

## Preserving the locality of selection with layering derivations

Problems of selection. While the idea that selection is strictly local has a long history in generative grammar, problems abound and solutions vary. One problem comes from the DP hypothesis: if D is the head of the nominal, and Vs select their complements, then Vs must select DPs and not NPs; yet there is no idiosyncratic L-selection of Ds (Sportiche 2005, Bruening 2009), and verb-nominal idioms behave as if they involve Vs selecting Ns and ignoring functional structure (Bruening et al. 2018). The DP-hypothesis, which is motivated independently (pace Bruening 2009), seems to create the problem: if selection is local, then either V or D can select N, but not both at the same time; yet it seems that both D and V do select N (cf. also Massam 2001). Thus N presents what we might call *dual selection problem*. The problem grows if we adopt analyses where more layers of functional structure (sometimes) top the DP, such as K(ase)P or Cable’s Q-particle (Colley 2020): all of these heads must be invisible for selection purposes.

Another selection problem comes from apparent cases of preposition “insertion”. This is seen with causatives in French (Kayne 2004), where the embedded subject appears inside a PP just in case the verb which introduces it is transitive, (1), and in cases of so-called “R-dative shift” in English (Bruening 2010), where the recipient of a double object construction (which Bruening argues is *not* a ‘true’ prepositional dative) shows up with a *to* in certain circumstances (e.g. it is heavy). To this we add a third case study, namely Ps in nominalized V-N idioms (*the pulling of strings, the loss of one’s cool*): here the P must be ‘invisible’ for idiom formation just like D is, and so the P looks ‘inserted’ and not selected on a localist view of selection. Analysing these Ps as case-markers fails for various reasons (see Kayne 2004, 193ff on *à*), and simply “inserting” the P (as in Bruening 2010 and classic GB treatments) is unwelcomely countercyclic and demonstrably too powerful: clearly we can’t just insert P whenever there’s a Case problem.

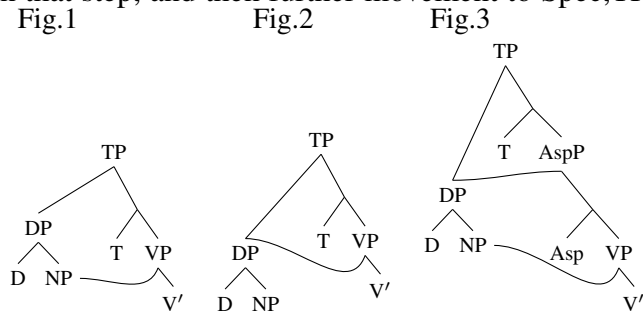
P/D as probes. The analyses in Kayne (2004) and Sportiche (2005) are more promising. They propose remnant movement derivations where D and P are probes on the verbal spine which attract nominals which are selected in thematic positions, with the P/D... N constituency being derived by moving the VP as in (3). These accounts deal with the selection problems, since the Vs are local to their selectees, and they have several added benefits as well (Angelopoulos 2019). But they also have drawbacks, two of which we mention briefly. First, Sportiche’s account requires an analysis of transitive VPs where one DP effectively contains the other, a bizarre constituency with no supporting evidence and an i-within-i problem in the case of reflexive objects. Second, P and its DP behave as a constituent, even in verb-final languages where there is no word-order-related reason to move the VP as in (3b) (cf. Collins 2005: 99 on *by*-phrases). Thus the problem with (3) is that while there is evidence for both V and nominal functional heads selecting N, there is no evidence that P or D select VP-projections, and constituency evidence to the contrary.

Layering and selection. We propose an account which extends and amends the theory in Thoms (2019) and which captures the insight of the Sportiche/Kayne proposal while avoiding the pitfalls. In an analysis of reconstruction-agreement interactions, Thoms proposes that in some cases, just a minimal NP is merged into the  $\theta$ -position, and the NP is merged with its D by means of *external remerge*, AKA sideward movement; see Fig.1. Thoms calls this a *layering derivation* (cf. van Riemsdijk 2004) and claims such a derivation is only possible if the nominal is remerged into a higher position, such as Spec,TP in Fig.1. Note that structures of this kind provide a means by which to satisfy dual selection for N, since both V and D are sisters to the multidominated N, and it does so without violating cyclicity (de Vries 2009). Thoms points out that structures such as Fig.1 result in D taking wide scope (antireconstruction), since it has no place in the lower

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| (1) | Marie a fait manger la tarte à Jean<br>Marie has made eat-INF the pie to Jean         |
| (2) | He gave the creeps to {*me/anyone he met}.  |
| (3) | a. [XP [VP V NP ] X [DP D [YP Y NP VP ]]]<br>b. [XP [VP V DP ] X [PP P [P Y DP VP ]]] |

position, and he also notes that low scope readings (e.g. where D scopes below something in T) require a different structure where the D layer is added earlier, such as the one in Fig.2, where it is a fully constructed DP which is merged into the  $\theta$ -position (and then remerged higher).

