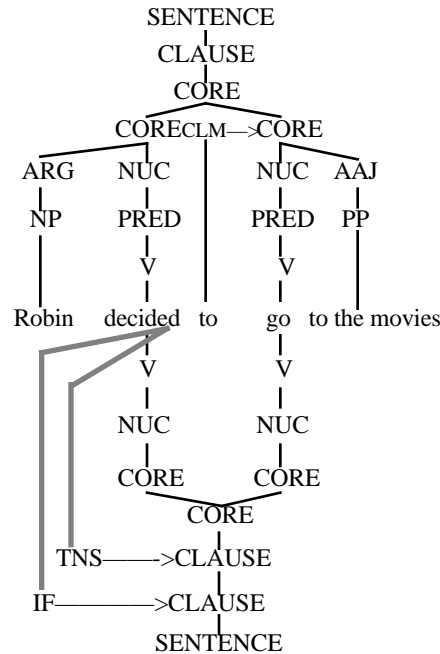


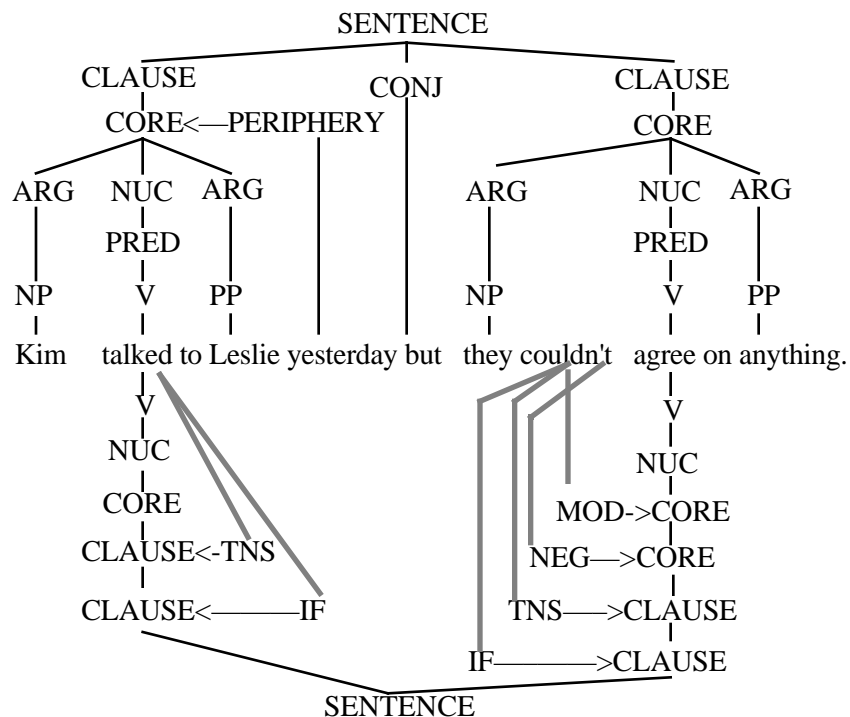
Chapter 8 Exercises Solution

1. Draw a tree diagram of the layered structure of each sentence below, giving both the constituent and operator projections. Don't worry about the internal structure of NPs or PPs, unless the example contains a relative clause, noun complement or gerund.

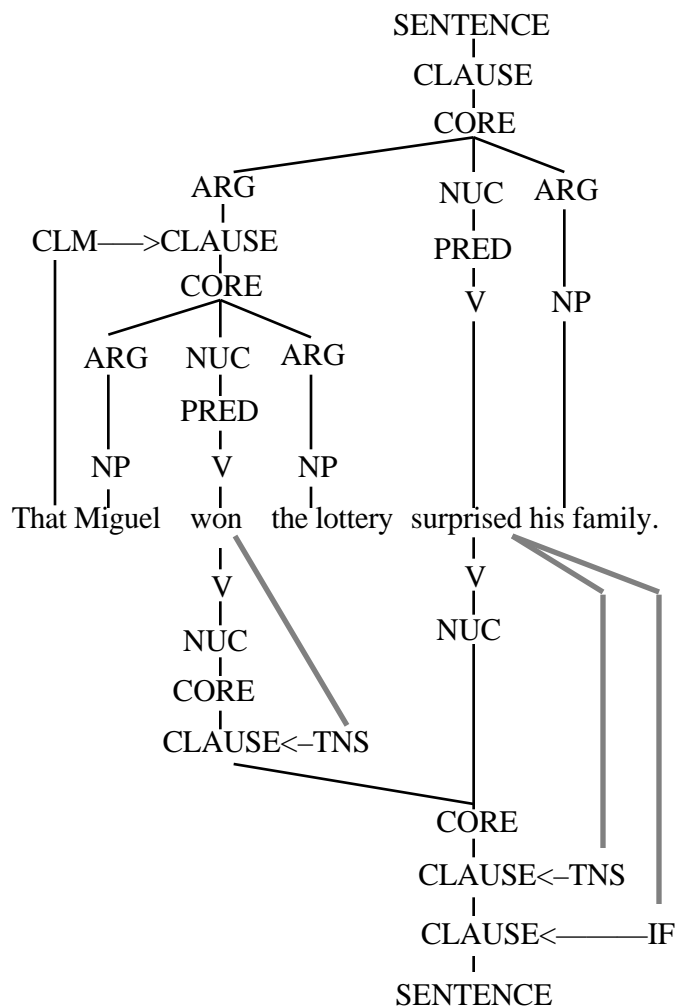
(1) Robin decided to go to the movies.



