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Extraction from *make the claim* constructions[1]

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The sequence *make the claim that S* has certain syntactic properties which indicate the presence of some sort of complex predicate, previously suggested to be a Light Verb Construction (LVC) or a reanalysis of N and V to a complex V. I consider and reject both these proposals, and propose an alternative structure which is still a type of complex predicate. Adopting the Locality framework of Manzini (1992, 1994), I show that a syntactic account of extractions from *make the claim* follows straightforwardly. I also show that extraction from *make the claim* is distinct from extraction from indefinites.

1. *MAKE THE CLAIM* AS A COMPLEX PREDICATE: PREVIOUS PROPOSALS

1.1 *Reanalysis to complex V*

Chomsky (1975: Ch. 3, fn. 4) observes that (1) is more acceptable than (2).

(1) Who did John make the claim that Tom saw?
(2) *Who did John believe the claim that Tom saw?

He suggests that *make the claim* is reanalysed as a complex verb meaning 'claim'.[2] After reanalysis the extraction in (1) is much the same as in (3).

(3) Who did John claim that Tom saw?

Grosu (1977) responds that the complex verb analysis is not tenable because it falsely predicts that the sentential complement in *make the claim* may behave generally like a verb complement in such operations as topicalization, pseudocleft formation, non-restrictive relative clause formation, passive, *too*-adjunct deletion, *tough*-movement, and left and right dislocation. As shown in Grosu's examples, repeated below (slightly abbreviated), the complement in *make the claim* is syntactically distinct from the sentential complement to verbal *claim*.

[1] I wish to thank the anonymous referee for *Journal of Linguistics* for many helpful comments and suggestions, and particularly for recommending the use of Manzini's Locality framework. Any remaining errors or problems are my own.

[2] See also Cinque (1990: 34) and Kayne (1981: 112 n. 31) for the same proposal.

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(4) (a) That John may be a thief, noone has ever claimed/*made the claim.
(b) What I have never claimed/*made the claim is that John was a thief.
(c) That John is a thief, which noone has ever claimed/*made the claim, happens to be true.
(d) That John was a thief has been claimed/*made the claim by a number of people.
(e) That John is a thief is too improbable for us to claim/*make the claim.
(f) That John is a thief is hard for me to claim/*make the claim.
(g) That John is a thief, noone has ever claimed it/*made the claim it (*made it the claim).
(h) Noone has ever claimed it/*made the claim it, that John is a thief.

Grosu also notes, contra Chomsky, that the extraction in (1) is not fully grammatical, but rather has an intermediate status as revealed in the contrasts in (5).

(5) (a) Who did you claim that Bob had visited?
(b) ?Who did you make the claim that Bob had visited?
(c) *Who did you discuss the claim that Bob had visited?

1.2 Make *as a light verb*

The presence of the verb *make* suggests the alternative that *make the claim* may be a LVC, as *make* is commonly a light verb. Emonds (1976: 148) observes that the improved extractions with *make the claim* and similar examples seem to require that 'the main verb be a "pro-verb" (of minimal semantic content), such as *make* or *have*, that does not in this context have its literal meaning before such objects'.

1.3 *What is a light verb?*

Jespersen (1942: 117) coined the expression 'light verb', but the phenomenon in English was noted earlier by Poutsma (1926: 394–400) and Kruisinga (1932: 198–200.) Poutsma writes (p. 394):

> There is a marked tendency in Modern English to express a verbal idea by means of a combination consisting of a verb with a vague meaning and a noun of action. The latter is then the real significant part of the predicate, while the former mainly serves the purpose of the connective.

Concerning the examples *He cried loudly* and *He gave a loud cry* Poutsma adds (p. 395):

> The grammatical function of the noun in these connections is mostly that of an effective object … but owing to the connective verb having only a

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> vague meaning, the whole combination may, from a semantic point of view, be regarded as an intransitive group verb.

Here Poutsma outlines the characteristics by which LVCs are traditionally identified:

i. The main verb is semantically vague; in English, generally *make*, *do*, *give*, *have* and *take*.
ii. The nominal complement is headed by an action noun, commonly deverbal, which is the true predicate on events.
iii. There is generally a rough paraphrase relation between the light verb construction and the simple verb corresponding to the nominal head.

Arguably, *make the claim* has all the traditional LVC properties.

Recent formal analyses of light verbs interpret the intuition that the nominal is the 'real' predicate largely in terms of thematic assignment. Given that thematic roles are established by modes of participation in events, the event predicate must contribute the roles projected in a sentence. However, on the usual assumptions the head of NP is not able to assign roles externally to its maximal projection. Grimshaw & Mester (1988), discussing Japanese light verb *suru*, propose that the ability to do this is the defining characteristic of light verb constructions: the light verb and its nominal complement are composed in an operation which transfers roles originating with the noun to the verbal theta-grid for subsequent assignment to NPs governed by V or under predication from VP. Analyses along similar lines are proposed in Cattell (1984) for a range of constructions, in Kearns (1989) for expressions such as *give the blankets an air*, by Rosen (1990) for complex predicates involving causative *faire*, and in an earlier framework by Jackendoff (1974) for *blame John for the accident* and *put the blame for the accident on John*. Analyses differ in whether the transfer of nominal roles to the verbal grid is in the lexicon or in syntax.