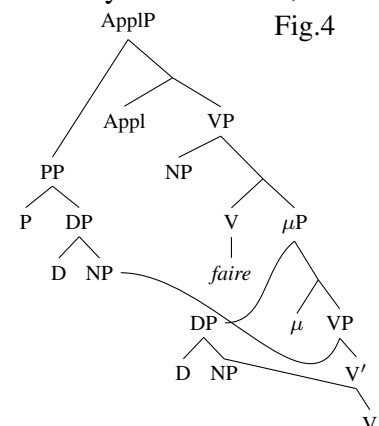
The alternative we propose here, which renders Thoms' theory compatible with Sportiche's, is that NP is *always* what is merged into any given  $\theta$ -position, and in order for D to scope low, the NP undergoes a step of "short" A-movement to some low position – we suggest Spec,Asp in the case of subjects – with layering of D in that step, and then further movement to Spec,TP. This is in Fig.3; we can see that it differs



from Fig.1, in that it allows for low scope for D, but it differs from Fig.2 in that it is an NP which is merged in Spec,VP. The layering analysis ensures that D and NP form a constituent that occupies a specifier and can thus be targeted by movement, and it doesn't require saying that D selects VP;

rather, all that is required is that there's an appropriate position above the  $\theta$ -position which the DP can be remerged into once it has had its D-layer added. A consequence of the proposal is that in order for a nominal to serve as a DP argument, it must undergo at least one step of movement (Kayne 2013). Thus subjects will always raise at least to Spec,Asp (cf. McCloskey 1997), object DPs will need to raise to a projection like Johnson's (1991) Spec, $\mu$ , applicatives will move to some higher RaisingAppl (Georgala 2012), etc. The primary constraint on layering derivations, then, comes from the need for these projections; they have a licensing function distinct from Case (cf. Nie 2020). Thus the theory makes predictions with respect to licensing (no landing site, no DP-licensing) and scope (no landing site in lower domain, no reconstruction). We argue the latter is borne out by the fact that reconstruction into small clauses is typically unavailable (Williams 1983) and the existence of exceptions involving small clauses with abstract clausal complements (Moulton 2013): the larger complement may host an XP that facilitates low layering.

The account generalizes to Ps, both the "inserted" kind in (3) and the other functional Ps discussed by Kayne: Ps are not probes, but rather they can be layered onto a DP and then remerged into the specifier of a functional projection which selects a PP-specifier, such as ApplP. The ApplP is in effect a licensing position for the PP which is formed "on the side", and the original  $\theta$ -position may be occupied by an NP. Our specific analysis of French, in essence an adapted version of Kayne's: *faire* selects a "bare" complement, which means it has no TP or AspP, so the subject must raise into the matrix clause; there is an ApplP above the causative verb which selects for an  $\hat{a}$ -PP in its specifier, and so D and  $\hat{a}$  are layered onto the NP and the resultant PP is merged with Appl. (If there's no object, the embedded subject moves to Spec, $\mu$  and won't require a P; hence this is a reflex of the limited number of licensing projections in the reduced domain of the causative complement.) The PP becomes rightward either due to movement of the *faire*-VP or rightward linearization (this isn't crucial). In the talk we



outline comparable analyses for R-dative shift and raising to P in Celtic (McCloskey 1984), show how the proposal provides a better account of the morphology of raising to P than Kayne's analysis, and compare this to Adger (2021). We conclude by discussing the implications of the nominalized V-N idioms (*the pulling of strings*) for Merchant's (2019) analysis of PP-selection.

Refs: Angelopoulos (2019): UCLA PhD. – Bruening (2010): *LI*. – Bruening et al. (2018): *Glossa*. – Kayne (2004): Belletti & Rizzi. – McCloskey (1984): *NLLT*. – Merchant (2019): *TLR*. – Thoms (2019): *NELS*.