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SOME THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY OF NP-MOVEMENT IN
 SOME SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGES
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The purpose of this paper is to discuss the statute of NP-move-
 ment and in particular to analyse the passive structure of some
 Scandinavian and non-Scandinavian languages within the framework
 of the so-called "Extended Standard Theory" of generative grammar.
 We particularly want to argue that, contrary to Wasow (1980),
 there exist two kinds of passive structures, a) one generated in
 the base and b) the other transformationally derived by the struc-
 ture-preserving rule of move-NP as formulated, for English, in Wa-
 sow (1977).

Assuming a case theory along the lines of Chomsky (1978), we
 want to argue a) that oblique cases are assigned in the base
 (contrary to Den Besten (1979)); b) that the rule of move-NP can
 move a case assigned in the base, as first stipulated in Chomsky
 (op. cit.) and denied by Kayne (1979) and Lightfoot (1980); c)
 that a strong version of Chomsky (1981) following which NP-move-
 ment must occur from a non case-marked position is wrong as no-
 ted by Borer (1981) and Aoun (1981) and that there is no case-
 conflict device contrary to the hypothesis of Chomsky (1978) and
 d) that movement should not be defined in terms of case but in
 terms of government and that the Empty Category Principle of Chom-
 sky (1981) should be extended to phonetically realized NPS.

1. The interpretation of aspect in some passive sentences in
 French and Danish.

Assuming wasow's theory of (1977) we can account for the dynamic
 interpretation of French sentences of type (1) (illustrated by the
 entailment (b) by a transformational derivation and can account
 for the stative interpretation of the same sentence (illustrated
 by the entailment (a) by a base-derivation :

- (1) La porte était fermée
 (The door was closed)
- a. = La porte avait été fermée
 (The door had been closed)
- b. = La porte était fermée (par quelqu'un)
 (The door was being closed (by somebody))

We can account for the fact that the same entailments are not
 valid when the same passive structures contain a durative verb,
 as illustrated in (2) by the general principle (3) which applies
 as a rule at the level of semantic interpretation :

- (2) La gare était surveillée
 (The station was watched)
- a. ≠ La gare avait été surveillée
 (The station had been watched)
- b. = La gare était surveillée (par quelqu'un)
 (The station was being watched (by somebody))

- (3) A durative event cannot be considered as brought to an end
 if no 'sur-composed' tense is used and in particular, if pre-
 sent tense is used

We do indeed not want to say that sentences like (2) cannot be
 base-generated since we find such examples as (4) :

- (4) C'est un homme très surveillé + admiré
 (He is a very watched + admired man)

The effect of the application of our principle (3) is that the stative reading of a base-generated passive structure whose past-participle is derived from a durative verb is not interpreted as in (1) but as a kind of non finite state (process). The same analysis which is a reminiscence of the observations of Wilson (1960) leads us to the hypothesis that the danish structures (5) and (6) that correspond to (1) and (2) are base-generated since they do not have a dynamic interpretation :

- (5) Døren er lukket
(The door has been closed)
- (6) Byen er beboet
(The city is inhabited)

We account for the non stative reading of (6) by the application of principle (3) at the level of semantic interpretation.

It is interesting to note that, while the stative reading of sentences like (1) and (2) generally disappears with the presence of an agent in french, as illustrated by (7), the stative reading is still the only possible interpretation of Danish sentences like (8) :

- (7) La porte etait fermée par la police
(The door was being closed by the police)
- (8) Døren er lukket af politiet
(The door had been closed by the police)

We want to argue that French sentences like (7) are transformationally derived while apparently equivalent Danish sentences like (8) are derived in the base.