If Grimshaw & Mester's definition of light verbs as verbs which inherit roles from a nominal complement is adopted, the range of candidates for inclusion in the class is narrowed considerably, compared to the range of phrasal expressions which meet the criterion of having a simplex verb paraphrase. Under the new definition it must also be shown that the nominal complement has an argument-taking head, and that these arguments are projected in the main clause externally to NP.

1.4 Make the claim *as an LVC*

LVCs as defined by Grimshaw & Mester have two crucial properties: the verb must be light and the head of the nominal complement must have theta roles to assign. It is uncontentious that English *make* is a light verb, so the main question is whether or not *claim* is an LVC-type nominal, a predicate

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on events with roles to assign. To confirm that *make the claim* is an LVC we would demonstrate that nominal *claim* (like verbal *claim*) has the thematic grid ⟨1, 2, E⟩, where ⟨2⟩ is assigned to CP denoting the claim made, ⟨E⟩ is the event variable, and ⟨1⟩ is assigned under mediation by *make* to the subject of the sentence.

However, Grimshaw (1990: section 3.5.1) argues that nouns such as *announcement*, *statement*, *observation*, etc. with propositional CP complements are never argument-taking, but show all the characteristics of 'result' or 'simple event' nominals with the single referent argument ⟨R⟩, after Williams (1981).[3]

First, the CP is always optional (see (6a) below) though Grimshaw argues that true complements of N are obligatory, unlike the more commonly found argument-linked adjuncts hitherto classed as complements. Second, aspectual modification by *constant* or *frequent* with event-denoting nominals produces semantic plurality in the event position (see (6c)), but is anomalous with result nominals: (6b) shows that *announcement* nominals are not eventive. Third, an event-denoting nominal provides an E variable to control a Purpose clause (see (6e)) but a result nominal cannot do so (see (6d)). If a gerund, which is event-denoting and argument-taking, is substituted for the test nominal these judgments are reversed, as expected (see (6f–h)).

(6) (a) The announcement (that an investigation has been initiated) was inaccurate. (= G's (57a) p. 74)
(b) *Their frequent/constant announcement that they were the greatest eventually became tiresome. (= G's (64a), p. 75)
(c) The frequent/constant assignment of unsolvable problems is to be avoided. (= G's (8c) p. 50)
(d) *Their statement that the gun misfired in order to mislead the public was absurd. (= G's (70a) p. 77)
(e) The translation of the book (in order) to make it available to a wider readership… (= G's (26b) p. 58)
(f) The announcing *(that an investigation has been initiated) was unexpected.
(g) Their frequent/constant announcing that they were the greatest eventually became tiresome.
(h) Their stating that the gun misfired in order to mislead the public was absurd/irresponsible.

These judgments support the view that nouns with propositional complements do not have the event reading central to LVCs but simply denote the proposition identified by the CP.

[3] See also Stowell (1981: 197–203) for arguments that *claim*-type nominals are not eventive and therefore do not theta-mark a CP complement, in contrast to eventive derived nominals such as *attempt*.

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Doubts about the status of *make the claim* as a light verb construction, or about light verb characteristics as the source of increased transparency to extraction, are also raised by a wider range of examples which show the same properties. The increased extractability is not confined to sentences with *make*, *do* or other canonical light verbs, nor to expressions for which the paraphrase relation holds, as illustrated in (7).

(7) (a) ??The man that John harboured the suspicion Tom tried to kill was living in Motueka.
(b) *The man that John ridiculed the suspicion Tom tried to kill was living in Motueka.
(c) ?The regulations that John held the view caused prices to rise were first proposed by Potts.
(d) *The regulations that John criticised the view caused prices to rise were first proposed by Potts.
(e) *John viewed that those regulations caused prices to rise.

All the examples are deviant, but (7b) is worse than (7a), (7d) is worse than (7c), and (7a) seems a little worse than (7c). The light verb analysis cannot apply to *harbour the suspicion* and *hold the view*. *Harbour* and *hold* are not light verbs, and *view* has no verbal counterpart. Other collocations with which an improvement of extraction may be perceived are *maintain the view*, *put forward the view*, *take the position*, *have the hope*, *hold the belief*, etc.

I conclude then that *make the claim* is neither a complex verb in terms of reanalysis, nor a light verb construction as currently defined.

In what follows I propose an alternative analysis in which the extraction phenomena follow ultimately from a peculiarity of thematic discharge, but not from the LVC mode of assignment.

2. An alternative analysis of the extractions

The discussion reviewed above focused on explaining the improved grammaticality of extractions from *make the claim* against the expected ungrammaticality of such extractions as CNPC violations. Such violations do occur with extraction from *claim* nominals in the absence of verbs such as *make*. Before considering this contrast further, I shall outline the structure I assume for the N-CP construction.

2.1 *CP as a modifier*

I assume that CP in a *claim* nominal, although a sister to N, is also a modifier and neither theta-marked nor Case-marked by N. That is, CP is semantically a predicate which combines with the head N, also a predicate, to further restrict the denotation of N, where CP and N do not have identical denotations.