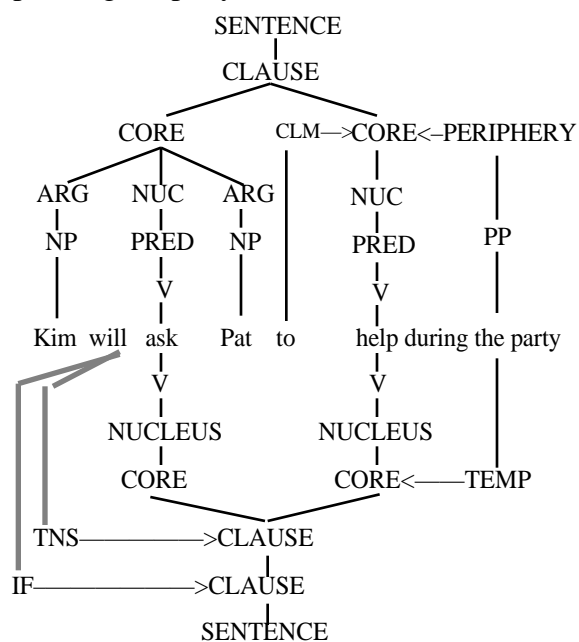
(2) Kim talked to Leslie yesterday, but they couldn't agree on anything.



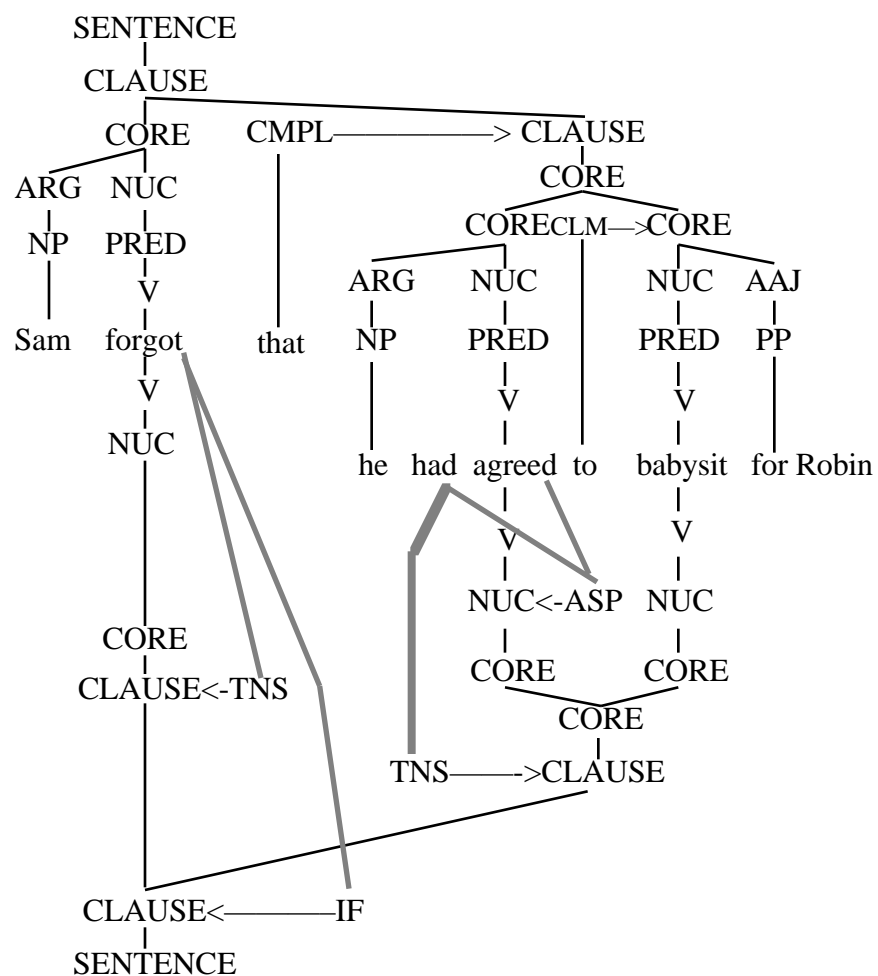
(3) That Miguel won the lottery surprised his family.



