko,at-school(run(masaru)))

• (b) interpretation is problematic for lexicalist account of causative, unless we put the adverb on the COMPS list
To get the semantics right...

\[
\text{verb-lxm: } \left[\begin{array}{c}
\text{HEAD} & 3 \\
\text{INDEX} & 2 \\
\text{ARG-ST} & 1 \\
\text{DEPS} & 1 \oplus \text{list} \left( \left[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{MOD} \left( \left[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{HEAD} & 3 \\
\text{INDEX} & 2 \\
\end{array} \right] \right) \right) \right) \end{array}\right]
\]
Adjunct extraction

- On Tuesday, Sandy visits Leslie.
- On Tuesday, I think it’s likely that Sandy visits Lee. [LDD]
- How often do you think Robin sees Kim? [LDD]
- Kim wondered how they could repair the sink. [indirect Q]
- This is the restaurant in which Kim and Sandy first ordered couscous. [relative]
- I will have lunch in whichever restaurant Leslie wants to have lunch. [free relative]
- It was in early January that Kim and Sandy first ordered couscous in a Middle Eastern restaurant. [cleft]
But not all adjuncts

- *Almost, I think Kim __ found the solution.
- *Never did Kim claim that Sandy __ sang for her.

- These adverbs can’t appear as postmodifiers, and so are only analyzed as independent premodifiers (not on DEPS, not extractable).
Adjunct extraction & morphology

Taimänu malago’mu pära areklanña si Pedro ni kareta
how WH[OBL].want FUT WH[OBL].fix Pedro OBL car
‘How do you want Pedro to fix the car?’ (Chamorro)

• Verbal morphology registers extraction of manner adjunct

• Even on lowest verb in the LDD
Subject extraction

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{word} &\quad \left[ \begin{array}{c}
gap-ss \\
\text{LOC} \\
\text{SLASH} \\
\end{array} \right] \\
\text{SUBJ} &\quad \left\langle \begin{array}{c}
2 \\
\end{array} \right\rangle \\
\text{COMPS} &\quad \left\langle \begin{array}{c}
3\text{NP[acc]} \\
\end{array} \right\rangle \\
\text{DEPS} &\quad \left\langle \begin{array}{c}
2, 3 \\
\end{array} \right\rangle \\
\text{ARG-ST} &\quad \left\langle \begin{array}{c}
2, 3 \\
\end{array} \right\rangle \\
\text{SLASH} &\quad \{1\}
\end{aligned}
\]
Selection for SUBJ < gap-ss >

Tu a dit *qui* cet homme est heureux
You said that that man is happy
‘You said that that man is happy.’ (French)

L’homme que tu a dit *qui* est heureux.
the-man that you said that is happy...
‘The man that you said is happy...’ (French)

- *qui* selects VP[SUBJ < gap-ss >]
- *que/qu’* selects S
Overview

• Problems with textbook (and other) analyses
• Overview of BMS analysis
• Cool data it accounts for