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A traditional diagnostic for CP complement to N is the possibility of the identity statement 'The claim is that S'. This suggests that the proposition p denoted by S (or CP) is the referent of ⟨R⟩ in *claim*. I wish to suggest otherwise, drawing on the distinction between p, the proposition expressed by CP, which exists along with the interpreted language which generates its expression, and the claim that p, which is an instantiation or tokening of p as a claim: this individual is perhaps a Theme of creation of the event described by the verb *claim*, and the referent of the whole DP. Take the value for ⟨R⟩ in nominal *claim* to be p*, denoting propositions in general tokened as claims. In the DP *the claim that S* CP denoting p modifies the noun denoting p*, providing information about the proposition of p of which the claimed token p* constitutes an instantiation. In this formulation the statement 'the claim is that S' contains predicative *be* rather than copular *be*. (For CP as a predicate or modifier see also Rothstein (1995).) This modification is narrower than, but comparable to, the modifier in (8), which may also be added across a copula, as in (9).

(8) John made the/a claim about the tax rebates being wrong.
(9) John's claim was about the tax rebates being wrong.

The modifier status of CP is also supported by the possibility of plurality as in (10), in which CP does not denote any determinate proposition claimed by John, but limits the range of their content in the fashion of restrictive modification.

(10) John made claims that he had been robbed or bribed by various officials.

The modificational interpretation of CP has elsewhere led to the conclusion that CP is an adjunct: see, for example, Stowell (1981; 197–203) for similar arguments in support of CP as an appositional attachment. Here I shall accept evidence from binding phenomena (see Chomsky (1995: 204–205) and references cited there) that *claim*-type CPs and relative clauses do not have the same point of attachment, and maintain CP as a sister to N. The closer configurational relationship may reflect the fact that finite CP as a modifier has a very limited distribution, and as a modifier to N can only appear with the small subcategory of proposition-denoting nouns. An interpretive affinity comparable to earlier notions of selection holds between N and CP.

In the next section I review the relevant principles of the Locality framework taken from Manzini (1994).

2.2 *A brief outline of Locality theory*

The requirements on antecedent government are re-defined in terms of members of a dependency falling in adjacent minimal domains, where the minimal domain of a head is defined as in (11) (= Manzini's (1), op. cit. p. 482), adopted from Chomsky (1993):

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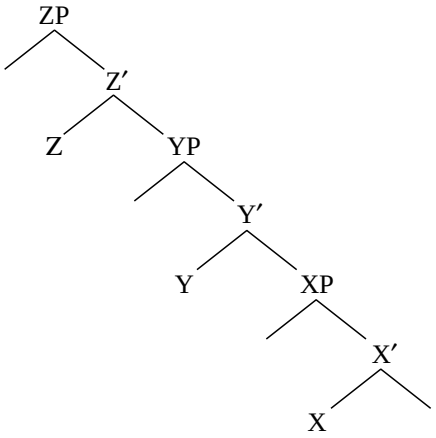
(11) The minimal domain (X) of a head X consists of all and only the elements that are immediately contained by, and do not immediately contain, a projection of X.

Domain adjacency is defined as in (12) (= Manzini's (4) p. 483).

(12) (X) and (Y) are adjacent iff there is no (Z) such that some member of (Z) contains (X) and does not contain (Y), or vice versa.

Thus in (13) below (X) and (Z) are not adjacent: XP is a member of (Y) (= (Z) in the definition) which contains (X) but does not contain (Z).

(13)



The central notion of Locality is that 'two elements next to one another in a dependency must be minimally distant in the tree, where minimum distance is now defined as adjacency of minimal domains'. The formal definition of Locality, a general economy constraint on dependencies (therefore on movement chains) is (14) (= Manzini's (6), p. 483).

(14) *Locality*
For all *i*, let A_i be in (X_i). Given a dependency $(A_1, \ldots, A_n)$, for all *i*, (X_i) and (X_{i+1}) are adjacent.

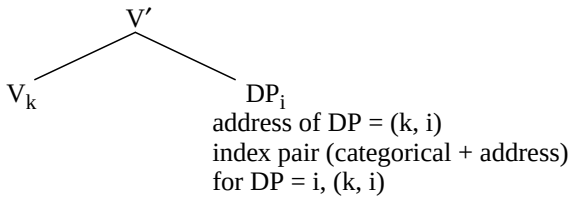
Movements with strictly local dependencies (e.g. Head movement, NP movement) form movement chains in which each link is a dependency observing Locality as defined in (14).

Manzini argues that argument traces of A′-movement are crucially distinguished from other traces in being assigned Case, and that this provides the basis for an alternative kind of dependency which is not available to non-Case-marked traces (i.e. adjunct traces, head traces and traces of A-

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movement). Dependencies are defined on coindexation of their members, where indices are of two kinds. Every lexical element or projection has a categorical index, identical to the referential index of referential elements. Movement chains are dependencies of categorial indices. A node which is assigned Case by a governing head also bears an index assigned by the Case-assigning head, called an address. The address of XP is a pair consisting of the categorical index of the Case-assigner and the categorial index of XP, as shown in (15) below.