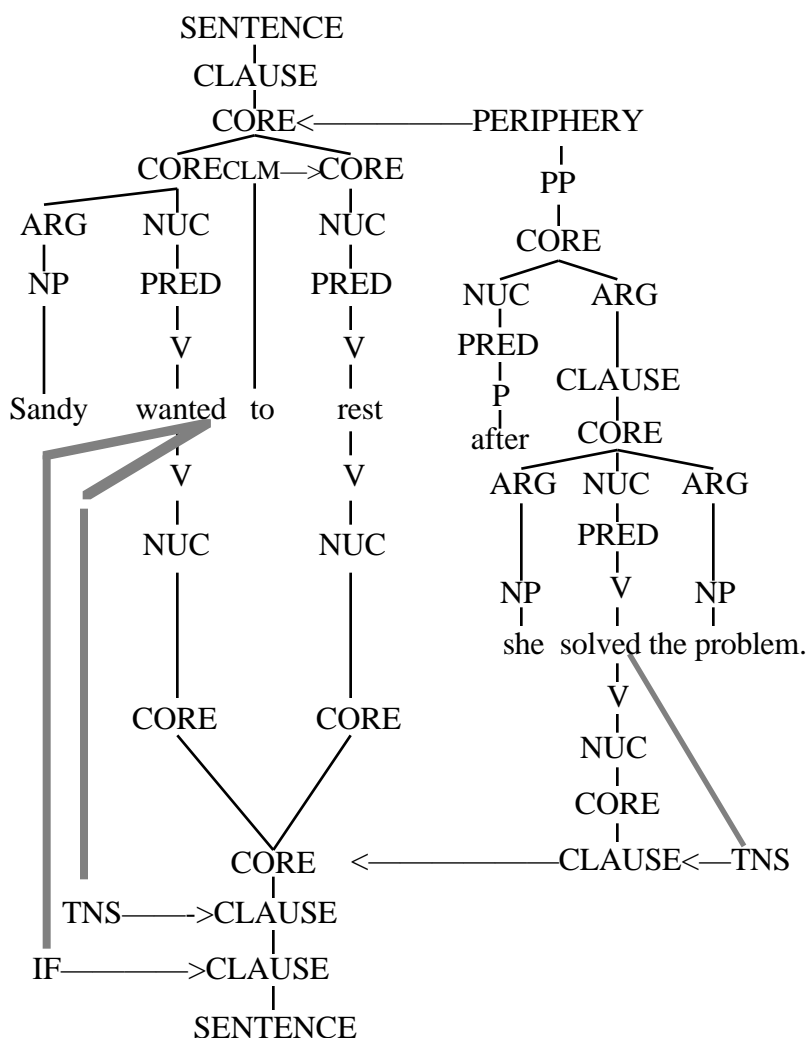
(4) Kim will ask Pat to help during the party.



(5) Sam forgot that he had agreed to babysit for Robin.