We want to claim that danish sentences like (8) represent a marked phenomenon since it seems generally to be the case that the presence of a "by phrase" is associated with a dynamic reading, itself associated with a transformational derivation as illustrated by the Icelandic sentence (45) bellow and the following English examples from Kayne (1981.b) :

- (9) The enemy's destruction of the city
- (10) The city's destruction by the enemy
- (11) This book is readable t by a ten-year old
- (12) *Mary is reliable on t by a ten-year old
- (13) *Mary is reliable t by a ten-year old
- (14) Mary is reliable
- (15) *Mary's reference to t by the lecturer shocked everyone

Note that the presence of a "by phrase" seems to imply a transformational derivation as illustrated by the contrast between (12), (13) and (14) where (12) is excluded by the Empty Category Principle which also applies to (15), (13) lacks the preposition "on" associated with the verb "rely on" and is ungrammatical as opposite to (14) which is base-generated and associated with a lexical redundancy rule which deletes the preposition,

We could interpret the relation between the "by phrase" and a transformational derivation as a reflection of a semantic principle associating the presence of an agent with a dynamic interpretation but this move would be dubious since we do find some "by phrase"

in passive sentences which do not undergo movement as illustrated in (16) :

- (16) Il fait manger la pomme par Paul
(He has the apple eaten by Paul)

Sentences like (16) clearly indicate that it is not to the movement that the "by phrase" is related but rather, as suggested in Kayne (op. cit.) that the presence of the "by phrase" strengthens the requirement for an object to be represented (in logical form ?) as 'N (of) NP' (see Kayne's analysis of "*The iranian bombardment by Russia"). We see, as expected, that the object may be represented by a trace as in (7), (10) or (11) or, phonetically realized as in (16).

Our analysis of danish sentences like (8) as marked can also be supported by the following paradigm pointed out to us by Jan Katlev :

- (17) ?? Bilen er købt af Jensen
(The car has been bought by Jensen)
- (18) ?? Bilen er hentet af politiet
(The car has been taken up by the police)
- (19) ?? Bilen er repareret af Roed-Sørensen
(the car has been repaired by Roed-Sørensen)
- (20) ? Bilen er sprøjtakeret af A/S Painter
(The car has been painted by A/S Painter)
- (21) Bilen er bygget af Ford
(The car has been constructed by Ford)
- (22) Bilen er designet af Issigonis
(The car has been designed by Issigonis)

Katlev (personal communication) suggests that our analysis of danish sentences like (8) is wrong and that danish sentences like the ones illustrated in (17)-(22) show that their grammatical statute is unclear but this is exactly what is predicted by our analysis of this kind of sentences as marked.

The unclear statute of (17)-(19) is also predicted by our analysis following which they are derived in the base and can then be subject to lexical restrictions. *// aspect*

Note at last that the fact that sentences (17)-(20) are not accepted by a certain amount of people is also predicted by our principle of interpretation (3) following which basic passive sentences must be interpreted as stative or, if they contain a past-participle derived from a durative verb, as a non finite state (process), since this last interpretation seems to be more natural if an agent is expressed as illustrated by the contrast between (17)-(18) and (21)-(22)...

2. Some arguments against a transformation of auxiliary deletion in Danish and some other germanic languages

Danish grammarians (cf. for instance Diderichsen (1946) give a totally different analysis of these phenomena since they consider that sentences like (8) derive from sentence like (23) by the deletion of the auxiliary "blevet" :

- (23) Døren er blevet lukket af politiet
(The door is become closed by the police)

The same type of analysis is proposed, within the framework of

+ impossibility of der + aspect.
+ adjectival + AF NP.

transformational grammar, by Den Besten (op. cit.) to account for Dutch and German sentences as, for German, (24) where the auxiliary "worden" can be omitted :

- (24) De Tür ist geschlossen (worden)
(The door is closed (become))

It is nevertheless worth noting that the presence of an agent in the passive construction blocks the deletion of the auxiliary in Dutch and German as illustrated, for German, by (25) which we would like to contrast with the Danish sentence (23) :

- (25) Die Tür ist von der Polizei geschlossen *(worden)
(The door is by the police closed)

Unfortunately, the arguments given by Den Besten for his analysis of Dutch sentences equivalent to (8) as being derived by auxiliary deletion (based on verb raising before the auxiliary and some preposition stranding phenomena) cannot be applied to German or Danish.