(15)



Indices may freely percolate upwards so long as no different index of the same kind blocks the pathway. An index percolated to XP also appears on X^0. Given that all lexical nodes bear a categorial index, in general categorial indices do not percolate. Addresses, however, are borne only by Case-marked nodes, and consequently V, I, C and their phrasal projections have no addresses, so an address can percolate up the V-I-C pathway. This mechanism is exploited in long A′-movement of a complement, as in (16).

(16) $[_{CP}\ WH_i [_{IP}\ [_{VP}\ [_{CP}\ WH_j\ [_{IP}\ [_{V'}\ V_k\ t_{i,\ (k,i)}]]]]]]$

Here the categorial index dependency between t_i and WH_i does not observe Locality. But the trace has an alternative index, the address (k,i), which may percolate via the unaddressed positions to form a well-formed dependency sequence (WH_i, C, I, V, C, I, V, t_i) all bearing address (k,i).[4] In summary, the crucial property for long movement of Case-assigned elements is the presence of a non-Case-assigned pathway connecting the trace and its antecedent.

[4] Manzini assumes elsewhere (see Manzini 1992: 117–120) that Tense may be referential, hence subject to Visibility and Case-marking, and therefore bears an address, and that Tense Island effects follow from this. I do not adopt this assumption, comparing the implicit referentiality of tense with the widely-adopted reference to events implicit in verbal reports, represented by the e variable, and perhaps the implicit subject argument of passives. In these instances implicit referents are not theta-marked, perhaps not theta-assigned, and need not be Visible in the sense of Case-marking. See Higginbotham (1985) for discussion of four modes of theta discharge, of which theta-marking is only one. In any case, Stowell's (1981) arguments supporting his Case Resistance Principle suggest that finite I/C cannot be Case-assigned, therefore in the Locality framework cannot have their own addresses.

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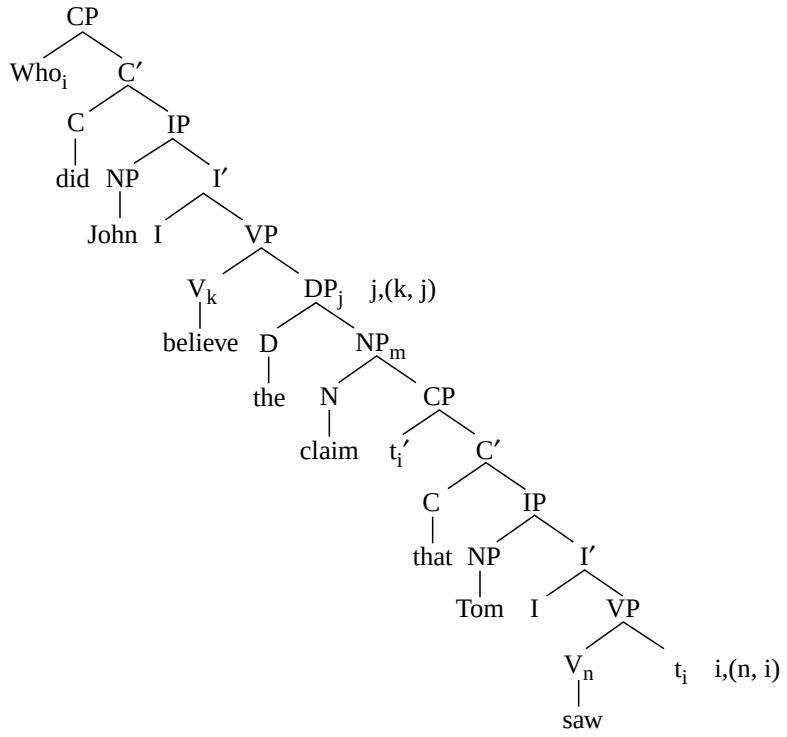
2.3 *Extraction from* claim *nominals without* make

Consider (2), repeated here.

(2) *Who did John believe the claim that Tom saw?

Assume the structure in (17).

(17)



The Spec of the lower CP is available for t_i'. A categorial index sequence between t_i' and *who*$_i$ cannot be composed of well-formed dependencies because, on standard assumptions, NP and DP offer no landing sites for WH-movement. The address (n,i) assigned to t_i can percolate via the lower V-I-C to t_i', and possibly to NP_m which has no address, but cannot percolate past the different address assigned by V to DP, so an address-based sequence cannot be established either, and the extraction violates Locality requirements.

In the next section I outline an optionally available structure for *make the claim*-type constructions, from which it follows that the Locality violation in (17) need not occur.

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2.4 *The structure of* claim *nominals in construction with* make

The intuition that *make the claim* extractions may signal a kinship with Light Verb constructions stems partly from the close periphrastic relation between *claim that S* and *make the claim that S*.

I propose that *make the claim* is in some sense more basic or thematically explicit, and that verbal *claim* is comparable to a portmanteau or incorporated form (see Hale & Keyser (1992, 1993a) for discussion of the internal structure of verbs in terms of pre-syntactic incorporation). All we have in the basic structure *make the claim* is an undoing of the usual incorporation so that the argument p* is fully projected and independently referred to, rather than being introduced as the ⟨2⟩ variable in the grid of verbal *claim*.