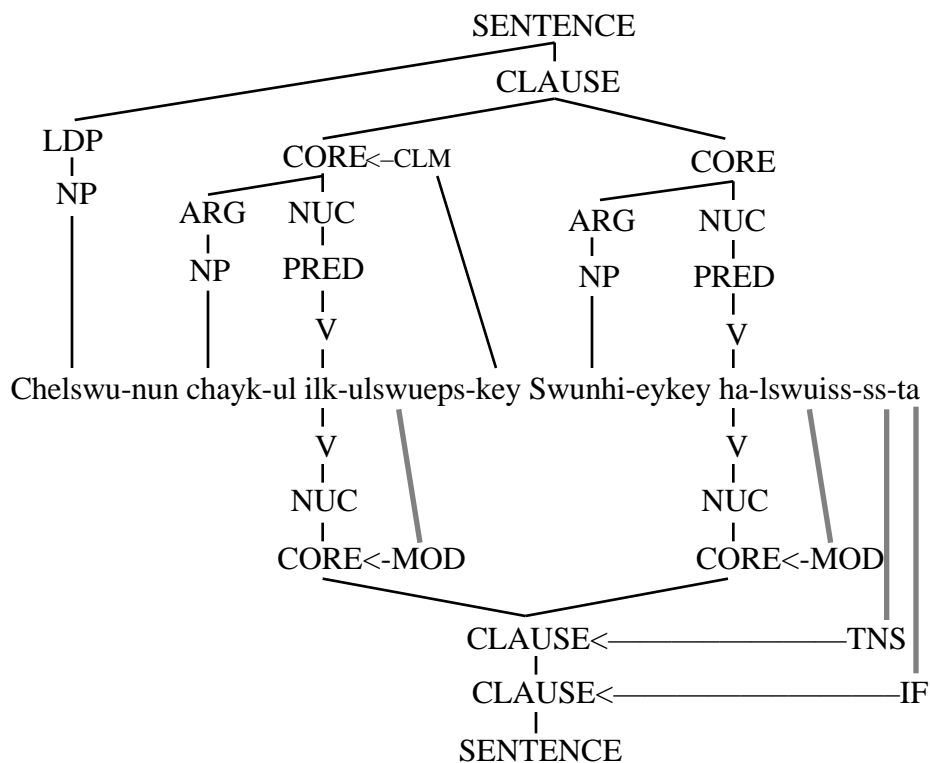
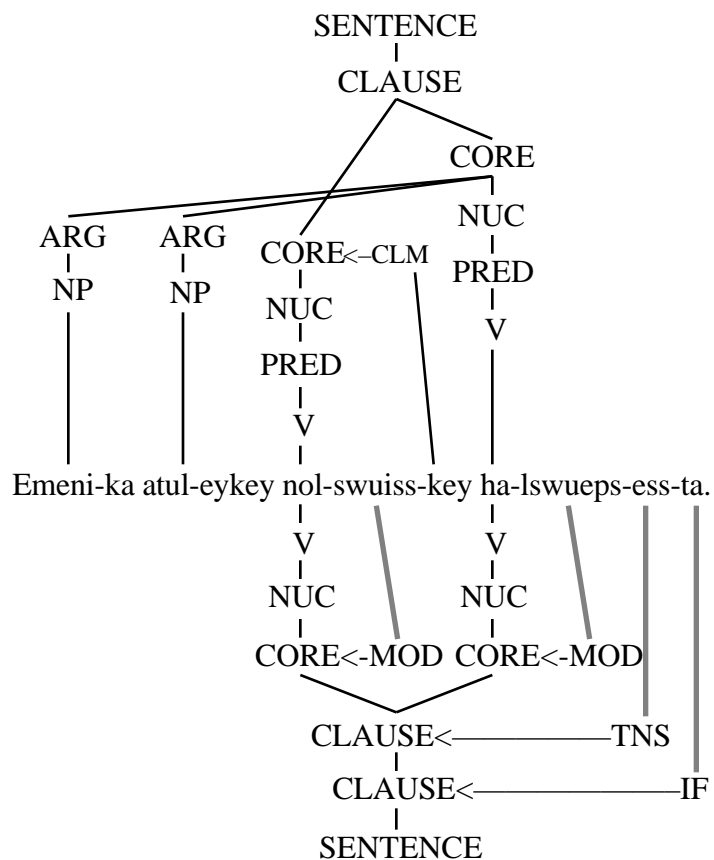


(6) Sandy wanted to rest, after she solved the problem.



2. Consider the following sentences from Korean (Yang 1994). What is the juncture-nexus type of the construction, and what is the evidence that leads to that conclusion? Give the layered structure of (1b) and (2d), giving both the constituent and operator projections.

These are core junctures in Korean, because of the obligatory shared core argument in each sentence: the undergoer of the causative verb *ha-* is also the actor of the linked verb, *nol-* ‘play’ in (1) and *ilk-* ‘read’ in (2). Additional evidence that this is a core, rather than a nuclear juncture, is that one of the NP arguments can occur between the two verbs, as in (1c) and (2d). The nexus is coordinate, because each core can be independently marked for deontic modality, as several examples in each set show.



3. The Mandarin Chinese constructions in (1)-(4), from Tao (1986), instantiate the same juncture-nexus type, despite their formal differences. What juncture-nexus type is it, and what is the evidence that leads to that conclusion? Coreference across units is indicated in only the first example of a set of similar sentences; aspects of coreference in Mandarin were discussed in §5.7.