It is clear however, that this operation could not be a transformation since this rule cannot apply to passive sentences containing a past participle derived from a durative verb, as illustrated by Danish sentences (26) and (27) which are semantically very different :

- (26) Byen er blevet beboet af drenge
(The city is been inhabited by boys)
- (27) Byen er beboet af drenge
(The city is inhabited by boys)

We believe that we can account for the difference of interpretation between (26) and (27) by our principle (3) which can apply to (27) if (27) is a passive structure derived in the base.

The hypothesis of a lexical rule of auxiliary deletion does not hold either if we consider that Danish passive with "blive" like (26) and their Dutch and German equivalent with "geworden" and "worden" are transformationally derived (cf. Den Besten op. cit. & Pica 1979) since it is generally assumed that no transformations may be followed by lexical rules.

We shall consequently consider that Danish sentences like (8) and (27) are generated in the base contrary to sentences like (23) and (26) and (24) for German which are transformationally derived.

Note that, as pointed out to us by Kjell-Ake Gunnarson, our analysis can be supported by a look at Swedish where sentences equivalent to Danish sentences (8) are grammatical as illustrated in (28) but where the equivalent form with "bliva" is absolutely impossible with the same auxiliary as illustrated in (29): A transformational derivation of (28) from (29) is very implausible in that language since it would involve a variation of auxiliary !

- (28) Stadgan är fastställd av myndigheterna
(The prescription is established by the authorities)
- (29) Stadgan ^{*ar} _{har} blivit fastställd av myndigheterna
(The prescription has been established by the authorities)

We feel that our hypothesis, which permits us to predict the semantic interpretation of aspect in the sentences considered, is supported by the analysis of passive sentences with oblique cases which is developed in the next section.

3. Some implications of the analysis of NP-movement in Icelandic

It has generally been assumed that contrary to Chomsky (1978), NP-movement cannot move case and particularly cannot move an oblique case which would have been assigned in the base. That principle is supposed to account for the lack of preposition stranding with NP-movement in a language which has retained an oblique case such as French (as opposed to English) (cf. Lightfoot (op. cit.)).

This phenomenon is illustrated in (30) :

- (30) *Jean (Nom) est parlé de t (Oblique)
(John is talked about)

Lightfoot argues that, since cases cannot be moved by NP-movement, the traces of the moved NP bears the oblique case which has been assigned in the base, in French sentences as (30).

Since traces bearing a case are variables (cf. Chomsky 1981) the trace of the moved NP is a variable in (30) and should thus (cf. (ibid.)) be bound by a quantifier.

That analysis is supposed to account for the ungrammaticality of French sentences as (30) and can be carried over to German since we only find moved NP's bearing an oblique case with impersonal passives as illustrated in (33) and (32) as opposed to (34) :

- (31) Ich (Nom) harre seiner (Gen)
(I wait him)
- (32) Es wird seiner (Gen.) geharrt
(There is him waited)
- (33) Seiner (Gen.) wird geharrt
(He is waited)
- (34) *Er (Nom.) wird geharrt
(he is waited)

It follows from this analysis that German sentences as (33) are not derived by NP-movement from sentences like (31) but rather derive from impersonal passives like (32) by topicalisation (see however Den Besten (1980) for a different analysis).

