

Structure-Building via *Merging Economy*: The Scope of Indefinites

Norio Suzuki *Kobe Shinwa Women's University*

This paper aims to propose a narrow-syntactic (NS) reanalysis of the two *interpretational* phenomena concerning indefinite NPs: (i) *wide scope* (WS) interpretation (violating an island constraint; (1a)); & (ii) *scope diminishment* (SD) reading in negative NPs (*negative-split*, A-reconstruction; Iatridou & Sichel 2011; (2a)). I derive these interpretational nuances from some *NS structure-building* operations (phase-based; Chomsky 2000, etc.; ‘amount of TRANSFER’ subject to economy) across all the three prolific domains of Grohmann 2003, including the notion of *invasive* interface (López 2003) along with that of *bi-directional ‘on-line’ passage* between NS and interfaces (Suzuki 2007), and the principle of *Merging Economy* (ME) that states that “An n/N cannot have a larger amount of its uninterpretable features checked/deleted than is needed for the purposes of the current operation of Merge” (Suzuki 2012: 328; Georgi & Müller 2010), along with the concept of *economy* (Fox 2000). My architectural case is based on Hinzen’s (2012: 311) observation that “... *grammar* constrains the organization of meaning in language.”

The WS (*de re*) interpretation of an indefinite NP (*a philosopher*), as in (1a), has attracted much attention:

- (1) a. If Bert invites a philosopher, Lud will be angry. (López 2012)
b. *Choice-function*: $\exists f$ (CH(f) \wedge (Bert invites f(philosopher) \rightarrow Lud will be angry)) (based on Reinhart 2006; *a philosopher* = *one of the philosophers*)
c. *Existential-closure*: If ... $\exists y$ [_{NC/vP} Bert invites a philosopher (y)] ...

(based on Diesing 1992; domain of EC being nuclear scope (NC), taken here to be vP; *a philosopher* = *any philosopher*)

A philosopher takes scope outside the conditional (a strong island for extraction), on the interpretation where there is a certain philosopher such that if Bert invites him, Lud will be angry (1b; *de re* interpretation in terms of a *choice function* (CH(f))). The *existential-closure* (EC) interpretation of the indefinite is given in (1c). Let us see then an SD example (Iatridou & Sichel 2011: 605-606), as in (2a):

- (2) a. No student may leave. (a *Neg*>*Modal* modal)
b. *Split interpretation*: *Neg* > *Modal* > \exists
It is not allowed that a student leaves.
c. *De re interpretation*: *Neg* > \exists > *Modal*

There is no specific student x such that x is allowed to leave.

We focus on the *split interpretation* in (2b; *negative-split*), where the “negative” and “indefinite” components of the negative NP (*no student*) are interpretationally separated from each other by the intervening modal. It looks as though the indefinite component of the

negative NP A-reconstructs and scopes under the modal.

Let us see the NS-derivation of (1a) with the interpretation (1b). I follow the nP/NP approach to nominal phrases (Georgi & Müller 2010, Chomsky 2007). ME (Suzuki 2012) constrains each step of NS-derivation. Restricting ourselves to the *if*-conditional, the VP *invites a philosopher* is TRANSFERred at vP to the pragmatics-interface (P-interface; López 2003) to be assigned a [+specific]-feature, assumed to be licensed in the C-/discourse-domain. The indefinite with the [+specific]-feature (*a philosopher*) ends up *covertly* raising to C as a result of Internal Merge via the P-interface (via a *bi-directional 'on-line' passage*; Suzuki 2007). The final WS/*de re* interpretation of *a philosopher* may depend on some CH(f) application. As for the derivation of (1a) with the EC interpretation (1c), the P-interface 'invades' NS to assign a [–specific]-feature to the indefinite in the VP (*invites a philosopher*) at vP.

As for the NS-derivations of (2a), let us see its *split interpretation* (2b). Details about the modal aside, I take the first merger to be between *leave* and the nP *a student* (given '[no [a [student]]]' as the complex structure of *no student*, based on Zeijlstra 2007). At vP, the P-interface invades NS to assign a [–specific]-feature to the indefinite in the vP (*a student leave*). The indefinite then raises to [Spec, T], projecting up to the nP-structure '[no [a student]]' (pronounced as 'no student'). As for the interpretation of the negative *no*, I assume that it depends on discourse factors/the speaker/hearer's 'conversational' circumstances. The *no* portion of the subject negative covertly raises up to the C-domain and a negative operator of some sort (Zeijlstra 2007) identifies *no* by 'binding' it. Overall, we obtain the [–specific] interpretation for the *a student* portion of *no student* under the modal *may*, while above *may* we get the negative interpretation of its *no* portion in the C-domain (*split interpretation: Neg > Modal > \exists*). Let us see the *de re interpretation* (2c) of (2a). The first merger applies between *leave* and the n *student*. Then, the n *student* raises to [Spec, T], projecting up to '[no [a [student]]]'. Both the negative *no* and the indefinite *a* covertly raise to the C-domain to be licensed, *no* ending up as 'bound' by a negative operator, and the indefinite receiving a [+specific]-feature from the P-interface (*de re interpretation: Neg > \exists > Modal*).

SelectedReferences

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