Where the presence of *make* allows improved extraction from a complex DP, it is indeed relevant that *make the claim* and verbal *claim* are periphrastically related. In these examples, the independent reference of DP *the claim* is suspended, in the minimal possible adjustment back in the direction of incorporation. Although DP remains syntactically distinct it becomes semantically modificational rather than referential. The definite article appears as an epithet without quantificational or definite 'referential' force. (See Vergnaud & Zubizarreta's (1992) discussion of epithet definite articles with inalienable constructions.)

The quasi-incorporation suggested here resembles the loss of full referential and DP status of the relevant part in the routine collocations *give way to*, *make way for*, *give place to*, *make place for*, in which the non-referential nominal, if used referentially, is countable. If I make place for you, there is a place for you revealed by my moving aside – here is your place. In contrast to the preceding sentence the collocation *make place for* contains no expression referring to this place. The expression is not so idiomatic as to be non-compositional. Routines such as *make place* may be best construed as complex verbs; that is, incorporation structures. I propose that *make the claim* shows a similar loss of nominal referentiality but without the concomitant loss of phrasal structure. *Make the claim* is subject to a minimal reanalysis of a syntactically generated structure, while expressions like *give way to* are established idioms.

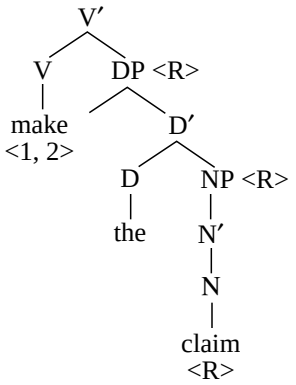
In syntactic terms, the individual p* is introduced into the structure as the ⟨2⟩ variable in the grid of V. Adopting the modes of thematic discharge in Higginbotham (1985), the ⟨2⟩ variable is then modified under theta-identification with the ⟨R⟩ role of *claim* (which is in turn restrictively modified by CP).[5]

[5] This theta-identification discharges the ⟨R⟩ variable but not the ⟨2⟩ variable, which is not assigned, and is presumably bound by existential closure at the level of VP. I note in passing that this mechanism for discharging an unsaturated complement functioning as a modifier might extend to indefinite objects as analysed by Heim (1982), who proposes that

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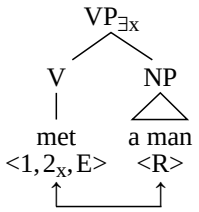
In the relevant cases *make the claim* has the structure in (18).

(18)



indefinite NPs introduce free variables. It follows that such NPs are unsaturated. *John met a man* would then have the structure in (i),

(i)



in which the indefinite reference is achieved by binding the second argument of the predicate, which must be present with the predicate in any case. The NP in such a structure is solely a modifier. The composition of information is then

V meet(x,y,e)
V′ meet(x,y,e) & man(y)
VP ∃y (meet(x,y,e) & man(y))
I′ ∃e∃y (meet(x,y,e) & man(y))
IP ∃e∃y (x,y,e) & man(y) & j = x)

rather than, with independent closure of the ⟨R⟩ role in *man*

V meet(x,y,e)
V′ ∃z(meet(x,y,e) & man(z) & z = y)
VP ∃z (meet(x,y,e) & man(z) & z = y)
I′ ∃e∃z (meet(x,y,e) & man(z) & z = y)
IP ∃e∃z (meet(x,y,e) & man(z) & z = y & j = x)

No truth-conditional difference arises, but there is a difference in where indefinite reference to such arguments originates: are the man and the meeting both presented, or is it that the meeting is presented and the met individual is included in this presentation?

The obligatoriness of the NP after finite *met* would then not fall under any version of the theta criterion, as the ⟨2⟩ role is not assigned, and might be reduced to a discourse requirement for sufficient coherent information. To the extent that these comments are correct, the analysis of indefinites as introducing free variables has wide-ranging consequences if adopted into a syntactic theory with correlates of saturation and theta theory. A full discussion is beyond the scope of the present paper. See section 2.7 below for further comments on indefinites.

The present account of *make the claim* has no corresponding consequences for the theta criterion, however formulated, as the routine collocation is here seen as partly idiomatic, and disturbances of normal syntax are therefore to be expected.

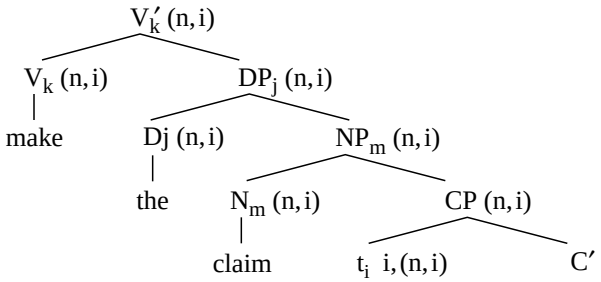
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Here, ⟨R⟩ is discharged by identification with ⟨2⟩ in *make* (= p*). DP is unsaturated and a modifier.

2.5 *Extraction from* make the claim*: a Locality account*

Extraction of an argument from within CP in *make the claim* has the structure in (19).