This kind of analysis cannot, however, be carried over to Icelandic to deal with similar cases in that language (see (35) and (36)) as argued by Andrews (1976) :

- (35) Mér (Dat.) var bjargað
(I was saved)
- (36) Mín (Gen.) var beðid
(I was waited)

We do not indeed find the corresponding impersonal passives (37) and (38) (for some reason that are still unclear to us), although impersonal passives are frequent in Icelandic, as in other Scandinavian languages, as illustrated by (39) :

- (37) *Það var bjargað mér (Dat.)
(There was saved me)
- (38) *Það var beðid mín (Gen.)
(There was waited me)
- (39) Það var lokið við kirkjuna
(There was finished at the church)

We are then forced to consider the hypothesis that the dative and

verb de
control
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genitive of (35) and (36) have been moved by NP-movement from object position.

We consider that this analysis can also be supported by the study of aspect in Icelandic passive structures as illustrated by the following paradigm from Benediktsson (1980) where sentences (40) and (42) are interpreted as dynamic while (41) and (43) are interpreted as stative :

- (40) Dyrnum (Dat.) var lokað t
(The doors were closed)
- (41) Dyrnar (Nom.) voru lokaðar
(The doors had been closed)
- (42) Úrinu (Dat.), sem hann seldi mér, var stolið t
(The watch, which he sold me, was stolen)
- (43) Úrið (Nom.), sem hann seldi mér, var stolið
(The watch, which he sold me, had been stolen)

These respective interpretations follow from our analysis of sentences like (40) and (42) as transformationally derived (see the analysis of (35) and (36) above) while we would like to say that (41) and (43) are generated in the base and do not undergo movement of an oblique object moved in that position by NP-movement.

It is interesting to note that the strong tendency noted above for French and English not to use a "by phrase" if an object is not represented (in logical form) is borne out in Icelandic as illustrated by the following sentences confirmed to us by Thráinsson

- (44) Buðini (Dat.) er lokað t af logreglunni
(The shop is closed by the police)
- (45) Buðin (Nom.) er lokað (* af logreglunni)
(The shop is closed by the police)

Our analysis of (40) and (42) as being transformationally derived but (41) and (43) as being base-generated can be supported by the following paradigm from Benediktsson (op. cit.).

These sentences show that no dative subject can be found in sentences like (47), that we would like to consider as generated in the base since they contain an adjectival element "ólokað" (unclosed) which we wish to relate to a verbal element in the lexicon in the lines of Wasow (1977) :

- (46) * Dyrnum (Dat.) var ólokað
(The doors were unclosed)
- (47) Dyrnar (Nom.) voru ólokaðar
(The doors were unclosed)

Note that the contrast between (46) and (47) militates also against Lightfoot's hypothesis in Lightfoot (1980) following which all past participles are adjectives if we adopt an analysis following which it is the past participle that assigns the oblique case to the NP in object position in sentences like (40) and (42).

Adjectives cannot generally assign case as illustrated, for Icelandic by (46) and, for French, by the following paradigm if an analysis in the lines of Pollock (1981) is right :

- (48) Il est embrassé un grand nombre de filles à la partie
(There is kissed a great number of girls at the party)
- (49) *Il est insatisfait un grand nombre de filles à la partie
(There is unsatisfied a great number of girls at the party)

Conformably to our analysis following which the oblique cases of (35) and (36) has been moved from object position by NP-movement, we feel that Lightfoot's analysis of french sentences like (30) should be dropped and that this kind of sentences should be analysed in an alternative way as the one proposed in Kayne (1981.a) which makes use of the Empty Category Principle.

4. Some implications for a theory of case

Note that our hypothesis following which the oblique cases of (35) and (36) has been moved by NP-movement and not by Wh-movement (which is supposed to occur from case marked positions and to be able to move case since the "On Binding" framework) is not only supported by our analysis of the paradigm (40)-(47) but also by the fact that these NPs might be replaced by some non phonetically realized pronouns (PRO) in anaphoric control structures as illustrated by the Icelandic sentence (50) parallel to ((35) which we want to contrast with the ungrammatical German sentence (51) :

- (50) Ég vonast til [PRO (Dat.) að verða bjargað]
(I hope to be saved)
- (51) *Ich hoffe [PRO (Dat.) geholfen zu werden]
(I hope to be helped)

