

Telescoping by Continuations

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This talk will focus on the analysis of (1):

(1) The picture of HIS_i mother that EVERY SOLDIER_i kept wrapped in a sock was not much use to HIM_i

The fact that HIS can be bound by EVERY SOLDIER has motivated a number of head internal syntactic theories of relative clauses a la Vergnaud 1974 and Kayne 1994. However, it has sometimes been observed that these analyses are morphologically, syntactically, and semantically misguided. Concentrating on two semantic problems, the Kaynean analysis does not capture (a) that HIM can be bound by EVERY SOLDIER and (b) that the definite article can have narrow scope with respect to the quantifier. The only analysis that does the job is one (actually proposed by Hulseley and Sauerland 2006) that involves QR out of a relative clause.

Alternatively, we propose a theory that sticks to a head external syntax and to the traditional view that QR is clause bound. The theory will derive (1) by purely semantic, independently motivated mechanisms that presuppose the head (and determiner) external syntactic structure [DP RC]. Semantically, we will combine a version of continuation semantics (cf. Barker 2002) with the semantic reconstruction mechanism proposed in Sternefeld 2001.

References:

- Barker 2002. Continuations and the Nature of Quantification.
Hulseley & Sauerland 2006. Sorting out Relative Clauses. NLS 14, 111-137.
Kayne 1994. The Antisymmetry of Syntax. MIT-Press.
Sternefeld 2001. Semantic vs. Syntactic Reconstruction. In: Rohrer et al.: Linguistic Form and its Computation. CSLI Stanford, pp. 145-182.
Vergnaud 1994. French Relative Clauses. PhD MIT.