

Syntax II – Class #25

Referentiality and Locality

A. Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990)

- Head movement blocked by heads

- (1) a. You can do that.
b. Can you do that?
c. * Do you can that?

- A-movement blocked by A-specifiers

- (2) a. Wallace seems ___to be happy.
b. Wallace was hit ___ by a bowlful of porridge.
c. Gromit is likely ___ to be arrested.
- (3) a. * Wallace seems that it is likely ___ to be arrested.
b. * The students seem that it was told ___ that there would be extra reading.

- A-bar movement blocked by A-bar specifiers

Wh-islands

- (4) * How do you wonder what Wallace fixed ___?

Negative islands

- (5) a. * How didn't he fix your car ___?
b. * How don't you think he fixed your car ___?

French combien ('Pseudo-opacity' Obenauer 1984)

- (6) a. Jean a consulté beaucoup de livres. [beaucoup extraction]
John has consulted many of books
- b. Jean a beaucoup consulté de livres.
- (7) a. Combien a-t-il consulté de livres? [limited LB extractions]
How many has he consulted of books
- b. Combien de livres a-t-il beaucoup consultés?

(8) a. Combien de livres a-t-il beaucoup consultés? [2 extractions incompatible]

How many of books has he much consulted

b. * Combien a-t-il beaucoup consulté de livres?

- Relativized Minimality

(9) a. A' movement may not cross a filled A' specifier

b. A movement may not cross a filled A-specifier

c. Head movement may not cross a filled head position

- What can be simplified once Relativized Minimality is assumed

- i. Wh-islands for adjuncts – intervention effects

- ii. Negative islands – intervention effects

- iii. VP needn't be a barrier for purposes of capturing head movement constraint effects

- iv. Relative clause are intervention islands for adjuncts

- What remains to be captured in (more or less) standard fashion

- i. CED islands: subject islands, adjunct islands

- ii. CNPC effects

B. Weak Islands & Referentiality

- Effects of D-linking object NPs: escape from wh-islands, and superiority violations (Pesetsky 1987)

(10) a. Mary asked who read what.

b. ??Mary asked what who read.

(11) a. Mary asked which man read which book.

b. Mary asked which book which man read.

(12) a. Who did you persuade to read what?

b. ?* What did you persuade who to read?

(13) a. Which man did you persuade to read which book?

b. Which book did you persuade which man to read?

(14) a. ?? What do you wonder whether Gromit read ___?

b. Which of those books do you wonder whether Gromit read ___?

Which-phrases are proposed to have special status by virtue of being *D(iscourse)-linked*

- Non-referential theta-roles: failure to escape wh-islands (Rizzi 1990)

Obligatory Adverbials

- (15) a. * John worded the letter.
 b. John worded the letter carefully.
- (16) a. How carefully do you believe he worded the letter ___?
 b. * How carefully do you wonder who worded the letter ___?
 c. ?? How carefully did you persuade which man to word the letter ___?

Idiom Chunks

- (17) a. What headway do you believe he made ___?
 b. * What headway do you wonder who made ___?
 c. ?? What headway did you persuade which man to make ___?

Measure Phrases

- (18) a. How many pounds do you believe he weighs ___?
 b. * How many pounds do you wonder who weighs ___?
 c. ?? How many pounds did you persuade which boxer to weigh ___?

- Quantificational (non-referential) NPs: failure to escape wh-islands, even in Italian (Cinque 1991)

- (19) a. Qualche ragazza, dice che trovera ___.
 Some girl, he says that he will find.
- b. Qualche ragazza, no so come trovera __ ___.
 Some girl, I don't know how he will find.
- (20) a. Ogni dichiarazione, dice di aver ritrattato ___.
 Every statement, he says he has retracted.
- b. * Ogni dichiarazione, mi chiedo perche abbia ritrattalo __ ___.
 Every statement, I wonder why he has retracted.

D-linking in Italian

- (21) a. Che articoli pensi che abbia letto ___?
 What articles do you believe that she read.

- b. Che articoli no sai chi __ abbia letto __?
What articles don't you know who read.
- (22) a. Che diavolo pensi che abbia letto __?
What the hell do you think that she read.
- b. * Che diavolo non sai chi __ abbia letto __?
What the hell don't you know who read.
- Loss of ambiguity of *how many* phrases in *wh*-island contexts (Dobrovie-Sorin 1990, Longobardi 1990)
- (23) a. How many patients do you think that the doctor will visit __?
b. How many patients do you wonder who will visit __?
- c. How many patients did you persuade which doctor to visit __?
- (24) a. How many books do you think John could put __ in this box?
b. How many books do you wonder whether John could put __ in this box?
- Austronesian: evidence for and against successive-cyclic *wh*-movement (Chung 1982, 1994; Georgopoulos 1985, 1991)

Chamorro Verbs:

Sensitive to Case of *wh*-traces; always in lowest clause, generally successive cyclic.