In some of these sentences, there is an element *le* glossed simply as ‘OP’ for ‘operator’. It is distinct from the perfective aspect operator *le*, which is glossed ‘PRFV’. What can you conclude about the type of this operator? That is, is it a nuclear operator, a core operator, or a clausal operator? Why? Example (8.5d) has been repeated in (5) below to provide additional data relevant to this question.

Since the instructions state that all of these constructions realize the same juncture-nexus type, they must be clausal junctures, since there is no ‘identity of argument’ requirement, as (4) shows. Indeed, as (1b) and (3a) indicate, there is a *pro* in the second clause, and this, as we saw in (8.39), indicates that there is coreference between arguments in distinct clauses rather than argument sharing between cores, as in (5). Note that in (2) an overt pronoun rather than *pro* occurs. The nexus type is cosubordination, which is seen most clearly in (1), (3) and (4), in which there is an interrogative illocutionary force operator with obligatory scope over the whole sentence. Note that it is impossible for both clauses to be marked for illocutionary force or for the scope of the operator to be over just one clause. Hence these constructions are all clausal cosubordination.

The operator *le* seems to have the same basic distribution as the illocutionary force operators *ba* and *ma* and a very different distribution from the perfective aspect marker *le*, as the examples in (5) show. From this we can conclude that it must be a clausal operator. It seems to have scope over both clauses when it occurs, as in (1a), (2b), (3c) and (4c), and like the illocutionary force operators it cannot mark the first clause alone or occur on both clauses. In a core juncture like (5), it can only occur sentence finally with scope over the whole clause. What is its meaning? From a comparison of the translations of (5a) and (5c), one could conclude that it is a past tense marker of some kind, in contrast to the perfective aspect marker in (5b). This is an interesting result, as it has often been claimed that Chinese lacks tense as a grammatical category. Li, Thompson & Thompson (1982) present a detailed analysis of the meaning of sentence-final *le* (which they call ‘perfect aspect’, an inappropriate label in this framework, since it is clearly a clausal operator and aspect is a nuclear operator), and they show that one of the components of its meaning is relative *tense*.¹ This operator is semantically quite complex, expressing more than one operator notion. When a single element expresses more than one operator category, its distribution in complex sentences is that of the outermost operator that it expresses, in this case tense, and therefore sentence-final *le* has the distribution of a clausal operator in Mandarin complex sentences.

4. Analyze the following complex sentences in Jakaltek (Craig 1977). First, determine the juncture-nexus type of each of the constructions given below and present the evidence that led you to the analysis. There are all three nexus types at the clause level, two at the core level and one at the nuclear level. Sentences illustrating a particular juncture-nexus type are grouped together. Second, draw diagrams of the sentences in (4b), (5b) (6c) and (7a’); do not give the internal structure of NPs or PPs.