(19)



Assume as in (17) that trace appears in the Spec of the embedded CP and that the address (n,i) assigned to the base position may percolate to it.[6] Following the optional reanalysis proposed above, DP is a non-theta-marked modifier to V, therefore not subject to Visibility and not Case-marked or addressed. DP, like NP, has no address of its own and the address (n,i) can percolate via the N-D pathway to join the V-I-C pathway of the main clause, thus creating a well-formed address-based dependency for t_i. The extraction observes Locality.

2.6 *The weak island in* make the claim

On the present account, object extractions from *make the claim* do not violate Locality and are predicted to be well-formed, all else being equal, but in fact they have an intermediate status reminiscent of Subjacency violations, as shown in (5), repeated below.

(5) (a) Who did you claim that Bob had visited?
(b) ?Who did you make the claim that Bob had visited?
(c) *Who did you discuss the claim that Bob had visited?

The (1994) Locality framework does not deal directly with weak islands.

Manzini (1995: 341–344) suggests that WH-islands such as (20) are syntactically well-formed but interpretively problematic.

[6] Given that the movement within the lower CP establishes a well-formed sequence of categorial index dependencies, the percolation of index (n,i) is only required to avoid violations in the matrix clause. If feature percolation is classed as a derivational step then this would be contrary to the minimalist principle of Greed (see Chomsky 1993, 1995). Presumably address percolation comes automatically with the formation of phrase structure, like the determination of chains and domains, and is therefore not subject to derivational constraints.

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(20) *Quanto hanno già decidere a chi assegnarne?
'How many have they already decided to whom to give (of them)?'

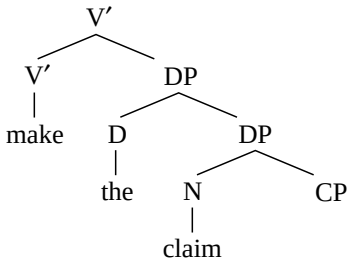
The two distinct operators *quanti* and *a chi* are related via a composed dependency to a single variable, the trace of *quanti*. Manzini suggests that this structure falls foul of a clause of the Bijection Principle, after Koopman & Sportiche (1982).

This solution does not apply to the weak violation in (5b), which does not involve a WH-island. An alternative possibility is suggested by Manzini's (1995: 328–329) proposal that all dependencies not only must be configurationally well-formed but also must be motivated by some morphological, phonological or other interpretive requirement.[7] As an absolute condition on all dependencies I consider that this requirement may be too strong, but a full discussion is beyond the scope of this paper.

I suggest that the two requirements may be separated to account for the distinction between strong and weak islands. A strong island occurs where configurational requirements prevent the establishment of a dependency, as before. A weak island occurs where a configurationally well-formed dependency lacks additional motivation, and the problem is interpretive rather than syntactic, as Manzini proposes for WH-islands. In other words, sentences with weak island violations are syntactically well-formed but not tightly coherent.

On this view, the weakening of *the* to epithet status in reanalysed *make the claim* creates an interpretive hiatus.

(21)



The lack of an independent case for DP from V allows the percolation of the index from trace and the establishment of a syntactically well-formed dependency, but it also removes the motivation for the (V,D) dependency based on Case and the predicate-argument relation.

[7] The revised dependencies of Manzini (1995) must instantiate asymmetric c-command, in accordance with Kayne (1994), and thus only partly correspond to the links of index-percolation in the (1994) framework used here. In particular, no dependency (A,B) can hold where A dominates B, and so in (21) below, for example, (V,D) and (D,N) are the only dependency candidates. The present point concerning weak islands can be made without a full exposition of the revised definitions for dependencies.

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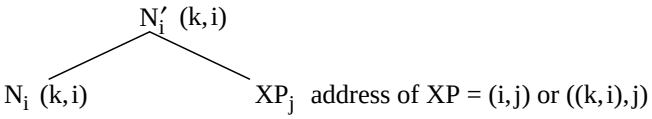
2.7 *Comparison with extraction from indefinites*

The distinction presented here in terms of variable referentiality (or variable saturation) of DP is reminiscent of the well-known contrast between definite and indefinite noun phrases: in general extraction is possible from indefinites but not from definites. In this section I shall show that the Locality framework (correctly) differentiates indefinites and *make the claim* extractions.

Manzini derives the definiteness contrast by elaborating the mechanisms for address assignment as follows.

First, N Case-marks and addresses its complement. Unlike V, N also receives Case and therefore has two indices, a categorial index and an address. In assigning an address to its complement, N may optionally transmit either of its indices as in (22).

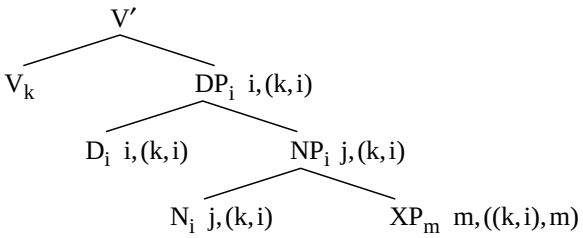
(22)



Second, it is assumed that the address assigned by V to a DP complement is assigned solely to D/DP as the referential locus of a definite noun phrase, but to D/DP and N/NP together as a referential complex in an indefinite noun phrase.