- (25) a. Nominative replace ergative AGR with *-um-* = transitive infinitive
b. Objective (Optionally) nominalize: insert *-in-* if transitive
c. Oblique Nominalize: insert *-in-* if unaccusative

Palauan Verbs

Sensitive to Case of *wh*-traces; always in lowest clause, successive cyclic.

- (26) a. Nominative realis mood; delete subject agr
b. Objective irrealis mood

Wh-agreement affects each clause in path of extraction

- (27) a. Haya umistotba si Juan [t ni minahalang i asagua-na t]?
who? wh[NOM].disturb Juan COMP wh[OBL].lonely the spouse-AGR
'Who does it disturb Juan that his wife is lonely for?'
[Or: 'Who does [that his wife is lonely for t] disturb Juan?']

- b. Hayi minalagu'-niha [t para u-maigu' t gespaingi]?
 who? wh[OBL].want-AGR FUT wh[NOM].AGR-sleep late
 'Who do they want to sleep late?'

Wh-agreement varies with the case of the trace, or of the argument containing the trace.

- Long-distance movement doesn't always require successive-cyclic *wh*-agreement

- (28) a. Hafa malago'-mu [t u-mafa'maolik t]?
 what? wh[OBL].want-AGR wh[NOM].AGR-be.fixed
 'What do you want to be fixed?'

- b. * Hafa malagu' hao [u-mafa'maolik t]?
 what? AGR-want you wh[NOM].AGR-be.fixed
 ('What do you want to be fixed?')

- (29) a. Hayi na palao'an ma'a'nao-mu [t na para u-kahat t esti na dangkulu-n kahun]?
 who? L woman wh[OBL].afraid-AGR COMP FUT wh[NOM].AGR-lift this L big-L box
 'Which woman are you afraid will pick up this big box.'

- b. Hayi na palao'an ma'a'nao hao [na para u-kahat t esti na dangkulu-n kahun]?
 who? L woman AGR-afraid you COMP FUT wh[NOM].AGR-lift this L big-L box
 'Which woman are you afraid will pick up this big box?'

Wh-expressions showing long-movement effects in Italian and Chamorro?

"Non-referential" Short Movers	"Referential" Long Movers
Italian: <i>chi</i> , 'who' Chamorro: <i>hayi</i> 'who' Chamorro: <i>hafa</i> , 'what'	Italian: definite DP Chamorro: definite DP
Italian: <i>ogni</i> NP, 'every NP'	Italian: <i>quale</i> , 'what' Chamorro: which NP
Italian: <i>qualcosa</i> , 'something'; <i>qualcuno</i> , 'someone'	Italian: <i>tutti</i> DP, 'all DP' Chamorro: all DP, <i>each</i> NP
Italian: <i>nessun</i> NP, 'no NP'; <i>niente</i> , 'nothing' Chamorro: no one; nothing	Italian: <i>qualche</i> NP, 'some NP'; <i>alcuni</i> NP, 'some NP' Chamorro: many NP, much NP, some NP
Italian: <i>qualsunque</i> NP, 'whatever NP'; <i>qualsiasi</i> NP 'whatever NP'; <i>chiunque</i> , 'whoever' Chamorro: relative Op with null antecedent	Chamorro: <i>no</i> NP Chamorro: <i>relative O with overt antecedent</i>

- (30) *Condition on Long Movement*

The trace of long movement must range over a sufficiently restricted set.

The ability of just a subset of NPs to escape, say, wh-islands, shouldn't be attributed to properties of the wh-island, because the same classification of NPs that do and don't allow long movement is found in the absence of wh-islands.

- *Weak Islands* are affected by these semantic manipulations, other islands probably are not

Weak Islands: wh-islands, factive islands, negative islands, pseudo-opacity

[note that weak islands may be characterized in terms of *intervention* effects]

Strong Islands: subject islands, adjunct islands, relative clause islands, CNPC effects

- (31) a. How many pounds do you think Wallace weighs ___?
b. How many pounds is it surprising that Wallace weighs ___?
- (32) a. How many books do you think John will put ___ in this box?
b. How many books is it surprising that John will put ___ in this box?

C. **Locality** (Manzini 1992) ...to be continued

(33) Typology of Dependencies

- a. 'Categorial' dependencies (more local)
b. 'Address-based' dependencies (less local)

(34) Typology of Islands

- a. **Weak Islands**
Includes: wh-islands (2-whs), factive islands, negative islands, pseudo-opacity
Properties:
i. intervention due to A' specifier
ii. escaped by address-based (referential) dependencies
iii. no crossing of non-complement node
- b. **Strong Islands I**
Includes: subject islands, adjunct islands, relative clause islands
Properties:
i. problem due to crossing non-complement node
ii. address-based dependency impossible
- c. **Strong Islands II**
Includes: Complex NP Constraint, Wh-islands (multiple wh-blockers), LBC (?)
Properties:
i. problem due to extraction out of addressed-category
ii. address-based dependency impossible