1. There are six juncture-nexus types in Jakaltek.

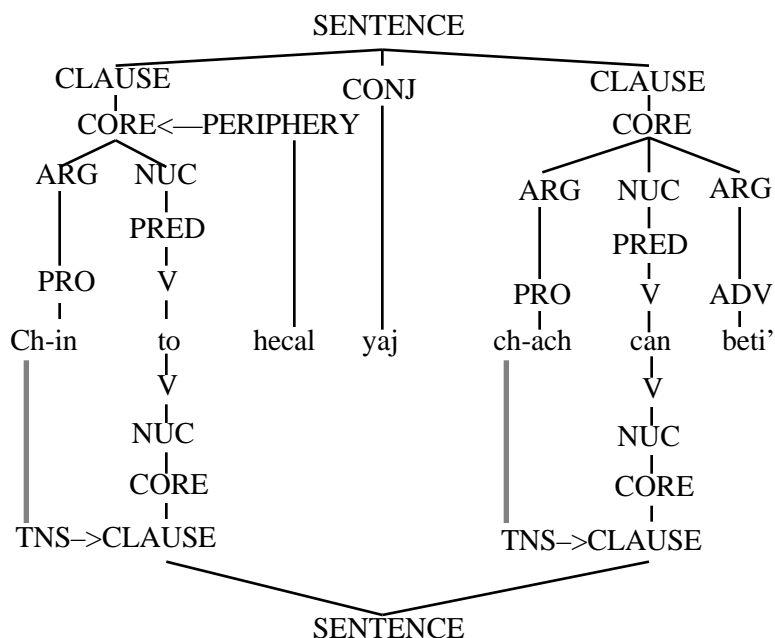
¹Li, Charles N., Sandra A. Thompson & R. Mcmillan Thompson. 1982. The discourse motivation for the perfect aspect: the Mandarin particle *le*. In P. Hopper, ed., *Tense-aspect: between semantics and pragmatics*, 19-44. Philadelphia/Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- a. Clausal coordination: the examples in (4). Evidence:
1. Each verb is fully inflected for all operators, even for independent IF, as in (4c).
 2. It is a clausal juncture, because noun classifier deletion is impossible (cf. 4a)) and because *an* cannot occur at the end of the sentence if the first person argument is in the first clause (cf. (4b')).
- b. Clausal subordination: the examples in (8). Evidence:
1. The verb is fully inflected independently, except for IF, in the linked clauses.
 2. In (8a) and (8d) the linked clause is cross-referenced as an argument of the matrix verb; in the other two sentences it is a clausal modifier (adverbial clause).
 3. It is a clausal juncture, because noun classifier deletion is impossible (cf. 8c)) and because *an* cannot occur at the end of the sentence if the first person argument is in the first clause (cf. (8b')).
- c. Clausal cosubordination: the examples in (6). Evidence:
1. The linked clause lacks tense marking and hence is dependent upon the first clause for its tense interpretation. [Note (6a) and (4b) are a minimal pair for coordination vs. cosubordination.]
 2. IF is obligatorily shared, as (6c) shows.
 3. The linked clause is neither an argument nor a modifier of the matrix clause.
 4. It is a clausal juncture, because noun classifier deletion is impossible (cf. 6b)) and because *an* cannot occur at the end of the sentence if the first person argument is in the first clause (cf. (6a')).
- d. Core subordination: (9). Evidence:
1. The linked unit is cross-referenced as a core argument on the matrix verb; (9a) literally means 'I saw it—she hit you' and (9c) literally means 'I tried it—I make the shirt', where 'she hit you' and 'I make the shirt' are cross-referenced by the Ø 3ABS marker. Hence the nexus is subordination.
 2. It is a core juncture, because noun classifier deletion is obligatory, as (9b) shows. In (9a) and (9d), *an* must occur at the end of the clause when the first person argument is in the first core.
- e. Non-subordinate core juncture: examples in (5). Evidence:
1. The two cores share a core argument.
 2. These examples are core junctures because *an* must occur at the end of the clause when the first person argument is in the first core (cf. (5b')), and noun classifier deletion is obligatory, as in (5d).
 3. They are not nuclear junctures, because the verbs cannot appear adjacent to each other when there is a classifier or NP present (cf. (5e')).
 4. The nexus type is not subordinate, because the linked core is not cross-referenced on the matrix core as a core argument. It is not possible to determine what type of non-subordinate nexus it is, as there are no data regarding core operators.
- f. Nuclear juncture: examples in (7). Evidence:
1. The two verbs can occur adjacent to each other even when there is a classifier or NP present, as in (7a') and (7b'), something that is impossible in other juncture types.
 2. If two core arguments are coreferential, one must be coded as a reflexive, instead of

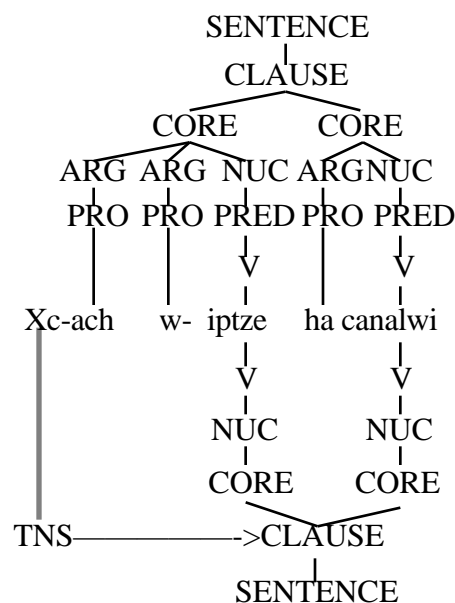
simply omitting the noun classifier (cf. (7c) vs. (5d)). This shows that the two verbs take a single set of core arguments and act like a single predicate.

3. It is not possible to determine definitively the nexus type, as there are no data regarding nuclear operators. However, given that nuclear cosubordination is the unmarked nuclear juncture type and is the type normally used for causative constructions, it would be reasonable to guess that it is cosubordination.