Sentences like (50) strongly confirm that the oblique NPs in pre-verbal positions of (35) and (36) are in arguments positions, that it is that they are in subject position as claimed in Thráinsson (1979) and Andrews (1976) from which we borrow sentence (52) which shows that the anaphora "sin" (which can only be bound by NPs in subject position) can be bound by an oblique case marked NP in subject position :

- (52) Honum (Dat.) svipar til fraenda síns_i
(He resembles his cousin)

This analysis leads us to admit that NP-movement as Wh-movement can occur from a case marked position as opposed to the assumption (see Chomsky (1981)) following which NP-movement occurs from a position that is not case-marked (the trace of NP-movement bearing no case and being an anaphora) contrarily to Wh-movement that occurs from a case marked position (and to a non argument position), the trace of Wh-movement bearing a case being interpreted as a variable.

That NP-movement and WH-movement can occur from a common position can indeed be illustrated by the following examples where (53) is an instance of NP-movement of an NP marked for oblique case to subject position and (54) is an instance of Wh-movement of the Wh-word marked for dative case (hverjum) from object position to the Comp of the matrix sentence through the intermediate Comp (The trace in Comp is governed under conditions that are still unclear to us, probably by the complementizer 'að' (see also Maling & Zaenen (1978)).

- (53) Ég tel [bróður þínum hafa verið hjálpað t]
(I believe your brother to have been helped)
- (54) Hverjum [heldur þú [að t [Ólafur hafi hjálpað t]]
(Who think you that Olaf has helped)

This analysis is a reminiscence of the hypothesis of Borer (1981) cited in Aoun (op. cit.) following which there is at least one construction from which both NP and Wh movements can occur in English as illustrated by (55) and (56) :

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ADJECTIVES WITH NOUN PHRASE COMPLEMENTS IN SWEDISH
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1. Usually, Swedish adjectives take PP complements; some examples with different prepositions are listed in (1):

- (1)a *Tidningen var gul av ålder.*
'The paper was yellow with age'
- b *Han var rädd för sjön.*
'He was afraid of the sea'
- c *Han var medveten om riskerna.*
'He was aware of the risks'
- d *Jag är avundsjuk på John.*
'I am envious of John'
- e *Jag var stolt över henne.*
'I was proud of her'

With some adjectives, the preposition may be optionally absent:

- (2) *Han var trogen (mot) sin hustru.*
'He was faithful to his wife'

Furthermore, there are some adjectives that cannot take a PP complement, only a NP complement:

- (3)a *Han var hängiven religionen.*
'He was devoted [to] the religion'
- b *Hon är lik sin mor.*
'She is like her mother'
- c *Hunden var tillgiven sin husse.*
'The dog was attached [to] its master'
- d *Han var underlägsen/överlägsen sin motståndare.*
'He was inferior [to]/superior [to] his opponent'
- e *Han är värd en belöning.*
'He is worthy [of] a reward'

Notice that the "transitive" adjectives in (2) and (3) cannot be recategorized as prepositions, along the lines suggested for *like* and *worth* in English by Maling (1980). A Swedish adjective in predicative position agrees with the subject in number and gender. Consider for instance the following examples:

- (4) *Han var lik henne. De var lika varandra.*
'He was like her' 'They were like each other'

The occurrence of adjectives with NP complements in Swedish, illustrated in (2) and (3) above, is of considerable interest for the theory of abstract Case, developed as one of the subtheories of the Extended Standard Theory of Generative Transformational Grammar by Chomsky (1981). According to this theory, every lexical NP must be marked for abstract Case. Chomsky assumes a filter like (5) to be present in UG (Universal Grammar, the language faculty of human beings):

- (5) *_{NP} [Phonetic Matrix], where NP has no Case

Chomsky (1981, 170) gives the following rules for the assignment of abstract Case: