

Some syntactic definitions

Jason Merchant, University of Chicago, 2019

1. A grammar G consists of a pair of a set of lexical elements L and a set of operations O :
 $G = \langle L, O \rangle$
2. A derivation on a numeration D_N is a pair:
 $D_N = \langle N, \langle PM_1, \dots, PM_n \rangle \rangle$, where
 1. N , called the Numeration, is a nonempty set of lexical elements drawn from L and a possibly empty set S of phrase markers PM (each of which is itself the result of a separate convergent or semi-convergent derivation), and
 2. $\langle PM_1, \dots, PM_n \rangle$ is an ordered n-tuple of phrase markers PM .
3. A derivation D_N is said to be *convergent* (or to *converge*)¹ iff
 1. PM_n contains no unvalued ($:_$) features
 2. PM_n contains no unchecked phrasal movement ($>$ or $<$) features
 3. PM_n contains no selectional features
 4. PM_n contains no head movement features ($=$)
 5. All elements in the Numeration have been Merged
 6. For each adjacent pair of phrase markers $\langle PM_k, PM_{k+1} \rangle$ in D_N , there is an operation $\omega \in O$ such that ω applied to PM_k yields PM_{k+1} .
4. A phrase P (including a sentence) is *well-formed* iff there is at least one convergent derivation for P .
5. The Minimalist Program, in essence = $\min|O|$ (Minimize the number of operations in O).

¹A derivation D_N is *semi-convergent* iff it satisfies conditions 2-6 of this definition.

1 Operations

(1) Merge(α, β)

For any syntactic objects α, β , where α bears a nonempty selectional list $\ell = \langle \bullet F_1, \dots, \bullet F_n \rangle$ of selectional features, and β bears a categorial feature F' that matches $\bullet F_1$,

call α the *head* and

- a. let $\alpha = \{ \gamma, \{ \alpha - \ell, \beta \} \}$ call γ the projection of α , and
- b. if $n > 1$, let $\ell = \langle \bullet F_2, \dots, \bullet F_n \rangle$, else let $\ell = \emptyset$, and
- c. let $\gamma = \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{CAT} \\ \text{SEL} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} [cat(\alpha)] \\ [\ell] \end{array} \right]_2$

(2) Adjoin(α, β)

For any syntactic objects α, β , where neither α nor β has any unchecked selectional feature,

call α the *host*, and

- a. let $\alpha = \{ \gamma, \{ \alpha, \beta \} \}$
call γ the label (or projection) and
- b. let $\gamma = \alpha$

(3) Move_{head}(X, Y) (read: ‘Y moves to X’ or ‘X attracts Y’)

For any syntactic heads X, Y, where X has feature F= (‘suffixing on F’) or =F (‘prefixing on F’), Y has a matching feature F, and X c-commands Y, and there is no head Z that intervenes between X and Y, then

- a. if X has F=, let $X = [_{\text{cat}(X)} Y X]$, otherwise let $X = [_{\text{cat}(X)} X Y]$, and
- b. let $Y = \langle Y \rangle$

(4) Move_{phrase}(Y, X) (read: ‘Y moves to specXP’)

If X is a projection with a feature F, Y a maximal projection with a matching feature F', and X contains Y, and F is strong (marked >F) on X or Y or both, then

- a. let $X = \{ X, \{ Y, X \} \}$ and
- b. let all occurrences of >F on X, $Y = F \langle \rangle$, and
- c. let $Y = \langle Y \rangle$

²In other words, all category features project, all unused selectional features project, and no inflectional features project. Inflectional features are therefore found only on heads, never on projections.

- (5) Agree(X,Y; F) (read: ‘X triggers agreement on Y with respect to F’ or ‘Y agrees with X in F’ or ‘X controls agreement on target Y for F’)
 For any syntactic objects X and Y in a phrase marker, where X bears a feature F with value Val(F) and Y bears a matching³ unvalued⁴ inflectional feature F':_, and X is accessible to Y ,
 a. let Val(F') = Val(F)

2 Feature Structures

A lexical item *LI* has the following feature structure, with categorial, inflectional (or morphological), and selectional feature arrays:⁵

$$LI \begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT}[\dots] \\ \text{INFL}[\dots] \\ \text{SEL}[\dots] \end{bmatrix}$$

Some examples:

$$(6) \sqrt{\text{libro}} \begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & [N, \text{gender:} \underline{\text{masc}}, \text{number:} \underline{\text{sg}}] \\ \text{INFL} & [\text{Case:} \underline{\quad}] \\ \text{SEL} & [\] \end{bmatrix}$$

$$(7) \sqrt{\text{eat}} \begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & [V] \\ \text{INFL} & [\text{person:} \underline{\quad}, \text{number:} \underline{\quad}] \\ \text{SEL} & [< (D) >] \end{bmatrix}$$

$$(8) \sqrt{\text{dog}} \begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & [N, \phi : 3sm] \\ \text{INFL} & [\text{Case:} \underline{\quad}] \\ \text{SEL} & [\] \end{bmatrix}$$

$$(9) \sqrt{\text{see}} \begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & [V] \\ \text{INFL} & [\] \\ \text{SEL} & [D] \end{bmatrix}$$

³A feature F matches a feature F' iff F=F'.

⁴A feature F is unvalued iff Val(F)=∅.

⁵If Georgi 2014 is right, then we don't need to structure the ‘inflectional’ (including Agree and movement-triggering) and selectional features this way; we merely need to order them with respect to each other, on a possibly language-particular basis.

$$\begin{aligned}
(10) \quad v_{trans} & \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \quad [v, -aux, \text{Case:ACC}] \\ \text{INFL} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \phi : _ \\ V= \\ \text{Infl:} _ \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SEL} \quad [< V, D >] \end{array} \right] \\
(11) \quad T_{mv}^{Pres} & \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \quad [T, +fin, Tns:Pres, \text{Case:NOM}] \\ \text{INFL} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \phi : _, D< \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SEL} \quad [v[-aux]] \end{array} \right] \\
(12) \quad T_{aux}^{Pres} & \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \quad [T, +fin, Tns:Pres] \\ \text{INFL} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \phi : _, v=, D< \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SEL} \quad [v[+aux]] \end{array} \right]
\end{aligned}$$

3 Other

Three **major** syntactic phenomena have largely been factored out of the above definitions and must be added to the system to make it account for word order and other important syntactic facts:

- (13) Linearization (an algorithm or principle to determine the linear order of any two sister nodes)⁶
- (14) Locality of application (Relativized Minimality)
- (15) The spellout of complex heads by the Morphology⁷

⁶This could be done on some general basis, as Kayne 1994 does with his Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA: x precedes y iff x c-commands y , for any two heads x and y , roughly), or on a more mundane, potentially head-by-head differing basis, by e.g. making the strong diacritic that drives movement come in two varieties: $*<$ and $*>$, with $*<$ resulting in the moved element preceding the probe, and $*>$ following; the minimal changes to the definitions of the Move operations are left as an exercise for the reader. The same applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to Merge of complements and specifiers, and to adjoined elements.

⁷The input to the morphological component of the grammar is PM_n ; the notion of generating a string can be defined on the output of the morphological component:

1. A string s is *generated* iff there is a well-formed phrase for which it holds that the concatenation of the Vocabulary Items that realize its ordered terminal nodes corresponds to s .