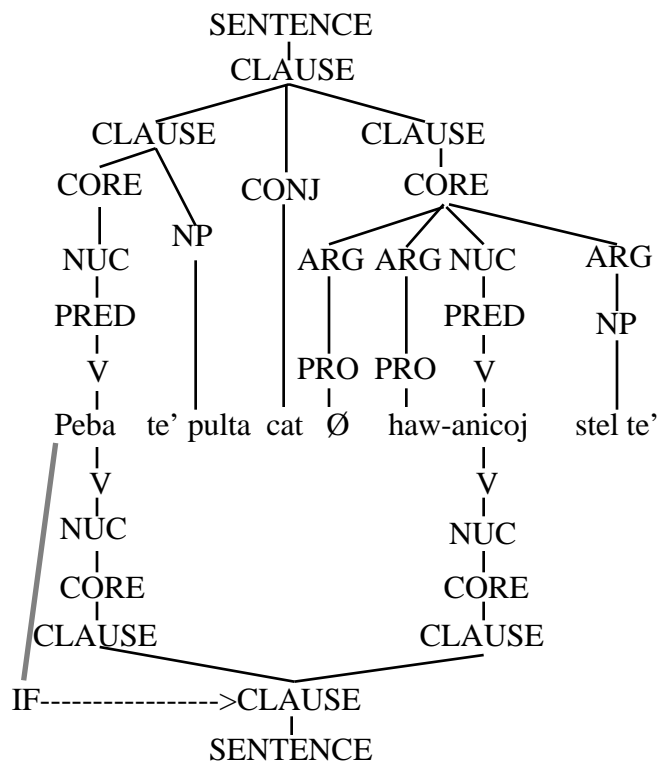
(4b):



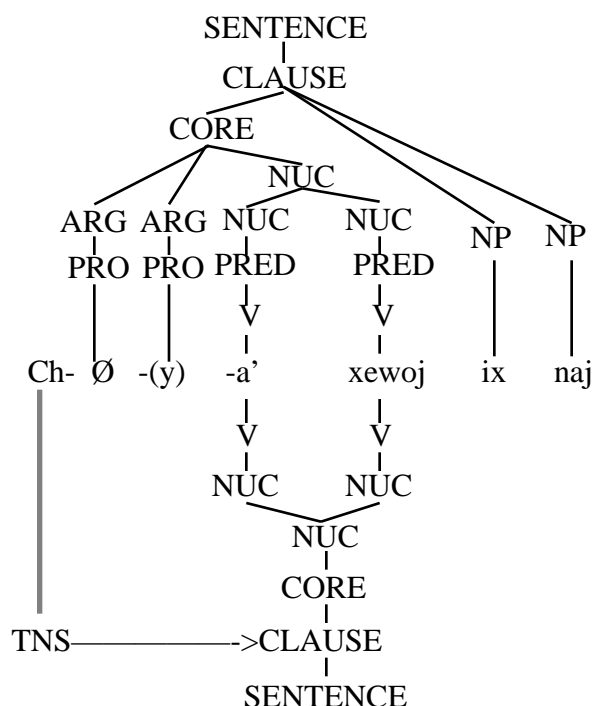
(5b):



(6c):



(7a):

