

## Syntax II – Class #26

### Locality

#### How-many Questions

- (a) Questions about a *number* or quantity, with no specific individuals in mind
- (b) Questions about *individuals*, but asking about how many individuals have a certain property

- (1) How many books does Wallace want to read this weekend?
  - a. – Five books, because that’s what he has to do every weekend  
i.e. what is the number of books such that Wallace wants to read that many books
  - b. – Five books: *Barriers*, *War and Peace*, *The Road Less Traveled*, *Don Quixote* and *The Cheese-Lover’s Almanac*.  
i.e. how many books are such that Wallace wants to read them
- (2) How many books do you wonder whether Wallace wants to read \_\_\_?
- (3)
  - a. How many books do you regret that Wallace read \_\_\_?
  - b. How many diamonds are you happy that Knuckles stole \_\_\_?
- (4)
  - a. How many sheep do you think that Preston captured \_\_\_?
  - b. How many sheep don’t you think that Preston captured \_\_\_?

#### D-linking in Polish

- (5)
  - a. Zastanawiam sie [kto co przyniesie]  
I-wonder            who what will-bring  
‘I wonder who will bring what.’
  - b.(\*) Zastanawiam sie [kto przyniesie co]

- (6) W koncu, kto robi co? [Wachowicz 1974]  
 finally who does what

‘[Such] questions are somewhat different from echo questions. We can call them clarifying questions. The speaker could ask [6] in the following situation. There are various tasks, and several people to be assigned to them. Proposals have been made how to pair up people and tasks, but no fixed plan has been set up yet. The speaker of [6] is confused by the proposals, and wants to have a fixed plan.’ [Wachowicz 1974, noted in Pesetsky 1987]

- (7) a. Kogo diedy Maria zabila?  
 Whom where M. killed  
 ‘Who killed Mary where?’  
 b. Kogo Maria zabila kiedy?

**Typology of Extractions** according to Manzini (1992)

*Definitions*

g-marking: a head X g-marks its *sister* and the *head* and *specifier* of its sister. [X does not g-mark its own specifier, or an adjoined phrase]

Barrier: XP is a barrier for Y if it dominates Y, and the g-marker for Y (if there is one)

*Two types of dependency*

Categorial dependency: dependency between trace and antecedent may not cross any barrier

Address dependency: (case-marked XPs only) dependency consists of a sequence of positions; no adjacent pair of positions in the sequence is separated by a barrier

	Argument extraction	Adjunct extraction
Subject Island	*Categorial dependency Subject is not g-marked, hence a barrier *Address dependency Subject is not g-marked, hence no address percolation	*Categorial dependency Subject is not g-marked, hence a barrier
Adjunct Island	*Categorial dependency Adjunct is not g-marked, hence a barrier	*Categorial dependency Adjunct is not g-marked, hence a barrier

	*Address dependency Adjunct is not g-marked, hence no address percolation	
Relative Clause Isl.	*Categorial dependency RC is not g-marked, hence a barrier *Address dependency RC is not g-marked, hence no address percolation	*Categorial dependency RC is not g-marked, hence a barrier
Complex NP Island	*Categorial dependency NP dominates SpecCP and its g-marker, hence a barrier *Address dependency NP bears its own address, hence blocks address percolation from below	*Categorial dependency NP dominates SpecCP and its g-marker, hence a barrier
Tense Island	*Address dependency +Tns bears its own address, hence blocks address percolation from below	
Definiteness Island	*Address dependency Definite D bears its own address, hence blocks address percolation from below	
Wh-island	*Categorial dependency CP is a barrier when SpecCP is not available as landing site, since CP dominates material inside IP, and g-marker for IP Address dependency OK	*Categorial dependency CP is a barrier when SpecCP is not available as landing site, since CP dominates material inside IP, and g-marker for IP
Negative island	*Categorial dependency NegP is a barrier for extraction from inside its complement, since NegP dominates Neg, the g-marker for its complement [assuming adjunction to NegP is not available] Address dependency OK	*Categorial dependency NegP is a barrier for extraction from inside its complement, since NegP dominates Neg, the g-marker for its complement [assuming adjunction to NegP is not available]
Factive island	*Categorial dependency CP is a barrier for extraction from inside its complement, since CP dominates C, the g-marker for its complement [assuming SpecCP is filled by some operator] Address dependency OK	*Categorial dependency CP is a barrier for extraction from inside its complement, since CP dominates C, the g-marker for its complement [assuming SpecCP is filled by some operator]

## Head Movement Constraint

- (a) Address dependency unavailable, since head is not case-marked; therefore categorial dependency forced
- (b) Head movement to most locally c-commanding head is OK, because this crosses no barriers (locally c-commanding head is g-marker)
- (c) Head movement to more distant c-commanding heads is blocked, because this crosses a barrier

## A-Movement

- (a) Address dependency unavailable, since trace of A-movement is not case-marked; therefore categorial dependency forced
- (b) Escaping from XPs by exploiting A' specifier positions or A' adjunction sites is blocked, on assumption that A'–A movement is impossible
- (c) Hence, A-movement is predicted to be quite local [see Manzini for more details of exactly how this locality is predicted]

## Tense Islands

- (1) a. What do you wonder [how to repair]?
- b. \*? What do you wonder [how John repaired]?

## Somewhat Complex NPs

- (2) a. \* Who did you see [many attempts [to portray]]?
- b. \* How did you see [many attempts [to portray them]]?

- (3) a. Who did you see many pictures of?

## Definiteness Islands

- (4) a. Who did you see pictures of?
- b. \*? Who did you see these pictures of?
- c. \*? Who did you see every picture of?
- d. \*? Who did you see Gromit's picture of?

### Variability in Escape from Weak Islands

- (5) a. [Quanti pazienti] pensi [che visiterà]?  
How many patients do you think that he will visit  
Individual & number reading
- b. [Quanti pazienti] ti chiedi [chi visiterà]?  
How many patients do you wonder who will visit  
Individual reading only
- (6) a. [Quanti] pensi [che ne visiterà]?  
How many do you think that of-them he will visit  
Number reading only
- b. \* [Quanti] ti chiedi [chi ne visiterà]  
How many do you wonder who of-them will visit

### *Manzini's Treatment*

- (a) Independent of success of details, isolating to weak islands as natural class and manipulating availability of address dependencies is an advantage
- (b) 'Non-referential' NP extraction of arguments sensitive to weak islands: assimilated to lack of full-NP extraction as in (6b)
- (c) Advantage for D-linked arguments in escaping tensed wh-islands: doesn't really follow