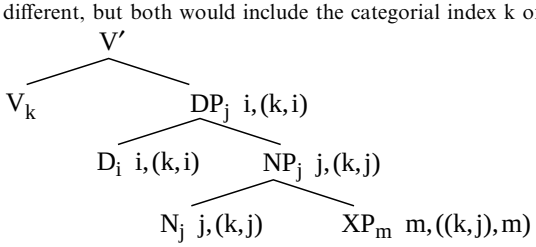
Combining these elaborations of the basic theory, the N of an indefinite DP may assign to its complement an address which includes the categorial index of that V which selects DP, as in (23).[8]

(23)



[8] Manzini (1992: 129) shows D and N in an indefinite DP with the same categorial index as well as a shared address, as in (23) above. If N and D, both being lexical, have independent categorial indices then the addresses assigned to DP and XP might be different, but both would include the categorial index k of V as in (i).

(i)



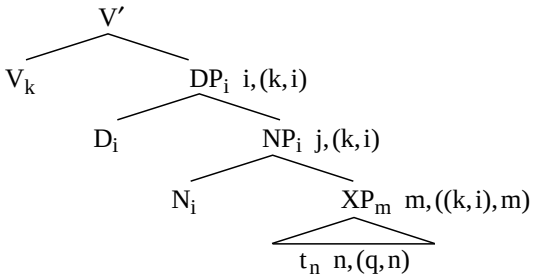
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Finally, sequences are re-defined in terms of index compatibility rather than identity, so that the (k,i) index included in the indices for XP, N, D establishes a dependency. Given that the (k,i) index of DP may percolate via the V-I-C pathway, a trace in the position of XP can appear in a dependency extending to the antecedent, observing Locality requirements. This accounts for the grammaticality of extractions such as (24).

(24) Who did you see a picture of?

Note that this account correctly predicts the extractability of complements from indefinite noun phrases, but does NOT predict extraction from a Case position within a complement to N which is not itself an indefinite DP. The address assigned by V to DP and NP will prevent the percolation of any different address assigned to a position within a complement to N (whether or not N assigns Case to its complement.)

(25)



Here t_n cannot establish a dependency with an antecedent above V′. Movement must cross NP and DP so a categorial index sequence will violate Locality. An address-based dependency cannot be formed because the address (q,n) cannot pass the distinct address (k,i) at NP and DP.

It follows that *make the claim* extractions cannot be assimilated to extraction from indefinites in this framework. This is the correct result.

Consider a sentence with D-Structure as in (26).[9]

(26) $[_{CP}$ $[_{IP}$ you $[_{VP}$ made $[_{DP}$ the claim what]]]]?

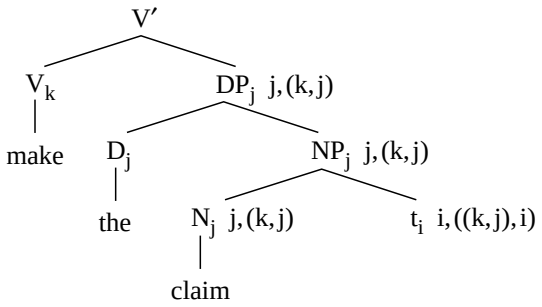
As above, N Case-marks a complement of the appropriate category. (Recall that CP in this account is a complement: though modificational, it is in some sense selected.) If DP *the claim* is interpreted as indefinite in construction

[9] I retain the notion of D-Structure for ease of presentation. The same point holds in a generalized transformations derivation.

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with *make*, the A′-movement of nominal *what* is incorrectly predicted to be well-formed, as below.

(27)



In making the address assigned by V available to a complement of N, Manzini's account of indefinites is in spirit a reanalysis proposal, and, if applied to *make the claim*, encounters the same difficulty as earlier proposals for a reanalysis of V-N to a complex V, in predicting incorrectly that the sentences below are of equal status.

(28) (a) What exactly are you claiming?
(b) What exactly are you making the claim?

Any attempt to account for *make the claim* extractions in the Barriers framework by varying the L-marking of CP by N will have the same problem. If L-marking is used to achieve the transparency of CP, proper government by N of a trace in the position of CP is also entailed, falsely predicting the extractability of the position.

The present account is also a kind of reanalysis in assimilating N and D to the verbal projections, which lack addresses. The LVC intuition that the *claim* nominal is not a canonical argument of *make* is captured, with the natural consequence that *the claim* is not Case-marked. The withdrawal of rival addresses from the N-D pathway, crucially without assigning an address to CP, correctly predicts that CP is transparent but the CP position is not extractable.

3. Interactions with presupposition

I have argued above that *make the claim* extractions are not assimilable to extractions from indefinites. Nevertheless, in this section I suggest that the *make the claim* vs. *reject the claim* contrast has something in common with the indefinite vs. definite contrast: in both contrasts the latter member, but not the former, is presuppositional.

Recent alternative accounts of extraction and (in)definiteness argue that the contrasts stem crucially from the presuppositional character of strong noun phrases generally, in comparison with the 'novel referent' character of weak noun phrases.