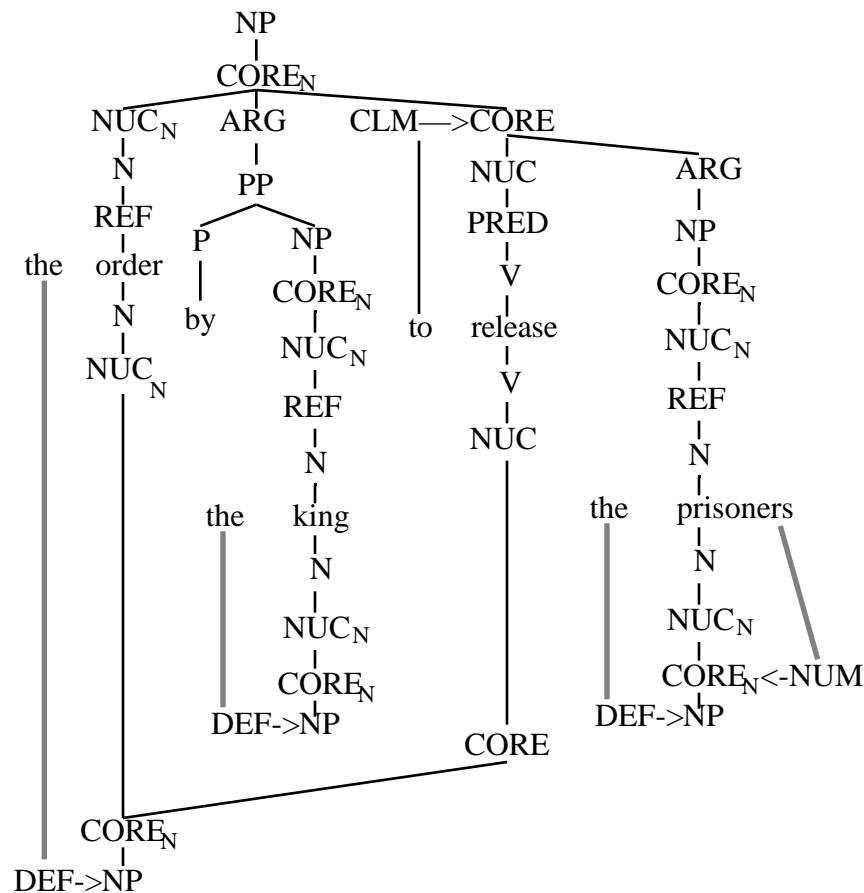


5. Toba Batak has a series of focus particles which mark individual constituents (Jackson 1984). One of them, *ma*, is illustrated in (1). What can be concluded regarding the potential focus domain in complex sentences in Toba Batak from the sentences in (2) and (3)?

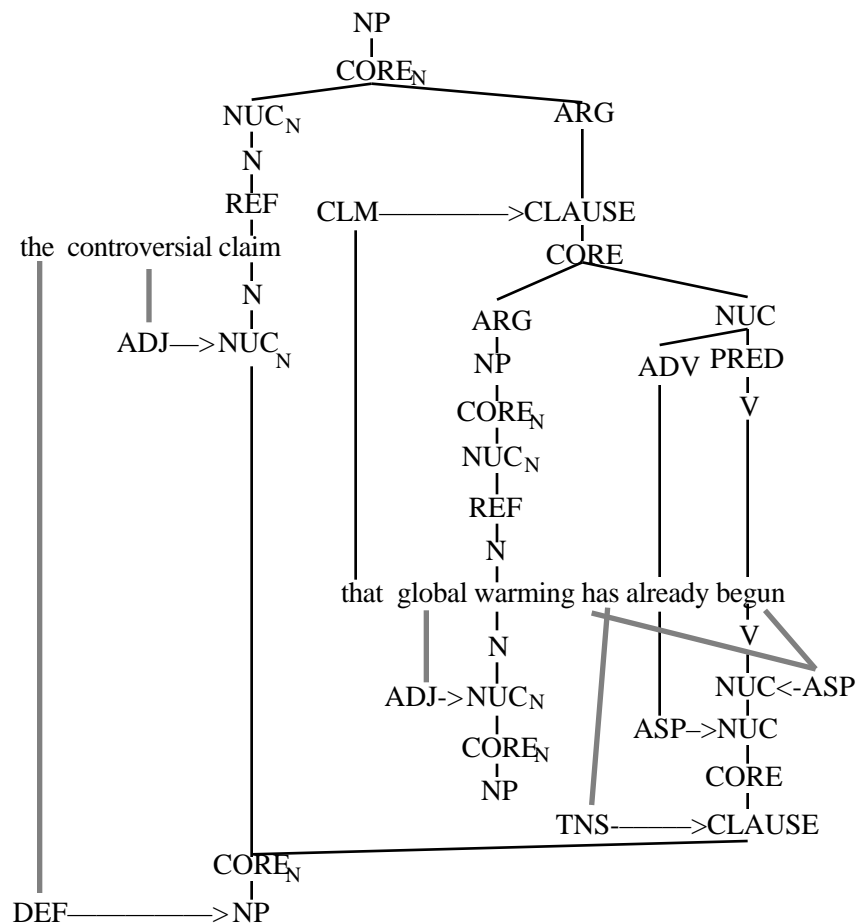
Toba Batak appears to be a language in which the potential focus domain [PFD] does not extend into subordinate clauses. The impossibility of a focus particle marking an NP within a relative clause, as in (2), or within a headless relative clause, as in (3c), is not surprising, given the principle in (8.61) and the assumption that an element must be in the PFD for it to be marked by a focus particle. However, the principle in (8.61) allows complement clauses to be within the PFD, but it was pointed out in §8.5 that there are languages which restrict the PFD to matrix clauses. The ungrammaticality of (3a), with the focus particle *ma* in the complement clause, shows that the PFD does not include embedded clauses of any kind in this language.

6. Draw the layered structure of each of the complex NPs below, giving both the constituent and operator projections.

(1) the order by the king to release the prisoners



(2) the controversial claim that global warming has already begun



(3) the two famous singers that Sally talked to yesterday