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Diesing (1992) proposes that only strong DPs undergo Quantifier Raising, a movement which places them in the upper sentence region which maps to the restrictive, or presuppositional, scope of a logical form. She derives the ungrammaticality of extraction from a strong DP from the ill-formedness of a dependency at LF between WH in Spec of the matrix CP and a trace in a DP left-adjoined to IP.

In a study covering a wide range of data, Hudson (1994) also identifies presuppositionality as the key property in the opacity of strong quantifier noun phrases, possessives and demonstratives. Given that possessives and demonstratives are not quantificational and are not considered to undergo QR, a syntactic account such as Diesing's will not apply to the full range of Hudson's data, but the unified account he argues for is in a similar spirit.

Hudson provides a semantico-pragmatic system for building sentence interpretations in which presupposed material is mapped leftwards in a representation. Consequently, a trace within a presuppositional noun phrase gives rise to an unbound variable at some level of logical form, hence the ill-formedness of such extractions.

A presuppositionality contrast is also found with the constructions under discussion here. The LVC intuition for collocations such as *make the claim* is supported by the fact that one who makes a claim is the claim's Agent, while one who rejects or believes a claim is not. This is akin to interpreting the claim in *make the claim* as an object of creation or presentation. On the other hand, if I believe or reject a claim it has presumably been previously authored or presented by someone else, and is to that extent presupposed.

(29) *Presentational*
make the claim, put forward the claim, take the position, have the hope, propose the view, etc.
Presuppositional
Reject / criticise / defend / believe the claim, etc.

Here the presuppositional collocations are the ones which do not allow extractions, in parallel with the properties of definite noun phrases.

But even if we assume that the pragmatic effects discussed by Hudson are involved in the extraction contrasts, a syntactic account is still needed for the distinction between transparent and extractable complements to N, as in section 2.7. The Diesing and Hudson theories do not make predictions concerning different positions within an indefinite DP for traces of movement.

I suggest that the variation in presuppositionality is the key to another fact about *claim*-type constructions. Emonds (1976: 147–150) notes that CP is extraposable with *make* but not with *reject*.

(30) The claim was made /*ridiculed by John that the rain was causing the accidents.

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This contrast seems to be functional rather than syntactic. Extraposition maps the extraposed material to the 'new information' field of the sentence. Extrapositions of complement CP with *make the claim* are more likely to sound natural in isolation because *make the claim* is overtly presentational of the claim, and thus the claim is new information; in a pairwise comparison a collocation such as *reject the claim* seems to assign a presupposed status to the claim, and thus the extraposition is clumsier. The relationship between presentiationality of the predicate and extraposition is also illustrated in (31).

(31) (a) The claim was raised that the rain was causing the accidents.
(b) The claim was put forward that the rain was causing the accidents.
(c) The claim was proposed that the rain was causing the accidents.
(d) The claim was tabled that the rain was causing the accidents.
(e) (?)The claim was accepted that the rain was causing the accidents.
(f) *The claim was discussed that the rain was causing the accidents.
(g) *The claim was disputed that the rain was causing the accidents.
(h) *The claim was criticized that the rain was causing the accidents.

Extraposition with *reject the claim*-type collocations is not judged as ill-formed in isolation; for example, Baker (1988: 92) gives (32) below simply as an illustration of extraposition without any comment on its status.

(32) The claim was disproved that pigs have wings.

I conclude then that the extraposition contrasts are functional rather than syntactic, and that extraposition of CP complement to N is always well-formed in principle.

4. Concluding remarks

The analysis presented here switches the focus of enquiry away from properties of the verb, which I argue is not a light verb, onto extraction from the noun phrase per se. It is argued that the extraction contrasts follow from the (optional) loss of DP referentiality in collocation with *make*.

Although the verb is not strictly a light verb, the loss of referentiality which results in the transparency of DP requires that V′ have the simple predicate-like semantics illustrated in some cases by the presence of a simple verb near-paraphrase, such as verbal *claim* for *make the claim*. For expressions like *hold the view* where no verbal paraphrase exists the simplicity requirement underlies the 'same agent' constraint, according to which the agent (or subject) of the verb must be the 'author' of the proposition denoted by the nominal. The clearest cases of opacity of DP arise with collocations such as *reject the claim*, *ridicule the claim*, in which the rejector or ridiculer is surely not the author. These collocations do not allow the minimal re-incorporation of *the claim* which results in transparency, being too complex for reanalysis as a simplex predicate in some sense.

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The Locality framework adopted here accounts for the fact that extraction from within CP is possible even though CP is not itself extractable, and thus is more successful than proposals for reanalysis of V-N to a complex V, or any analysis which assimilates CP to a canonical complement.

A further advantage of the present account is that the structural adjustment is minimal, without any coarse contrasts in the categorial structure of transparent and opaque noun phrases, which in the examples at issue are all headed by *the*, are not obviously differentiated for definiteness or specificity, and appear to have the same configurational structure. The minimal re-incorporation proposed here may be subject to pragmatic influences, and presumably requires that a speaker codes certain routine collocations as partly idiomatic. Disagreement among speakers on the status of particular examples does not require that a substantial difference in their idiolects be demonstrated.

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